DISPUTATIONES

RHENO-TRAJECTINAE

DISPUTATIONES INSTITUTI AD LINGUAS
ORIENTALES
DOCENDAS ATQUE INVESTIGANDAS
IN UNIVERSITATE RHENO-TRAJECTINA
CONDITI

EDIDIT

J. GONDA

IX

1965
MOUTON & CO
LONDON · THE HAGUE · PARIS

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN INDIAN RELIGION

by

J. GONDA

1965
MOUTON & CO
LONDON · THE HAGUE · PARIS

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER: 65-24782

Printed in The Netherlands by Mouton & Co., Printers, The Hague.

PREFACE

In spite of its title this book is a series of essays or monographs rather than a complete and systematic presentation of the problems connected with change and continuity in Indian history. Its chief aims are a fuller appreciation of the many difficulties with which the historian of Indian culture is confronted, a warning of the many and grave risks of any onesided approach and a demonstration of the necessity of renewed and more thorough investigations.

The book addresses itself not only to Indian philologists who may omit several parts of most chapters but also to historians, archaeologists and historians of religion to whom a more detailed presentation of facts and discussion of problems may be welcome.

J. GONDA

CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION. SOME CRITICAL REMARKS APROPOS OF SUBSTRATUM THEORIES

Those who are interested in the history of Indian culture – a branch of knowledge which could perhaps better be shortly named 'Indian History', an expression by which I mean the process of development of the *humanitas indica* – may be confronted by more than one paradox. One of these has recently been brought to the fore by Renou.[1] It concerns the rôle and the position of the Veda in the spiritual and intellectual life of post-Vedic India. The Veda is on the one hand highly revered and respected by anyone who considers himself to be 'orthodox', or rather whose habits of thought and way of life are more or less determined by the traditions of Hinduism. Its authority as the religious and *weltanschauliches* foundation or ultimate source of knowledge is in the circles of the 'orthodox' generally admitted and the Indian civilization of the last twenty centuries, Hinduism, is defined as a complex of socio-religious phenomena, which are based on that authority of the ancient corpora, called Veda.[2] Those who, like Buddhists and Jains, reject that authority are regarded as 'heterodox' and unfaithful to the time-honoured tradition. The Veda is considered to be eternal, neither composed by any human authority[3] nor created by a divinity, whose only task has been to formulate it in such a way that gifted and inspired men of prehistoric times, the ṛṣis, could receive and understand, or more properly, could 'see' this eternal truth 'intuitively', that is to say, without the intermediary of normal sense perception. The Veda is held to be omniscient, perfect, infallible. It is the Eternal as word. The whole universe including the divine powers is said to emanate from it.[4] Being eternal truth it contains all that is neces-

[1] L. Renou, *Le destin du Véda dans l'Inde*, in *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, VI (Paris, 1960), p. 1.
[2] See e.g. S. Shivapadasundaram, *The Śaiva school of Hinduism* (London, 1934), p. 13: "Hinduism is a group of religions which accept the authority of the Vedas". Compare, however, in this connection also P. Hacker, in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 38 (1954), p. 51 ff., passim.
[3] i.e. it is *apauruṣeya-* (Jaimini, MS. 1, 1, 27 ff.).
[4] Vedāntas. 1, 3, 28 f. For other particulars see e.g. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 352 ff.

sary to salvation. According to many Hindus it contains and embraces everything,[5] and some authorities go so far as to contend that what is not contained in the Veda does not exist at all. To the present day some Hindus are strongly inclined to the belief that all products and results of human knowledge, thought and ingenuity, all inventions and all aspects of modern human civilization are already contained in the corpora of the Veda.[6] But all are agreed that the Veda is the basis of the brahmanical knowledge, religion and *Weltanschauung*, the root of the dharma, that is of the complex of institutions and patterns of life, religion and culture, or, according to a great and ancient authority, the compiler of the Manusmṛti 2, 6: *vedo 'khilo dharmamūlaṃ smṛtiśīle ca tadvidām / ācāraś caiva sādhūnām* ... "the entire Veda is the (first) foundation of the dharma, next the tradition and the conduct of those who know the Veda, further also the customs and behaviour of the virtuous men who lead a 'holy' life, ...". That is, the Veda is the ultimate source of knowledge and inspiration; it teaches the final lines of action with regard to all human behaviour and activity as well as that which, in this life and the hereafter, leads to our well-being.[7] That is to say, a well-known author of an erudite and extensive commentary on the Manusmṛti, Medhātithi (IXth cent.), holds:[8] the Veda is the only source of the dharma and it is called Veda because the dharma is known from it (*vidanty asmād iti vedaḥ*), even if nobody in this world would formulate this assertion. The authors of the many books and treatises on dharma are held to draw on the Veda and to rely on it and the only motive of their activity is instruction of those who are not able to study the Veda themselves. Also there arose a special

[5] Cf. also H. Oertel, *Zur indischen Apologetik* (Stuttgart, 1930); D. S. Sarma, *Hinduism through the ages* (Bombay, 1956), p. 215, and see Mbh. 1, a. 62, C.

[6] Such was for instance the opinion of Dayānanda Sarasvatī (in his Satyārthaprakāśa), the founder of the Ārya-Samāj (1875). One might always consult the useful collection of texts compiled by J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit texts*, III (London², 1873), esp. p. 57 ff.

[7] Cf. e.g. J. J. Meyer, *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften* (Leipzig, 1927), passim; Kane, o. c., II, p. 1 ff.

[8] Medhātithi, on Manusmṛti 2, 6: "As regards the (orthodox) smṛtis of Manu and others", the same authority continues, "their relationship to directly perceptible Vedic texts is quite patent; in some cases they are related to the Vedic mantras, in others to the Vedic deities, and in others again with substances and other details ... As regards practice, that which consists in what is actually done, with a view to invisible results, by persons learned in the Veda, its authoritative character is exactly like that of the smṛti, because that also has its basis in the Veda". The following is also worth quoting: "The word Veda here stands for the Ṛg, Yajus and Sāman, along with their respective brāhmaṇas ... Learners who have their intellect duly cultured through a series of teachings, understand, as soon as a Vedic passage is uttered, that it is the Veda, their recognizing of the Veda being as easy as the recognition of a man as a brahman".

school of philosophical thought, the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā, whose aim it was to examine the nature of dharma, to supply the principles according to which the Vedic texts are to be interpreted and to provide philosophical justification for the thesis that the Veda essentially is the one infallible authority enjoining the dharma and specifying the beneficial results which follow from the performance of the acts of duty.

However, notwithstanding the fact that the study of the Veda was made an absolute duty for all men belonging to the three higher classes of society, an adequate understanding of that body of literature was lost at an early date, a 'philological' study of the same atrophied in the course of time, and the works of medieval commentators give, in their attempts to interpret the ancient texts formally and materially, ample evidence of ignorance and false notions, misapprehending the meaning of the texts and the intentions of their authors and supplying anachronistic, 'symbolizing' or subjective explanations. There is every reason for the contention that India had a very inadequate and incomplete knowledge of the Veda before it was discovered by European scholarship.[9]

Now, we may be tempted to go into the significance of this paradox and to indulge in all kinds of suppositions with regard to the great gulf between theory and practice. Whence this unmistakable inclination to revere that ancient body of literature, to refer to it, to stick to the opinion that it is the only source of dharma, to hold to the axiom that religion and *Weltanschauung*, institutions and view of life, customs and behaviour are founded on that collection of stanzas and formulas, seen in a suprasensuous way by the ṛṣis of yore? Without entering, at the moment, into a discussion of this interesting problem, we may venture to assert that among the factors which have brought about this result must have been a deep-rooted want for assuming, maintaining and clinging to continuity, an urgent need of certainty, a craving for a firm foundation on which to build one's life and one's ideals, the conviction that one's own existence and the culture of the community to which one belongs are founded on a basis which, being eternal and 'revealed' in 'the beginning' of history, is infallible and absolutely true and reliable. This consciousness of continuity is apparent in a great variety of beliefs and traditions belonging to different provinces of the Indian culture, and in a large number of views of historical processes and connections, whether they are from an objective

[9] Mention may only be made of the stimulating influence of Max Müller's edition of the Ṛgveda (1849-1874). See W. Caland, "De ontdekkingsgeschiedenis van den Veda", in *Verh. Med. Kon. Ned. Akad. v. Wet.* V, III (1918), p. 261 ff.; Th. Zachariae, in *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1922, p. 148 ff.

point of view sound and valid or open to objection. Thus the 'orthodox' religions of later times claim to be the continuation of the Veda or even represent themselves to be the Vedic past unchanged or purified and adapted to the needs of ensuing generations. The 'redactor' of the Veda is considered to have compiled also the post-Vedic, early 'Hinduist', Mahābhārata, that Encyclopaedia of Hinduism which is styled the fifth Veda beside the four ancient corpora.[10] "The man who recites this Mahābhārata should be regarded as skilled in the Vedas".[11] The same name of honour is attributed to the Purāṇas which chronologically following after the Epics deal with a considerable fullness of detail with a great variety of aspects of the post-Vedic Hindu culture.

That this tendency to call these bodies of literature Veda existed already at an early date and that here also we may say that there was a certain tradition to do so may appear from ChāndU. 7, 1, 2 where the *itihāsa-purāṇam* i.e. "the legendary traditions and ancient lore" are given the name of the fifth Veda: ... *atharvaṇaṃ caturtham, itihāsapurāṇaṃ pañcamam*. The medieval tantras pretended to be the Veda for those who lived in the post-epic period. Combining yoga, Hindu ritualism, mystic speculations on the creative energy which pervades the universe with traditional rites and beliefs they did not only utilize Vedic mantras,[12] and create tantric counterparts of Vedic rites, but claimed also to be a continuation of the Veda. Many great reformators of the XIXth and XXth centuries joined their predecessors in calling 'the Veda' to witness in corroboration of their teachings and statements, in founding, each of them in his own particular way, their views of the process of purification which the Hinduism of this epoch had to undergo on what they considered to be the Veda. Thus Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the founder of the influential Ārya Samāj (1875), while understanding by the Veda, not the complete corpus of Vedic scripture, but the Saṃhitās only, the polytheistic character of which he violently denied, claimed that his doctrines derived directly from these collections of texts. Yet his interpretation of the old texts was often fantastic and most of the beliefs, customs and doctrines which he accepted are post-Vedic. Considering the Veda to contain universal truth for all men, he was strongly inclined to preach a general return to the pattern of life of the ancestors. Before him Rām Mohan Roy (1772-1833), the founder of the Brāhma Samāj, was driven to the same conviction that his religion was simply a return to the pure religion

[10] *caturo vedān sarvān ākhyānapañcamān*, mss. of the Mbh. 3, 55, 8 cr. ed.
[11] Some mss. of the Mbh. after 1, 56, 26 cr. ed.
[12] See e.g. Ch. Chakravarti, *Tantras* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 4 f.

of the Veda. We need not dwell on the well-known fact that, to quote Professor Radhakrishnan,[13] "every form of Hinduism and every stage of its growth is related to the common background of the Vedānta", which in its turn considers the Upaniṣads as the first of its basic texts: they are regarded as the śruti (orally transmitted sacred knowledge) by all Vedāntins and their teachings were summarized, developed, expounded and commented upon by a long succession of authorities. Thus later schools of philosophy often display "an almost pathetic anxiety to accommodate their doctrines to the views of the Upaniṣads"[14] which are regarded as "the essence, the cream, the height, of Vedic philosophy".[15] Up to the present time Indian philosophers and religious leaders have had a marked predilection for the commentary or sub-commentary on these and other ancient authoritative texts when they were about to make their stand against new cultural experiences or new *weltanschauliche* problems, to apply traditional beliefs and opinions to changing circumstances, or to adapt their doctrines and patterns of behaviour to the demands of modern life. Did not the poet Rabindranath Tagore and the politician B. G. Tilak as well as Mahātmā Gandhi[16] express their thoughts in this form? Did they not refer to the authority of the traditional lore?

The paradoxical character of this situation should however not be overlooked. A considerable number of modern authors, among whom are many Indians, have casually or at great length and with fulness of detail, emphasized the many and important points of difference between the Vedic and post-Vedic or 'Hinduist' culture and some scholars have even gone so far as to admit, implicitly or even explicitly, the existence of interruptions in the tradition of various traits of culture or to express their inability to establish, in various respects, the relations between Hinduism and Vedism. As early as 1895, Hopkins[17] argued that changes almost as

[13] S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu view of life* (London, [7]1948), p. 22.
[14] Radhakrishnan.
[15] Ch. Sharma, *A critical survey of Indian philosophy* (London, 1960), p. 14 f. Compare also O. Lacombe, *L'absolu selon le Védânta* (Paris, 1937), p. 8 ff.
[16] "I claim myself to be a sanatanist... For me Sanatana Dharma is the vital faith handed down from generations belonging even to the prehistoric times and based upon the Vedas and the writings that followed them.... These books are themselves the remnants of the discourses left by unknown seers. Those of later generations added to these original treasures according to their own lights. Then arose a great and lofty-minded man, the composer of the Gitā, who gave to the Hindu world a synthesis of Hindu religion.... And I claim to be a sanatanist because for forty years I have been seeking literally to live up to the teachings of that book", M. Gandhi, in D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma* (New Delhi, 1961), III, p. 180 f.
[17] E. W. Hopkins, *The religions of India* (Boston, 1895), p. 348; 24.

great as those of the formal heresies (Buddhism and Jainism) were taking place at the core of Brahmanism itself, which was (in the early post-Vedic period) in the throes of the gigantic task of remodelling and assimilating the indigenous beliefs and religious practises of its new environment. "Nevertheless, ... in many cases it would be so doubtful whether any one thread led to Brahmanism or to the wider and more catholic religion called Hinduism, that we should have preferred to give up the latter name altogether, as one that was for the most part idle, and in some degree misleading". In a little book which has rightly been buried in oblivion M. Phillips[18] made an attempt to show that Hinduism has been "conditioned and caused" by two factors, viz., the disintegration of Vedism and the reaction of the brahmans to the influence of Buddhism. The former process was, he holds, caused not only by "the invariable tendency of human nature to corrupt religion", but also by the commingling of the Aryans with the aborigines ("strange, uncouth people") and, in consequence, the fusion of corrupt Vedic doctrines with aboriginal cults, the "cultivation of philosophy" and the rise of Buddhism. In discussing the divergence between the eschatological ideas of the Veda and those which forged ahead in the Upaniṣads Oltramare[19] at the time said that some passages in the latter "viennent accentuer encore de la manière la plus significative la rupture de la nouvelle théosophie avec la tradition brahmanique ..." according to the Upaniṣadic lore, "'celui qui sait' n'a besoin ni de funérailles ni de fils". "Tatsächlich aber", von Glasenapp[20] writes, "hat der Glaube und Kult der späteren Zeit nur wenig mit dem der früheren gemein; ... wenn auch vedische Anschauungen und kultische Vorschriften beibehalten werden, so hat die Religiosität doch mit der Zeit einen ganz anderen Charakter angenommen ... Die inniger werdende Verbindung des Ariertums mit dem Dravidentum, die veränderten kulturellen und sozialen Verhältnisse und vieles andere kommt, im Laufe der Zeit immer ausgeprägter, im religiösen Denken zum Ausdruck ... Faktisch wird die gesammte religiöse Vorstellungswelt ... eine völlig andere ...".

Although some authors were inclined to attribute an important part in these processes to the propaganda and activities of the Buddhists,[21] others emphasized the significance of other influences. Already at an

[18] M. Phillips, *The evolution of Hinduism*, Thesis Berne 1903 (Madras, 1903).
[19] P. Oltramare, *L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde* (Paris, 1906), I, p. 130.
[20] H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1943), p. 137 f.
[21] Cf. e.g. also P. Masson-Oursel, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne* (Paris, 1923), p. 228; the same, in P. Masson-Oursel, H. de Willman-Grabowska, Ph. Stern, *L'Inde antique et la civilisation indienne* (Paris 1933), p. 198 (the belief in karman and transmigration are borrowed from Buddhists and Jains).

early date the main source of the innumerable changes which have taken place in the culture of those Indians who continued to consider their Sanskrit texts as basic authorities in all things religious was often found in the impact of the many tribes of aborigines with their varied religions and modes of life, or at least to "a certain unmistakable popular element".[22] From this amalgamation "a new set of beliefs arose and a new social and religious organization took form".[23] The cultures of the substratum, of Dravidians and Austro-Asiatic peoples which must have existed not only simultaneously with, but also before, the Aryan culture represented by the Veda must, it was argued, have contributed many elements that were to become essential in the post-Vedic civilization which, under the guidance of the brahmans whose medium was Sanskrit, spread over the whole sub-continent.

Far be it from me to deny the rightfulness of this view or to reject the high degree of probability which in many individual cases must be attributed to an influence of the substratum on Hinduism as has been taken for granted by these authors. It is easy to agree that a large majority of those who nowadays speak Indo-Aryan languages are descended from non-Aryans. It is beyond doubt that their ancestors introduced material or spiritual culture traits into the more or less 'hinduized' communities to which they came to belong. It can hardly be denied that the religious ideas of those peoples which constituted the substratum have contributed a great deal towards the formation of the concepts underlying the later Hindu cult, theology and mythology. The apparent reproductions of sacral objects or scenes on the pre-historic objects may have contained the germs of various ideas and conceptions of the historical period. It may even be conceded that not rarely the Vedic traits of Hinduism were really superimposed on their pre-Vedic or non-Vedic core. The only thing I wish to do here is to indicate the fact that these 'substratum hypotheses' implicitly or explicitly involve doubt, or even negation, of Vedic-'Hinduist' continuity, that is to say, negation of that very unbroken tradition which has among the Hindus of all times always been beyond dispute.

[22] A. Barth, *The religions of India* (London, ⁴1908), p. 158. See e.g. also H. Goetz, *Epochen der indischen Kultur* (Leipzig 1929), p. 10 ff. (on mysticism and eroticism); M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949), § 39 (in connection with serpent cult, orgiastic rites, definite funeral rites etc.)
[23] J. N. Farquhar, *The crown of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1913), p. 211. W. Ruben's *Die Philosophie der Upanishaden* (Bern, 1947), p. 306 ff. attempt to distinguish between "Indo-European" and "non-Aryan" elements in the Upanishads will, I hope, be discussed in another publication.

There is of course room for the observation that this consciousness of continuity on the part of the Hindus themselves is not based on scientific research and insight, that the Upaniṣads which were incorrectly considered to be the Veda proper were anachronistically interpreted in the light of later beliefs and convictions, that in studying the ancient traditions teachers and religious leaders as a rule had not the faintest notion of historical causality, that commentaries and explanations were written and handed down without any historical or philological basis. This consciousness of continuity is on the contrary based on mere traditions and religious convictions and it is utterly improbable that a tradition-ridden community which has unshakable belief in pre-historic 'revealed' origin of its views, institutions and way of life would think of anything like an interruption of the tradition by which they feel themselves to be connected with that 'revelation'.[24] And it must be added that also from an objective point of view there are many arguments for the thesis that the Indian culture which is expressed and reflected by the uninterrupted literary production from the Ṛgveda onward is an unmistakable continuum[25] which while transforming and rejuvenating itself has always

[24] It may be recalled that to quote a definition given by a modern Indian scholar (J. Ch. Chatterji, *The Hindu realism* (Allahabad, 1912), p. 1 ff.) the propositions to be demonstrated by Hindu philosophy are already given (in the ancient lore), and the lines of reasoning in their support have been established by duly qualified authorities (i.e. by the great teachers and experts among the ancestors). That is to say, it is the task of the philosopher and student of religion and Weltanschauung to adduce arguments and furnish evidence of truths which are believed to be eternal and unquestionable by means of methods of reasoning that are traditional.

[25] In an interesting article, published in *The Journal of Asian Studies* (vol. 20, 1961, p. 427 ff.), Professor W. Norman Brown recently made some remarks on 'Cultural continuity' in India with a view to finding "the seed that has been the vitalizing essence of Indian civilization, its principle of consciousness" (p. 434), the "something which in each successive periodic reincarnation of the civilization has caused the new existence of the civilization" (p. 429). In so doing he draws attention to a wide range of fields in which continuity is obvious. Leaving the prehistoric 'parallels' on one side we may indeed mention, in this connection, the joint family system which seems to have existed in early Vedic times and is still the typical Hindu pattern; the vrata and dharma complex; the rôle of Sanskrit as the dominant vehicle of thought and culture etc. "It would be possible to compile a catalogue of many hundreds of cultural items appearing in ancient Indian civilization which are then reborn or at least reappear in always altering fashion in succeeding periods during centuries or even millennia". While subscribing in the main to his views I would however make the observation that many items of this catalogue are in urgent need of a closer examination and reconsideration. It would not rarely be an attractive theme to trace the history of these culture traits as exactly as possible, and to establish how far they have, notwithstanding a more or less obvious continuity, in the course of time been subject to transformation. See also the remarks made by B. Heimann, in *Annals Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.* 28, p. 31 (in connection with bhakti).

been subject to processes of adaptation and assimilation, that – to express myself otherwise – there is in many respects no occasion whatever to deny that Hinduist traits of culture have developed from Vedic beginnings: e.g. the respect for and sanctity of the cow,[26] the 'magic power' attributed to an appeal to truth which appearing already in the Ṛgveda underlies later conceptions of the power of truth, including Gandhi's theory about *satyāgraha-*;[27] the eager desire to be freed from the impending dangers of death and other worldly ills, a desire already before the early Upaniṣads known to Vedic man.[28] Even the much repeated statement that Hinduism, in its consciousness of cultural continuity and homogeneity regarded, contrary to historical fact, many non-Vedic elements, such as for instance the important complex of ideas and beliefs in connection with saṃsāra, karman, mokṣa and the principle of ahiṃsā, as Vedic does not settle the question: here also matters are much more complicated than the formula: "non-Vedic and therefore to be considered as borrowed from the substratum" would have us believe.[29]

It would indeed appear to me that many authors have been too much inclined to undervalue the complicateness of the problems with which they were confronted and to simplify intricate historical processes which moreover are never more than incompletely recognizable. I am strongly convinced that some of them allowed themselves to be carried away by the enthusiasm of linguists and cultural anthropologists who were, in their particular fields, able to bring to light interesting borrowings and adaptations from the substratum, as if it makes no difference to admit the probability of the adoption of many words for plants, animals, concrete objects, nominal or verbal concepts belonging to the popular or emotional sphere, etc., which obviously are non-Indo-European and non-

[26] M. A. Muusses, *Koecultus bij de Hindoes*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1920).

[27] E. W. Burlingame, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1917, p. 429 ff.; H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951), p. 17 ff. and my note in *Oriens*, 13-14, p. 409.

[28] See also F. Edgerton, "Dominant ideas in the formation of Indian culture", *J.A.O.S.*, 62, p. 151 ff.

[29] This is not to subscribe integrally to the complete scepticism and extreme criticism expressed by Edgerton, o.c., p. 155 who, after having suggested by examples that the 'dominant ideas' of classical Indian culture may all be reasonably derived by natural internal development out of 'ideas' of the earlier Vedic culture which is known to us, combats the view of those scholars who "have found these cultures so different that they thought it necessary to assume influence on classical Hinduism of other cultures than the Vedic": "Such a possibility can certainly not be denied; but I think it is not necessary, and equally it cannot be proved, because we know practically nothing about any such other culture in ancient India". – In connection with transmigration etc. also L. Dumont, "Le renoncement dans les religions de l'Inde", *Archives de sociologie des religions*, 4 (1959), p. 45 ff.

Indo-Iranian, into the vocabulary of the Sanskrit language on the one hand and the development of complicated religious systems and highly evolved philosophical theories on the other.

It is for instance completely correct to say that there is an enormous difference between the pūjā of the Hindu period and the Vedic yajña. The often extremely complicated Vedic 'sacrifice', the centre of the aniconic Aryan cult, involving the slaughter of animals and the participation of many (up to 16 or 17) specialized priests contrasts markedly with the basic rite of Hinduism, the so-called pūjā which generally consists of the worship of a god in the form of an icon, to which flowers, betel quids, water for washing the feet and other – as a rule vegetarian – presents are offered. The image in which the god is believed to have in some sense taken up his abode is honoured, fed, fanned and placed in a shrine or temple, erections and edifices which in the Vedic cult are conspicuous by their absence.[30] It would however be incorrect to suppress the fact that Vedic sacrifices survived, especially in brahmanical circles, for many centuries after the Vedic period and in particular cases to the present day and to deny that part of the other Vedic rites, especially the so-called saṃskāras, though adapted and transformed, are preserved and still celebrated.[31] That means that an important element of the Vedic culture continued to exist, even though in the course of time the circles where it was generally adopted were declining both in number and influence, and the increasing divergence between that ancient trait of religious culture and the Hindu environment made a right understanding and evaluation of the former even more difficult.

Those authors who enlarged on the great and undeniable differences between Vedism and Hinduism,[32] emphasizing that the former was polytheistic and the latter comprised some practically monotheistic religions, that the great ideal of Hinduism, mokṣa, like the great importance attached to yoga, the guru, temple rites etc., was foreign to the Veda in the proper sense of the term, and so on, these authors too often overlooked that there are on the other hand many points in which important culture

[30] For particulars see *Die Religionen Indiens*, by the present author, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1960), vol. II (Stuttgart, 1963).

[31] For a short bibliographical note: Renou, *Ét. véd. pāṇ.* VI, p. 19, n. 3. Now see also V. Raghavan, *The present position of Vedic recitation and Vedic śākhās* (Kumbakonam, 1962), and the observations made by S. K. Chatterji, in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The history and culture of the Indian people*, I (London 1951), p. 165 on the amalgamation of aryan and 'pre-aryan' elements in marriage-ceremonies.

[32] See e.g. M. Monier-Williams, *Hinduism* (London, 1890), p. 41 ff.; Hopkins, *Religions of India*, p. 177; 355; H. von Glasenapp, *Die Religionen Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1943), p. 142 ff.

traits of the latter great period do not appear to have considerably departed from what was characteristic of the earlier centuries. Too often they failed to draw attention to a great variety of elements which though chronologically Vedic and incorporated in the corpora of Vedic literature preluded phenomena or institutions which are generally regarded as typically 'Hinduist' and disregarded what notwithstanding considerable differences points to unmistakable continuity. Too hypercritical was sometimes also the attitude of those western students who while rejecting the anachronistic interpretations given by Indian scholars of their ancient literature overlooked that the latter in emphasizing the essential identity of ancient lore and institutions with those belonging to the later period had an eye for aspects and values other than those which attracted their own attention. Whereas they were first and foremost captivated by the changing scene of outward forms and interested in tracing 'historical developments', the attention of traditional Indian scholarship was not rarely arrested by those elements which, actually or in appearance, remained in the course of time unaltered, and by that which may be said to reflect a deeper meaning underlying the outward phenomena, or, by their 'mystical' or philosophical background. Whereas the contrast between the Vedic yajña and the Hindu pūjā has, in the West, been often commented upon, the similarity and continuity of the ideas underlying both rituals have not rarely been disregarded. Indian traditionalists on the other hand failed to recognize that continuity is no identity, that is to say that culture elements which are preserved are nevertheless subject to change and transformation.

One instance may be recalled in illustration: notwithstanding the important studies of Eggeling[33] on the one hand and of Hubert and Mauss[34] on the other modern scholars have long not only failed to understand the important 'psychological' and 'soteriological' aspects of the Vedic śrauta ritual, but also missed the community of aims, intentions and interests between the man who had, in accordance with the Vedic rite, the sacrificial fire-place built and the Hindu who bore the expenses of the erection of a temple[35] and, hence, overlooked, in a very important religious culture trait, resemblance, identity and, if I am not mistaken, continuity.[36] The very complicated construction of the great Vedic fire-place

[33] J. Eggeling, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 43 (Oxford, 1897), p. XV ff.

[34] H. Hubert et M. Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice*, Année Sociologique II (1897-98), p. 29 ff.

[35] For details see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 190 ff. and 326 ff.

[36] It has not in the last place been H. Oldenberg's (*Nachrichten Göttingen*, 1917, p. 1 ff.) criticism of Eggeling's theory which, notwithstanding the observations made by

is the expression of the periodical reintegration of the Primeval Being, the Creator-god Prajāpati, in order to allow him to continue his creative activity whenever he has exhausted himself in his emanations. The periodical ritual acts reflect and are identical with the ever-proceeding process of renewal of all cosmic life and matter. At the same time however the 'patron' or performer of the rite, i.e. the yajamāna or 'sacrificer', is identified with Prajāpati, and it is here that the psychological and soteriological aspects of the rite become manifest. That is to say, if the sacrificer follows, in his mind, the construction of the fire-place in the ritually correct way, he undergoes a modification of his status, a renewal of his personality, a spiritual re-birth. To the present day educated Indian traditionalists like to emphasize that this transformation of the personality, this self-realization is the essence and deeper significance of a ritual act, whether Vedic or post-Vedic,[37] the highest object of the performer's endeavour, whether he had a fire-place built or a temple erected. It is indeed also the aim of the devotee who patronizes the erection of a Hindu temple to identify himself mentally with this ritual event and in doing so to aspire to self-realization. As we now know – it is true, mainly through some comparatively recent studies on Hindu ritual and temple cult[38] –, those who see deeper than the ordinary man who presents his offerings to the image of the god, are convinced that the temple essentially is the expression of the same idea of reintegration. The construction of a temple – during which time-honoured and complicated ritual directions are to be observed – means the materialization of an aspect of the Highest Principle. In the structure, which is not essentially different from other so-called sacred figures,[39] the ritually prepared worshipper who pays the cost of the erection will experience an 'existential' contact with the Highest, with Brahman, which in this respect has taken over the rôle played by Prajāpati in the preceding period. It may be recalled that, for instance, the sacrificial material retained its time-honoured virtue even when, in later times, temples were built of stone or timber, for these materials

A. B. Keith (*Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, Harvard, 1914, p. CXXV, and *Religion and Phil. of Veda and Upan.*, 1925, p. 465), prevented a right understanding of the Agnicayana from gaining ground.

37 See e.g. A. K. Coomaraswamy, in his otherwise rather confused article "Ātmayajña", *Harvard Journal of As. Stud.* 6, p. 358.

38 See e.g. S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 vol. (Calcutta, 1946); T. Bhattacharyya, *A study on Vāstuvidyā* (Calcutta, 1948).

39 H. Zimmer, *Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization* (Washington, 1946); G. Tucci, *The theory and practice of the maṇḍala* (London, 1961); A. Brahmacari Govinda, "Some aspects of Stūpa symbolism", in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 4 (Calcutta, 1936), p. 25 ff.; S. Kramrisch, *The art of India* (London, 1954), p. 16.

continued to be called *iṣṭakā*, which was the Vedic name of the bricks of the great 'fire altar.'

The amazing successes of the archaeologists who during the past fourty years brought to light the great civilizations of Harappā and Mohenjodaro provided a new and lasting stimulus to substratum theories, especially when it became obvious that numerous vestiges of this culture are found in vast regions to the east of the Indus valley.[40] Many authors, among whom are numerous Indians, have not resisted the temptation to find the origins of a great variety of culture traits, which while being regarded as more or less typical of, or proper to, Hinduism, are at the same time, rightly or wrongly, held to be foreign to the Veda, in this great prehistoric civilization which being of many centuries' duration must have had various contacts and relationships with other civilized regions. If however the hypothesis[41] that this great civilization had come to an end some centuries before the arrival of the Indo-European Aryans is plausible – and it seems to be so –, theories based on the probability of an 'Indus substratum' in large parts of India which were, in historical times, to be occupied by the Aryans and their sanskritized and hinduized descendants – if genuine descendants they are – should however be founded and motivated with special care. Nevertheless, a considerable number of culture traits have, more or less rashly or apodeictically, been declared to originate in the great prehistoric civilization. While we are prepared to admit the plausibility, even of defective and incomplete arguments as long as the authors occupy themselves with elements of the material culture, means of subsistence, food and dress,[42] it becomes difficult not to object to some

40 See e.g. J. Marshall, E. Mackay etc., *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus civilization* (London, 1931); E. Mackay, *Early Indus civilization*, London² 1948; M. Wheeler, *The Cambridge history of India*, Suppl. vol. (Cambridge, 1953); M. Wheeler, *Early India and Pakistan* (London, 1959); S. Piggott, *Prehistoric India* (Harmondsworth, 1950); D. H. Gordon, *The prehistoric background of Indian culture* (Bombay, 1958); H. Mode, *Das frühe Indien* (Stuttgart, 1959).

41 J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *De protohistorische culturen van Voor-Indië en hun datering*, Inaug. address (Amsterdam, 1960).

42 Attention has inter alia also been drawn to two-wheeled chariots, boats, potter's technique, and to the unsewn cotton cloth worn in three pieces as *dhotī* or *sāṛī*, *dupaṭṭā* or shawl, and head-cloth in place of the woollen garments. "Bien des éléments culturels identifiés à Harappā et à Mohenjo-daro se retrouvent aujourd'hui dans l'Inde; ainsi, par exemple,... l'architecture, des ornaments nasaux, de la manière d'appliquer le kohl, du peigne d'ivoire etc." (M. Eliade, *Le Yoga*, Paris, 1954, p. 352); see also G. Childe, *New light on the most ancient East*, London, 1935, p. 210; 222 etc. Several noteworthy differences between the Vedic and the Hindu way of life may however as well be attributed to different climatic and economic conditions. It should however not be forgotten that in many respects – e.g. in the architecture – there does not seem to be any connection between the Indus cities and the culture of the subsequent thousand or

exaggerated views pronounced in connection with social life, the cult of various gods, ideas and beliefs concerning God, the creation of the world, karman and re-birth, yoga, the occurrence of definite genres of literature, philosophical doctrines and so on.

I for one cannot suppress an inclination to query several statements and passages in the at first sight attractive views of the connections between the Indus civilization and Hinduism which were, some years ago, expounded by Eliade:[43] "Entre la civilisation protohistorique de l'Indus et l'hindouïsme moderne il n'y a pas de solution de continuité (this is at least an imprudent generalization, which in regard to many culture traits cannot as yet be proven): la Grande Déesse et le Dieu générique ("Çiva"), le culte de la végétation (l'arbre pipal, si typique de l'hindouïsme (or of India?) et le phallisme[44]), l'homme-saint dans la position *āsana* ... on les rencontre, dans l'une comme dans l'autre, au premier plan". It may be conceded that – to join the author in quoting Stuart Piggott[45] – "the links between the Harappā religion (of which, it should be added, very little is known) and contemporary Hinduism are (as far as they are visible) of course of immense interest, providing as they do some explanation of those many features that cannot be derived from the Aryan traditions .... The old faiths die hard: it is even possible that early historic Hindu society owed more to Harappā than it did to the Sanskrit-speaking invaders". It is on the other hand, at least for the time being, impossible to prove the correctness of Éliade's conclusion that the great 'urban civilization' of the Indus epoch (for what reason is the 'rural civilization' upon which it at least economically rested, left out of consideration?) was reduced to "des formes rurales, larvaires, 'populaires'"; that "le nombre considérable d'éléments 'harappiens' attestés dans l'hindouïsme ne peut s'expliquer que par un contact, commencé assez tôt (?, this contact itself is highly questionable), entre les conquérants Indo-Européens et les représentants de la culture de l'Indus .... Cela expliquerait le fait suivant, en apparence étrange: le culte de la Grande Déesse et du Çiva, le phallisme et la dendrolâtrie, l'ascétisme et le yoga, etc. apparaissent pour la

two thousand years. – For the limitations of archaeological research see also F. Boas, *General anthropology* (Boston, 1938), p. 2: "Nothing pertaining to the intangible aspects of life can be rescued with the help of the spade. We may learn about ... implements and utensils used ... ; but no information is forthcoming to tell us about languages, customs, and beliefs. These are evanescent, and there would be no way of recovering them if they did not leave traces in the lives of later generations".

[43] Eliade, *o.c.*, p. 351 ff.

[44] See further on.

[45] S. Piggott, *o.c.*, p. 203.

première fois dans l'Inde comme l'expression religieuse d'une haute civilisation urbaine, celle de l'Indus, alors que, pourtant, la plupart de ces éléments religieux sont, dans l'Inde médiévale et moderne, caractéristiques des cultures 'populaires'". This seems to be an inadmissible attribution of an absolute validity to the very limited number of the remains of that past civilization. Too often historians have fallen into the error of identifying the very few surviving traces of an event or of an epoch – traces whose existence is often due to the merest chance – with the historical reality itself. There are too many gaps in our knowledge to endorse the opinion pronounced by Sir John Marshall[46] that the Indus civilization is so specifically Indian, that it is hardly distinguishable from Hinduism.

How are we to know for certain who were, in the Indus period, the worshippers of that 'Śiva' and of the "Great Mother" – if divinities they were –, what part of the entire population had put its stamp upon their cult, what was, in the religious sphere, going on in those 'classes of society' of which no trace has been left? And does it not go too far to infer, with Eliade,[47] from the mere possibility that australoid aborigines had, in the Indus civilization, mingled with "des maîtres, les auteurs de la civilisation urbaine", that here lies the only explication for the remarkable fact that after the Vedic period the brahmans rose to become the leading class: "mais on doit présumer aussi ... l'apport spécifique et presque exclusif des 'maîtres' (apport relatif surtout à leurs conceptions théocratiques): on ne pourrait pas expliquer autrement l'importance considérable que prennent les brahmanes après l'époque védique". Anyone who has read the Ṛgveda knows that this body of texts – which is in substance generally considered an 'Aryan' document – already attests the attribution of extraordinary knowledge (e.g. 1, 164, 45; 8, 58, 1; 10, 85, 3; 16; 34) or of a high position (1, 108, 7; 4, 50, 7-9): in 10, 90, 12 the brahmans are clearly superior to nobility. Whatever the hereditary qualities of character which may have predisposed the Hindus to accept the authority and supremacy of the brahmans – an ethno-psychologic problem of outstanding importance, but for the time being beyond our humble powers –, there exists a profusion of data to show that there have been, within the Aryan fold, various factors which have largely contributed to their ascendency.

Gordon[48] is perfectly right in stating that "our precise knowledge of the

[46] J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus civilization*, 3 vol. (London, 1931), I, p. VII.

[47] Eliade, *o.c.*, p. 354.

[48] Gordon, *o.c.*, p. 68.

Harappan religion is very slight and much of what we consider as constituting their beliefs is arrived at by inference from the testimony of scenes depicted on the seals". But even he seems to be too sure of his ground, when he makes an attempt to collect those data which show cult acts or seem to represent divinities as actually being worshipped, because, he rightly holds, "this is the best evidence we shall get (from the seals)". Was every picture which may be interpreted as an act of worship really meant to be one? If a man is pictured as kneeling before a tree, was he really worshipping that tree and offering to it? And if so, what kind of worship is meant?: was the tree revered as such, or as the dwelling of a god?, or was a 'god' the object of the cult, and then – what type of god? Are we absolutely sure that seals showing a man(?) who spears a buffalo or a buffalo which tosses men had any religious significance, and in particular, that they attest the occurrence of bull or buffalo sacrifice? Would it not in at least part of these cases be safer to admit that exactly what was the meaning and purposes of these figures, can only be conjectured?

The 'Indus' people being not rarely considered to have been Dravidian or related to the Dravidians[49] many cultural phenomena which are not, or are believed to be not, Indo-European in origin, are moreover – not rarely inconsiderately, in my opinion – regarded as deriving from a great and ancient Dravidian civilization. "The assumption that the 'Indus people' spoke 'a primitive Dravidian speech' cannot, it is true, be proven, but there is a balance of probability that they did, and in any case it accords best with the subsequent trend of Indian history and civilization": basing their inferences on this supposition which they consider an admissible working hypothesis, some scholars[50] maintain the opinion that the Aryans who "after meeting the civilized Dravidians enriched their culture considerably"[51] borrowed from them, *inter alia*, the entire conception of worship and offerings before images – and sometimes[52] it is also intimated that interest in the Vedic rites gradually declined because of the penetration of pūjā based on some local cult. These authors also believe that the cult of female deities or even the conception of a mother-goddess and a father god[53] are likewise exclusively Dravidian in origin, like the liṅga cult and other non-Aryan ritual; the worship of zoomorphic deities – "Garuḍa as the vehicle bird of Viṣṇu is partly a divine eagle of the Aryans and partly of Dravidian or Mediterranean origin"[54] – and other elements of Hinduism. It is clear that as far as Indian scholars are concerned certain emotional motives may be apt to influence a scientific argumentation. When the thesis is upheld that the Indian way of thinking is un-Aryan, that the bases of Indian pre-Aryan life and culture, though modified by the language and the ideology of the Aryans, still remain[55] – and it is not my contention that this thesis is altogether rejectable – there may be some reasons for satisfaction because the Aryans were in any case, first as invaders, then as propagators of their culture, conquerors, whereas the Dravidians, who are of uncertain and disputed origin may, like other components of the 'substratum', to a certain extent be considered autochthonous. It is also clear that in these discussions a comparison with the great importance of the Cretic-Mycenaean culture for the Greek Indo-Europeans has not been omitted: "Il n'y a pas imprudence à supposer dès maintenant que les Aryens doivent autant à la culture de l'Indus que les Hellènes au monde créto-mycénien".[56] Just as "a good deal of the heroic legends of Greece ... was of pre-Hellenic, i.e. pre-Indo-European, Aegean or Mediterranean origin, and these were simply Hellenized by being rendered into the Indo-European language of the Greeks ..., myths and legends of gods and heroes current among the Austrics and Dravidians, long antedating the period of Aryan advent in India, appear to have survived the Aryan impact and to have been rendered into the Aryan language in late and garbled, or 'improved', versions, accommodating themselves to the Aryan god- and hero-worlds; and it is these myths and legends of gods, kings, and sages which we largely find in the Purāṇas".[57]

[49] For the intricate and as yet unsolved problem of the relation of the Dravidians, their language and their culture to other ancient peoples, languages and civilizations see e.g. H. Heras, in *The Review*, vol. 2 (Bombay, 1936), p. 1 ff.; M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, *Tamil India* (Madras, 1945); Chr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, in *Man in India*, 25 (1945); H. Frankfort, in *Annual Bibl. of Ind. Archaeology*, VII (Leiden, 1934); H. Mode, *Indische Frühkulturen und ihre Beziehungen zum Westen* (Basel, 1944).

[50] See e.g. S. K. Chatterji, *The Indian synthesis* (Poona, 1953); the same, in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The history and culture of the Indian people*, I: *The Vedic age* (London, 1951), p. 141 ff.; G. E. Sen, *Cultural unity of India* (Delhi, 1954); I. Shekhar, *Sanskrit drama*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1960), ch. II.

[51] Shekhar, *o.c.*, p. 23.

[52] Shekhar, *o.c.*, p. 24.

[53] "The Aryans knew of a Sky Father and of an Earth Mother, but these divinities were vague nature deities... But the Dravidians had a conception of the forces of life and of the Universe in the forms of a Great Mother Goddess and her male counterpart a Father God, and this conception, which was more profound, more mystic, more all-embracing and more deeply philosophical as well as more poetic ... the Dravidians appear to have brought to India from their original homeland (?, J. G.) in the islands of the Aegean and the tracts of mainland along the Aegean Sea..." (Chatterji, *Vedic age*, p. 158).

[54] Chatterji, *Vedic age*, p. 163.

[55] Chatterji, *Vedic age*, p. 164 f.

[56] E. Benveniste, *Vṛtra et Vrθagna* (Paris, 1934), p. 199.

[57] Chatterji, *Vedic age*, p. 165.

As already intimated it would appear to me that in discussing the highly important problems arising from the co-existence of several peoples and cultures in ancient India and from the discovery of the great pre-historic civilization or civilizations, scholars have not always used all care desirable.[58] Archaeologists, linguists and the students of the history of religions have not infrequently offended against sound methods and have too often been tempted to venture inconsiderate hypotheses or ill-founded theories, ascribing an all-important rôle or predominant influence to the substratum whilst omitting to test their views in the light of the Aryan, or Vedic tradition and to check them carefully by means of all sources and and factual evidence which could be at their service. It must be emphasized that the problems with which we are confronted are generally speaking much more complicated than certain builders of theories would have us believe; that a thorough examination of the Sanskrit literature brings to light a wealth of data to show that, on the one hand, non-Aryan elements cannot always be clearly distinguished from what may, on good grounds, be considered to have belonged to the Aryan tradition, and, on the other hand, certain cultural changes which at first sight may appear to have been due to the impact of foreign elements, may on second thoughts, be rather ascribed to an internal development within the Aryan community. In other cases such a development may have paved the way for the reception of non-Aryan ideas or customs. It should, moreover, be born in mind that the entire 'transition' of Vedism to Hinduism must not only have been a highly complicated historical process of many aspects, but also have consisted of a chronologically almost undefinable succession of innumerable individual cases relating to the same or similar cultural traits and a considerable number of changes, influences, borrowings, developments which took place synchronously, and that in many cases these minor processes must have been more or less closely connected with each other.

[58] I for one do not see what is the use of a combination of mere possibilities as is for instance found in W. Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit* (Bonn, 1948), p. 83, who in an attempt to show that a three-headed cult image was introduced from India into the western countries is inclined to consider the Brahuis in Sindh and Balucistan who speak a Dravidian idiom and "wahrscheinlich den letzten Rest der Drāvida-Stämme bilden, die vor den Ariern in Indien einwanderten" (this is a vexed question) to be a residue of those peoples, "die der Symbolik einer dreiköpfigen Göttergestalt anhingen". These Brahuis, though now Muslims, "waren einst vielleicht auch Anhänger Shiva's" – "darauf weisen nicht nur gewisse archäologische Zeugnisse für shivaitische Anschauungen in den prähistorischen Städten des Industales hin" (to which we will have to revert), "sondern auch der shivaitische Glaube in dem unfernen (!) gebirgigen Kashmir" (the existence of which however does not necessarily presuppose an ancient, prehistoric 'śivaite' tradition).

It was moreover at an early date observed[59] that the 'aborigines' – whose ancestors may have played a certain rôle in the formation of Hinduism – generally speaking differ in many points from the 'Hindus', inasmuch as the latter are divided into castes, whereas the former as a rule have no such distinctions; Hindu widows are often not allowed to re-marry, whereas the widows of the other divisions of the population are as a rule not forbidden to do so; the Hindus venerate the cow, a large majority of them abstaining from eating beef, whereas the others feed alike on all flesh; the Hindus often abstain from the use of fermented liquors, the others not rarely drink to excess, "conceiving no ceremony, civil or religious, complete without"; a similar distinction obtains with regard to the spilling of blood; the 'aborigines', in contradistinction to the Hindus of higher social status, partake of food prepared by anyone; the Hindus "venerate brahmans" inviting them to be their priests, the others generally employing priests of their own; the former burn their dead, the others burying them; the Hindu civil institutions are as a rule municipal, the aboriginal institutions are patriarchal; the former having courts of justice composed of equals, the others "having theirs composed of heads of tribes or of families, and chosen for life".

It is not surprising that from archaeological quarters many similarities between the remains of the 'Indus civilization' on the one hand and those of the proto-historic and subsequent epochs on the other were not only detected, but also interpreted as arguments in favour of the hypothesis that there have been unmistakable cultural links between 'Mohenjo-daro and Harappā' or other prehistoric sites and the historical period. "Viele der Kunstformen (sind) älter als die spezifische Religion, der sie nunmehr angehören. Die Form des Stupa, eines halbkugeligen, ... Monumentalbaus ohne bauliche Innengestaltung, eines plastischen Baukörpers gleichsam, geht vermutlich auf den weit älteren Grabhügel zurück".[60] "Es finden sich auch genügend Einzelformen in der figürlichen Gestaltung der Bildwerke, in den Tierdarstellungen, der Bevorzugung bestimmter Haltungen der menschlichen Figuren, aber auch in einzelnen Bildtypen, die auf eine Kontinuität zu der älteren indischen Kunst hinweisen. Obwohl hier zahlreiche Zwischenformen anzunehmen sind, etwa eine verlorengegangene Holzschnitzerei, für die technische Einzelheiten sprechen, oder Skulpturen in Ton, von denen einige bekanntgeworden sind, ist der Zusammenhang mit der frühindischen Kunst von Harappa unver

[59] J. Briggs, "Two lectures on the Aboriginal race of India, as distinguished from the Sanskritic or Hindu race", *J.R.A.S.* 1852, p. 275 ff., esp. p. 282 f.
[60] H. Mode, *Das frühe Indien* (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 124.

kennbar".[61] Stella Kramrisch was indeed the advocate of the theory that the beautiful Maurya sculpture presupposes continuity in the artistic traditions since the 'Harappā' period rather than foreign examples.[62]

As is well known the Buddha is, in early Buddhist art, never depicted; his presence constituting, it is true, the centre of every scene, he is invisible and is represented only 'symbolically'. The origin of the Buddha image which came into being about 200 B.C. has therefore been rightly called one of the puzzles of Indian archaeology, also because beside the Hellenistic Buddha type of Gandhāra, the vigorous school which flourished at Mathurā produced a Buddha type of an obviously indigenous type. In this connection attention has been drawn[63] to a striking similarity in scene and structure between pieces of sculpture from ancient Buddhist monuments and 'seals' found at Mohenjo-daro, both representing a cult object between human or animal adorants. Whereas in the ancient Buddhist sculptures the place of honour is either vacant or is occupied by a symbol, the Indus valley examples exhibit a human figure. There is therefore room for the supposition that the Indus valley pictures represent an early link of the same chain to which belong not only the above proto-historic reliefs, which in themselves are not distinctly Buddhist, and such representations as the well-known Gaja-Lakṣmī (the goddess Lakṣmī is situated between elephants), but also those Buddhist scenes in which the Blessed One is visually expressed as a preceptor flanked by listeners or adorers.

There is further the surprising similarity between a large number of the figures represented on the 'seals' of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā and the marks or symbols punched upon the proto-historic coins which must have been current in the times of Alexander the Great. Even if two or three of the instances collected by Dr. Fabri[64] would fail to carry conviction, the sum total of his comparisons is indeed impressive.[65] Not only do the elephant, the tiger, the humped Indian bull occur on both classes of archaeological objects, they exhibit similarities in such small details that one must necessarily preclude the possibility that these are due to mere chance or coincidence. As, moreover, a number of copper tablets have been found in 'Indus' sites which bear signs similar to those of the seals, the most plausible inference seems to be that the punch-marked coins of Indian proto-historic times had already a long history before they came to light. Like many other signs and 'symbols' some of the marks punched on the ancient coins died hard, persisting even on Moslim coins down to the XVIIIth century;[66] so one must agree with Dr. Fabri that they, like many Mesopotamian signs, could after their appearance in the Indus civilization have remained practically unchanged for over 2000 years. This hypothesis is corroborated by the remarkable fact that about 95% of the coins found in the great hoard which was unearthed at Taxila (Māgadha type, dated about 317 B.C.) falls into the same range of variation in weight as do the so-called D class stone weights found in Mohenjo-daro.[67]

The conclusion that the objects and figures depicted on these coins had the same symbolical value as they possessed already in the 'Indus times', i.e. two thousand years earlier, would however be utterly imprudent and inconsiderate. Symbols of this variety do not provide us with any unambiguous information on the beliefs, convictions and Weltanschauung of those who drew or engraved them on a 'seal' or utensil. A wheel may express other ideas than the sun and if it stands for the sun it does not reveal why or in what particular way that celestial body was an object of worship or veneration in a given community. Did moreover the crescent, which is found on coins of the 'Taxila' period, then already symbolize Islam? Were value and function of the Nazi *Hakenkreuz* and those of its prototype, the old swastika, identical?[68] Did not in the eyes of the Christian believer the new value added to the pre-Christian meanings of old symbols, eclipse all its former functions? Are there no Indian examples of emblems which, in their association with others, would belong to a particular cult, but, when depicted singly, are connected with another: thus the conch-shell which in connection with the wheel and other emblems is

61 Mode, *o.c.*, p. 124 f.; cf. also p. 132 on "Einzelheiten der Tracht, etwa den breiten Hüftgürtel, den üppigen Hals- und Armschmuck, und vor allem den schwerlastenden Kopfputz...".

62 See e.g. S. Kramrisch, *Indian sculpture* (London [Oxford], 1933), p. 11; 143.

63 By T. G. Aravamuthan in a long series of articles – which have failed to convince me in every respect – published in *New Indian Antiquary*, 4 (1941-42), p. 253; 294; 317; 370.

64 C. L. Fabri, "The punch-marked coins: a survival of the Indus civilization", *J.R.A.S.*, 1935, p. 307. Cf. also K. P. Jahaswal, in *J.R.A.S.*, 1935, p. 720 and P. Naster, "Des sceaux de Mohenjo-Daro aux monnaies indo-grecques", *Le Muséon*, 57 (Louvain 1944), p. 157 ff.

65 Naster, *o.c.*, p. 161 rightly says that "(la) force de la tradition dans l'Orient est bien familière aux orientalistes. Dans les régions envisagées, elle se marque par l'aspect presque moderne du dé à jouer de Mohenjo-daro ...; par le char, retrouvé sous la forme d'un jouet, identique à celui qui circule encore sur les routes du Sind...".

66 R. Burn, quoted by Fabri, *o.c.*, p. 317, n. 2.

67 D. Dh. Kosambi, *Introduction to the study of Indian history* (Bombay, 1956), p. 165.

68 "Die sumerisch-babylonische Gewittergottheit, der furchtbare Adler mit dem Löwenhaupt, wurde im Laufe der Zeit bei den Hettitern zum Doppeladler; diese vererbten ihn ihrerseits den türkischen Seldschuken; die Kreuzfahrer brachten den Doppeladler nach Europa, wo er 1345 in das deutsche Kaiserwaffen aufgenommen wurde" (K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur*, Zürich, 1946, p. 62).

undoubtedly Viṣṇuite in character, may when appearing alone also denote Kubera's shell-treasure. Besides, many cases are known in which there is considerable wavering in regard to the meaning of a symbol. "It is conceivable that an individual may feel a strong emotional value of a design, but in a case of variable associations the symbol has no binding emotional value for the whole tribe. It will be the less relevant the more variable the individual and tribal associations".[69] Add to this that the same figure or pattern may be representative or symbolic in one place and quite without meaning in another,[70] and it will be clear that as long as the values and functions of these archaeological data are not explained by texts or other reliable sources of knowledge, as long as our inferences are not corroborated by indisputable evidence and solid arguments, any hypothesis with regard to an 'Indus' original of an Indian cultural trait of the historical period which is based on similarity between 'mute witnesses' and any theory which is mainly founded on the identification of the visual representations left by the Indus civilization and ideas belonging to the historical period is deficient and inadequate.

Nobody can therefore be sure that a figure like the Greek letter psī or like a tuning-fork was then already Śiva's trident or even a similar attribute of another god. Nobody can know for certain that the statuette representing a male dancer depicted as balancing on the right foot with the left foot raised in front represents Śiva, the Naṭarāja as is suggested by Pusalker.[71] However striking the resemblance of definite seated figures on 'Indus' seals – "which even in these small scale representations are replete with the brooding, minatory power of the great god of historic India"[72] – to Śiva, their identification[73] remains a conjecture. However often approved and repeated, Sir John Marshall's[74] identification of the famous "three-faced deity wearing a horned head-dress, seated cross-legged on a throne and surrounded by elephant, tiger, buffalo and other animals" with Śiva,[75] the three-faced one, the master of animals (Paśupati) and the lord of Yogins (Yogīśvara), is no more than a – wholly legitimate, no doubt useful and possibly felicitous – guess. Nevertheless various conclusions have been drawn from this find. As is often the case

[69] F. Boas, *Primitive art* (New York, 1955), p. 102.
[70] Ruth Bunzel, in *General anthropology*, edited by F. Boas (Boston, 1938), p. 577.
[71] A. D. Pusalker, in *The Vedic age* (see above), p. 181.
[72] M. Wheeler, *The Indus civilization* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 83.
[73] See e.g. Shekhar, *o.c.*, p. 21.
[74] Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus civilization*, p. 54 ff.
[75] For the three-faced Śiva see e.g. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 317, s.v. Maheśa. [See note 130].

the guess of a predecessor becomes a certainty for a later author who lays his work under contribution: "Die religiöse Bestimmtheit der Siegelbilder wird deutlich an einem Siegel, das ein dreiköpfiges Tier darstellt, und besonders in jener Wiedergabe einer dreiköpfigen Gottheit ..., eine Vorwegnahme des Shiva Pashupati, des Herrn der Tiere".[76] According to Kirfel[77] we may learn from this "anscheinend dreiköpfige Gottheit, die mit groszer Wahrscheinlichkeit auf Shiva, oder wie er damals auch immer genannt worden sein mag, gedeutet werden darf", that this god then already was "Lord of the Animals"; that the finds of liṅgas – to which we will have to revert presently – point in the same direction, showing that the liṅga-cult was in the Indus period associated with 'Śivaismus'; that "der eigentliche Hinduismus das grosze religiös-kulturelle Rahmengebilde darstellt, in das sich der sogenannte Brahmanismus später einfügte" – a statement, which though in a modified form true, can hardly be inferred from a single archaeological datum; that Sir John was right in considering the three-headed representation of the Indus deity more likely to express its all-seeing nature than the idea of a divine triad.[78] The German scholar is, with regard to the point mentioned last, inclined to regard the three – not four or five – faces of the god as an indicium of "eine besondere Eigenart oder Anlage der Schöpfer oder Träger dieser Vorstellung" who, he argues, were characterized by "ein ganz verschiedenes Lebensgefühl, also eine durch eine ganz andere psychische Anlage bedingte Einstellung der Umwelt gegenüber", a view which has rightly been combatted by Pettazzoni.[79] It may however be observed[80] that the three faces shown on the figure, the middle one fronting the spectator, may – like the well-known Hindu Brahmā images – hide a fourth head and, further, that a similar figure, without the animals and without the 'throne' or stool appears on other seals from Mohenjo-daro, sometimes with three faces, it is true, but also with but one.[81] Moreover, the Mohenjo-daro seals also display many-headed beasts, the three heads being different especially their horns.[82] This iconographic feature may therefore have 'symbolized' a more general idea or have been foreign to the motives which led the later Hindu sculp-

[76] H. Rau, *Die Kunst Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1958), p. 10.
[77] W. Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit*, p. 28 f.
[78] Marshall, *o.c.*, p. 53; cf. p. 67, n. 1.
[79] R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956), p. 125.
[80] And it has been observed e.g. by my colleague F. D. K. Bosch (orally), by Piggott, *o.c.*, p. 202 and by Marshall himself, *o.c.*, I, p. 53, with n. 1. See also F. O. Schrader, in *Zs. d. deutschen morgenl. Ges. N. F.* 13 (1934), p. 185.
[81] See e.g. E. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-Daro* (Delhi, 1938), I, p. 335; II, plate LXXXVII, p. 235 etc.
[82] Mackay, *Further Excavations*, I, p. 359; II, plate XCII, 12 b; XCVI, 494.

tors to give Śiva, in accordance with his manifestations, three faces. I would therefore for the time being object to statements such as: "two more seals of Śiva have been found in the course of further excavations" or "it thus appears that Śiva was one of the principal deities of the people along with the Mother Goddess".[83] It would be more prudent to speak of a god or a figure which in some respects reminds us of the historical Śiva.

I must also confess that I am not impressed by the line of reasoning followed by Pettazzoni[84] who, while stating that there is a wide gap between the early historic finds, i.e. that Indo-Scythian coins of the 2nd cent. A.D. bearing a figure which is assuredly Śiva, and their distant predecessors of pre-Aryan days, viz. the Indus seals showing the above three-headed figure, does not hesitate to add that "this makes the continuity of tradition, in thought and in art, all the more remarkable". In my opinion it is imprudent to draw conclusions bearing upon "thought" from more or less isolated iconographic data; and even from the 'artistic' point of view the same motifs, themes or features may, as already observed, stand for different ideas or owe their existence to a great variety of motives and considerations. I have also my doubts about the validity of Pettazzoni's argument that "an indication, although a slight one, of this continuity, a thin but valuable link joining these widely separated extremes, is perhaps to be found in the Vedas themselves"; that is to say in the adjective *tryanīka-* "three-faced" which ṚV. 3, 56, 3 is applied to the bull Viśvarūpa. This 'animal' which ṚV. 3, 38, 4 is called the bull Asura, is in the same stanza (3, 56, 3) also said to have three bellies and three udders; the number three may be explained in connection with the three earths mentioned in stanza 2: "triplication entraînant le caractère 'caché' d'un des éléments",[85] the text adding that "two are hidden, one is visible". In spite of the difficulties presented by these stanzas,[86] the three faces of this primeval bull fit in organically with the other elements of the context – in st. 5-8 the poet even indulges in the enumeration of other triads – and should in any case be considered in connection with the animal's three udders etc. Here we are not confronted with a three-headed deity, but with a primeval procreative animal which, though being one, has for the sake of a tripartite world trebled his essential organs.[87]

[83] Pusalker, *o.c.*, p. 187.
[84] Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 124 f.
[85] L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV (Paris, 1958), p. 54.
[86] See especially H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1959), p. 587 ff.
[87] It may be conceded that "the use of many heads" may have helped to express the universal vision of the being to which these are attributed.

It may be true that the Indus valley people had developed a taste for dancing and encouraged this art as a popular pastime: there is, among the finds, for instance a remarkable figurine of a dancing girl[88]. It remains however completely uncertain whether this "dancing posture" has anything to do with a cult that may be regarded as having developed into Śivaism. Marshall,[89] who was strongly inclined to consider a statuette of a male 'dancer' as representing youthful Śiva Naṭarāja, felt however compelled to add that the abnormal thickness of the neck of the figure does not only admit of the inference that the 'dancer' was three-headed or at any rate three-faced, but also of the possibility that the head was that of an animal.

The serious drawback of all purely archaeological argumentations, the very incapacity of the 'symbols' to reveal their true content and to explain the beliefs of those who created and used them, comes to light when discussion is opened on such questions as the religious functions of the material objects.[90]

There is for instance not much use in supposing[91] that certain small cones made of lapis-lazuli etc., which are brought to light by the Indus excavations are liṅgas comparable to the objects now carried by the Liṅgāyats,[92] if it is just as possible that they were used in board-games. However tempting, the identification of these conical and cylindrical stones – which are regarded as suggestive of the productive and fertilizing powers of nature – with the Hindu liṅga[93] is no more than a guess in spite of the well-known occurrence of *śiśnádevās* "phallus worshippers"[94] in the Ṛgveda.[95] This idea is certainly not supported by the linguistic hypothesis that the word *liṅga-* "phallus" is Austro-asiatic in origin[96], because the Austro-asiatic component of the substratum is very unlikely to have produced the Indus culture.[97] Nor can we infer from an 'amulet' showing

[88] M. Wheeler, *The Indus civilization*, p. 67.
[89] Marshall, *o.c.*, I, p. 46.
[90] Cf. also M. Wheeler, *The Cambridge history of India*, Suppl. vol., p. 82 ff.
[91] E. Mackay, *Early Indus civilizations* (London, 1948), p. 62.
[92] See e.g. S. M. Hunashal, *The Lingayat movement* (Dharwar, 1947); and especially, S. C. Nandimath, *A handbook of Vīraśaivism* (Dharwar, 1942), p. 112 ff.; Kumaraswami, in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, 1956), p. 101.
[93] See e.g. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization* I, p. 58 ff.; K. N. Dikshit, *Prehistoric civilization of the Indus valley* (Madras, 1939) p. 34 f.; A. D. Pusalker, in *Sarūpa-Bhāratī* (Dr. L. Sarup Memorial Volume) (Hoshiarpur, 1954), p. 49.
[94] Now see Pusalker, in *Sarūpa-Bhāratī*, *l.c.*
[95] ṚV. 7, 21, 5; 10, 99, 3.
[96] J. Przyluski, in *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 24, p. 118 ff.
[97] See also A. K. Sur, "Beginnings of liṅga cult in India", in *Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Inst.* 13, 2 (Poona, 1932), p. 149 ff. who seems to be right in concluding that phal-

either one tree that has been torn asunder or two trees which are being planted, that the time-honoured ceremony of planting sacred trees was known already to the 'Indus valley people'.[98] How are we to know for certain that there exists a historical connection between a definite row of seven female figures and the "primitive Indian cult regarded as indigenous" of the smallpox goddess Śītalā[99] and her six sisters?[100] I for one must confess that I am not convinced by Mode's[101] remark that "die rituellen Waschungen, so wesentlich in der vedischen und der späteren hinduistischen Religion, sich kaum trennen lassen von jener auffälligen Betonung der Hygiene, die sich in den Badeanlagen (of the 'Indus' towns), den privaten und öffentlichen Bädern, seien diese kultisch oder profan gemeint, äuszert, aber auch in den Abzugskanalen, den bis in moderne Zeit unerreichten Latrinen ..."

The numerous pottery figurines from the great prehistoric civilization have not without reason been considered representations of female deities of the same class as the Hindu guardians of the house and village; whether they are[102] rightly called images of the Mother Goddess, is, however, problematical: this term is also in other fields not rarely an ill-considered label.[103] Nor can we substantiate the supposition that then already "the poorer and more illiterate people" found "a deity like the Mother Goddess easier to understand and worship than any other". "Schon eine oberflächliche Prüfung lehrt, dasz sie (die weiblichen Gottheiten des Hinduismus) allesamt wahrscheinlich nur Nachbildungen bzw. Wiederholungen der einen groszen Muttergottheit darstellen, die, wie die Ausgrabungen im Industal lehren, bereits im vorarischen Indien verehrt wurde und in der Shakti Shiva's noch ihren unverblaszten naturhaften Charakter bewahrt hat". With these words Kirfel[104] gave a perfect recapitulation of the views pronounced, in the course of the last decades, by archaeologists and students of the history of Indian religion. The question may however arise whether a less superficial examination of the data available would not detract from the probability of the author's conclusion. Now, it may

lus worship in India is of non-Aryan origin, that the liṅga cult fused with Śivaism in the 'epic period' and that the earliest archaeological specimens date from about the Christian era.

98 Cf. Mackay, *o.c.*, p. 60 f. For the Indus 'phalli' see also J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 166 ff.

99 For Śītalā see Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 364.

100 Mackay, *o.c.*, p. 58.

101 Mode, *o.c.*, p. 134 f.

102 See e.g. Mackay, *o.c.*, p. 54.

103 *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 7.

104 W. Kirfel, *Die dreiköpfige Gottheit*, p. 16.

be conceded that these standing and semi-nude figurines of terra-cotta, faience, etc. in all probability had a sacred character and represented, as Marshall[105] says, "a goddess with attributes (and here I would add: "as far as can be seen") very similar to those of the great Mother-goddess"[106] and we may even go so far as to join Professor James[107] in the assumption that these images "may have been kept in the dwellings and streets of Mohenjo-daro and Harappā as a tutelary divinity, very much as the Mother-goddess is still the guardian of the house and village in India presiding over childbirth and daily needs". But I do not see how the contention can be substantiated, first that these figures always and everywhere represented the same female deity, the same Mother goddess, and in the second place, that this hypothetically homogeneous Indus deity was identical with Śiva's spouse and śakti, that is to say, that then already this female deity had entered into more or less fixed and constant mythological and philosophical relations with a more or less defined male deity who may be regarded as the proto-Śiva.[108] "In the Harappā culture", James[109] observes, "male gods, frequently horned, recur, but they do not appear to have been prevalent and seldom are brought into conjunction with goddesses in the iconography", and it may be added that it is far from certain that all male figures represent deities.[110] Not all female deities are moreover mother goddesses in the strict sense of the term, and it is completely uncertain whether all images found may be considered indicative of the recognition and veneration of maternity as a divine principle: some so-called mother goddesses are in reality representatives of the creative and nourishing powers of the earth, others are "mothers of the gods" or "mothers of life", others again parochial goddesses, presiding over wind or water, fire or forest.[111] Some of the figurines are smoke-stained: the conclusion that this is caused by oil, or perhaps incense, which was burnt before them in order that the goddess might hearken favourably to a petition[112] is for the time being little more than a guess.

There is a certain a priori probability that the small statues of animals

105 Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilizations*, I, p. 339.

106 It is true that 'primitivity' and 'prehistory' have points of contact so that phenomena occurring in archaic or so-called primitive cultures may by way of analogy help us to form an idea of the meaning and purposes of prehistoric finds. See e.g. G. van der Leeuw, in C. J. Bleeker, *De godsdiensten der wereld* (Amsterdam,[3] 1955), p. 403 ff.

107 E. O. James, *The cult of the mother-goddess* (London, 1959), p. 34.

108 See e.g. Pusalker, in *The Vedic age*, p. 187.

109 James, *l.c.*

110 Marshall, *o.c.*, III, pl. XCIV, 11; M.S.

111 Thus, in Latvia most divine powers were conceived as goddesses of this type.

112 Mackay, in *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 82, p. 218.

represent divine powers,[113] but we are unable to decide whether this power was ascribed to the animals or to a god connected with them. This uncertainty hampers, or should hampeı, our attempts to identify or to connect these figures with divinities of the Hindu period. I for one am somewhat sceptical with regard to the conclusion drawn[114] from a seal-amulet showing a goddess with the body, hind-legs, and tail of a tiger, that in those early times the tiger-goddess (i.e. of course the Hindu Durgā riding on the tiger) "was looked upon as the consort of the deity already identified as a prehistoric form of Shiva". There is on the other hand some reason to believe in the 'identity' of a tree with a high platform round its base which is associated with a cult object and the mud-platforms often seen round the sacred trees of present-day India.[115] The use of amulets and the practice of depositing votive-figures may provide us with another link with the historical period; the wide distribution of these containers of power and religious artifacts in the Old World prevents us, on the other hand, from attaching much importance to this fact.[116]

An example of precipitance and bad method was – in the first flush of enthusiasm after the discovery of the Indus civilization, it is true – set by the archaeologist Ramaprasad Chanda.[117] After discussing a number of texts mentioning, enjoining or condemning the well-known custom called *anumaraṇa-*, i.e. the voluntary death of a widow by mounting the pyre of her deceased husband,[118] he arrived at the conclusion that the brahmanic hostility to anumaraṇa consistently maintained up to the time ✓

[113] Cf. Mackay, *o.c.*, p. 55.

[114] Cf. Mackay, *o.c.*, p. 63 f.

[115] Mackay, *o.c.*, p. 59 f.

[116] It seems to be expedient to add some quotations from which it may appear that I am not alone in criticizing some of the conclusions drawn by archaeologists and 'Religionshistoriker'. Walter Ruben (*Einführung in die Indienkunde*, Berlin, 1954, p. 69 f.), though expressly stating that "sich verschiedene Linien in der Religionsgeschichte vom 3. Jahrtausend bis in den heutigen Hinduismus ziehen lassen", feels however obliged to observe, in connection with the above 'horned Śiva': "Man hat ihn für dreigesichtig erklärt, was meines Erachtens bei der Winzigkeit der Darstellung nicht ganz einwandfrei ist, und zu anderen dreigesichtigen Götterbildern in Thrazien, Gallien usw. gestellt und diesen Göttertyp einer vorindoeuropäischen Kultur zuweisen wollen, die sich angeblich von Gallien bis Indien verfolgen läszt (Kirfel, *Dreik. Gottheit*). Ebenso unsicher ist die heute allgemein angenommene Benennung dieses Gottes als Śiva, der nur ganz selten als dreiköpfig hingestellt wird und niemals ein Büffelgehörn trägt wie dieser Gott des 3. Jahrtausends. Śivas heiliges Tier ist der Stier, nicht der Büffel. Śiva trägt kein Stiergehörn im Hinduismus, geschweige Büffelhörner. Büffelhörner tragen die Maria-Ghonds und die Nagas beim Tanz, sie trägt in der Hindu-mythologie der Mahishāsura, der Büffeldämon, den die auf dem Löwen reitende Muttergöttin erschlug". I cannot discuss here the correctness of the opinion pronounced by the same scholar in addition to the above criticism: "Hier handelt es sich also um den Kult eines Gottes der einer alten Schicht entstammt, in der der Büffel wie heute noch bei manchen Stämmen als Totemahn und Fruchtbarkeitsgott verehrt wurde. Die Hindus des Gangestales aber haben den Gott ihrer Feinde, der Stämme in den Vindhyabergen, als Dämon gehaszt und durch ihre Göttin besiegen lassen" (see also Ruben, *Eisenschmiede und Dämonen in Indien*, Leiden, 1939). Anyhow, though not less bold, an hypothesis which would exclude the Śiva theory! With regard to the mongoloid man's head with half-closed eyes which "öfter als Vorform des indischen Yogin mit nach innen gerichtetem Blick gedeutet wurde" Klaus Fischer (*Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Köln, 1959, p. 95) remarked that "er auch eine Person aus weltlichem Bereich meinen kann und in jedem Falle ein seltenes Beispiel von Menschenschilderung darstellt". Even the sacral character of the so-called seals is open to doubt: "Die Fundstücke ... sind aus Steatit, Speckstein, gehören mit wenigen Ausnahmen an Rollsiegeln zur Gattung der Stempelsiegel und können wohl tatsächlich als Siegel – bei Verträgen und Urkunden in dem reichen Handelsverkehr mit den Nachbarn – verwendet worden sein, aber auch als Amulette gedient haben" (the same, p. 96). As to the well-known Śiva the same author is also of the opinion, that "die Büffelsymbolik dem Śivakult entgegengesetzt ist". So "the fact remains that the art of the Indus valley is still largely an unknown factor in so far as it remains chronologically unrelated and unexplained and nothing definite is known of what happened along the arrow of time between the final phase of the Indus civilisation and the civilisation that flourished in the Ganges valley more than two thousand years later ... (Moreover,) the Maurya and the Indus arts belong to different aesthetic visions and imaginations" (Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Maurya and Śuṅga Art*, Calcutta, 1945, p. 2; 43). Banerjea (*The development of Hindu iconography*, p. 41 f.) after summarizing the conclusions drawn by Marshall from the archaeological finds and quoting the opinion ventured by R. P. Chanda (*Mediaeval Indian sculptures in the British Museum*, p. 9) is rightly inclined to some scepticism. Chanda concluded from Indus seals representing nude tree gods who while standing erect with arms hanging at sides and being attended by a half-kneeling votary, remind us of the images of the Jinas in the kāyotsarga posture, that the excavations "have brought to light ample evidence to show that the worship of images of human and super-human beings in yoga postures, both seated and standing, prevailed in the Indus valley ...". It might be added that Chanda also suggests that the "sudden rise of the cult of images of the yogī in north-western India (Gandhāra and Mathurā) is only a revival of an old cult of the image of the yogī once prevalent in that region". Here Banerjea's sound comment is: "Whether these and such others appearing on a few more seals of this type can be regarded as definite representations of cult-objects cannot be determined with certainty so long as we are unable to unravel the mystery of the script and language of the ... people of the Indus valley". (With regard to the 'seals' the same author is, however, of the opinion (p. 159) that "whatever might have been the particular purpose that was served by them, there is little doubt that the figures which very frequently appear on their surface had some connection with the religion that was practised by these pre-historic Indians". Though observing that we miss, in the assembly of animals by the side of the so-called Śiva Paśupati, Śiva's bull Nandī, he also endorses Sir John Marshall's interpretation of this figure). The same scholar (Banerjea, *o.c.*, p. 174 f.) is also right in observing that the scene on the Mohenjo-daro 'amulet' which shows two men who are each of them carrying a tree torn from the ground is different from its purāṇic counterpart quoted by Mackay, according to whom the men are 'perhaps' about to transplant the trees for the abode of a spirit. The purāṇic parallel speaks of one person, viz. the child Kṛṣṇa who uproots the Yamalārjuna trees, thereby releasing the two spirits who were confined in them.

[117] Ramaprasad Chanda, in *Memoirs of the Archaeological survey of India*, 41 (Survival of the Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley) (Calcutta, 1929).

[118] *Die Religionen Indiens* II, p. 304 f.

of Medhātithi (XIth cent.), and the popularity (*sic*) of that cruel rite among non-brahmans, indicate, like the survival of human sacrifice among the latter, that the brahmans on the one hand and the non-brahmans, particularly the kṣatriyas, on the other, originally belonged to two different psychological types. The recognition of anumaraṇa by the brahmans from the time of Vijñāneśvara (± 1075) onward is in his opinion due to the decadence of the old brahmanic spirit as a result of the fusion of races and cultures. As these pages form part of a publication devoted to the survival of the prehistoric civilization of the Indus valley it obviously was the author's intention to uphold the thesis that the custom under discussion was introduced into the Aryan fold by the physical and spiritual descendants of the 'Indus people'. As he does not quote any previous publication on 'sutteeism',[119] the attempts of his predecessors in this particular province of Indian cultural history to explain the curious 'distribution' of the data relating to the custom over the texts, periods and classes of society may have eluded his attention.[120] The words ṚV. 10, 18, 8[121] "Get up, O woman, to the world of the living; You lie by this one who has died, come!", referring to a 'symbolical' anumaraṇa[122] may with good reason be considered a reminiscence of what happened, in the milieu of the poet and his audience, in former times and was possibly continued in other circles in the poet's period. There is indeed a sufficiency of arguments to show the occurrence of this custom in what may be called the ancient Indo-European, especially the Northern and Eastern Indo-European, world: "bei verschiedenen nord- und osteuropäischen Völkern wie Skythen, Thrakern, Slaven ... (herrschte) die Sitte, dasz die Frau oder die Lieblingsfrau zusammen mit dem Manne starb, indem sie sich an dem Grabe des Gatten erhängte oder mit ihm wie Brunhild mit Siegfried auf einem Scheiterhaufen verbrannt wurde".[123] It may be added that Pausanias (4, 2, 7) makes mention of Greek women who killed themselves on the graves of their husbands. That in post-Vedic times references[124] to this self-immolation became more frequent might be

[119] E. Thompson, *Suttee* (London, 1928).

[120] R. Garbe, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, März 1903; the same, *Beiträge zur indischen Kulturgeschichte* (Berlin, 1903), p. 141; Th. Zachariae, in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin* 14, p. 198 ff.; 302 ff.; 395 ff.; 15, p. 74 ff.

[121] Cf. also AV. 18, 3, 2 and Kauśika-sūtra 80, 45 with the comm.

[122] See also W. Caland, *Die altindischen Todten- und Bestattungsgebräuche* (Amsterdam, 1896), p. 42 ff.; H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart, ³1923), p. 586 f.

[123] O. Schrader – A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II² (Berlin – Leipzig, 1929), p. 662. See also the same, *Totenhochzeit* (Jena, 1904).

[124] Cf. also the Greek authors Strabo, p. 714 quoting Alexander's companion Aristoboulos and Diodorus Siculus 19, 34 (1st c. B. C.).

attributed to the influence of the 'Scythian' invaders and other peoples on the N.W. frontier rather than to the prehistoric Indus population, if at least external or secondary influences are to be sought for. The above Ṛgveda passage may indeed – like e.g. texts such as Manu 5, 160 recommending a virtuous wife to lead a chaste and ascetic life after the death of her husband and Baudh. Dh.Ś. 2, 2, 66 ff. prescribing that she should sleep on the ground – have resulted from the aversion, in brahmanical circles, to cremating these unfortunate women.[125]

Another thesis defended by the same scholar[126] is in my opinion characterized by the same methodical imperfection. Drawing attention to the well-known fact that in many ancient countries the king himself was the high priest or took part in the rites[127], he ventured the hypothesis that the sacerdotal class in India must have come into existence under the influence of a cultural syncretism: it was, he held, the result of the adoption of the religion of the culturally alien ṛṣis by the chiefs of the ruling clans of the Indus Valley. The latter had to resort to the ṛṣis, because their own civilization evidently was in a state of decline, kings and peoples losing their old faith in their own gods and their own rites. Leaving alone the fact that 'Indus kings' and 'Vedic ṛṣis' in all probability never met,[128] this unfounded theory ignores all that has been written on priesthood and its relation to kingship in the other ancient Indo-European countries and civilizations.[129, 130]

[125] For other texts pointing in the same direction see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 583 ff. (cf. n. 4).

[126] Ramaprasad Chanda, *ibidem*, p. 8 ff. *Priest and King*.

[127] "So ist der ägyptische König Gott und Mensch zugleich gewesen, und seine Mittlerrolle wird vorzugsweise in der Tatsache greifbar, dasz ihm allein der Verkehr mit den Göttern zustand" (S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion*, Stuttgart, 1960, p. 42). For literature on sacral kingship in general see Th. H. Gaster, in *Numen*, 1, p. 188, n. 7; cf. also G. Landtmann, *Origin of priesthood* (Ekenäs, 1900).

[128] Cf. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *De protohistorische culturen van Voor-Indië en hun datering*, Inaug. address (Amsterdam, 1960).

[129] The reader may for the sake of brevity be referred to O. Schrader – A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II (Berlin-Leipzig, ²1929), p. 200 ff.; part of the *Atti dell' VIII Congresso internazionale di storia delle religioni, Rome 1955* (Firenze, 1959); E. Wilhelm, "Königthum und Priesterthum im alten Erân (Iran)", *Zs. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, 40 (1886), p. 102 ff.; J. de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 234 ff.; G. Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartie des Indo-Européens* (Brussels, 1958), p. 8.

[130] Additional note (cf. p. 19, 28). Now see also H. P. Sullivan, "A re-examination of the religion of the Indus civilization", *History of religions*, 4 (1964), p. 115 f.

II. SOMA, AMṚTA AND THE MOON

In substantiation of my thesis that matters are often too much simplified and the historical connections are almost completely left unnoticed I shall discuss the well-known fact which from the point of view of a linguist may be stated as follows: Soma, which in the Veda denotes the juice of a plant which extracted and fermented forms a beverage offered in libations to the deities and drunk by priests and sacrificer, comes, in post-Vedic times, to be a name of the moon.[1] At first sight the shift of meaning[2] is considerable and indicative of an important cultural change, because the sacrificial draught ranked with the most essential elements of ancient Indian religious thought and the moon played a prominent place in folklore and mythology. On second thoughts however the 'semantic shift' appears to be an extremely short and misleading formula stating a long and very complicated historical process. The deceptive character of the statement may – to mention only this point – appear from the fact that the term soma does not lose its 'Vedic' sense of sacrificial draught.

Recalling in connection with the juice and the moon only those facts to mind which are relevant to the question under discussion, I must first make some remarks on the satellite of the earth.[3] Vedic literature has not

[1] See e.g. E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India* (Boston, 1895), p. 185 "Soma is now the moon"; J. Dowson, *A classical dictionary of Hindu mythology etc.* (London, [6]1928), p. 301 f. As may appear from *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 66, n. 14 I cannot subscribe to Hillebrandt's theory (A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, p. 193 ff.) of an original lunar character of Soma, a theory which was without sound reasons upheld by W. Koppers, in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 4, p. 388. Hillebrandt's theory has repeatedly been discussed – see e.g. H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart, [3]1923), p. 171 f.; the same in Z.D.M.G. 54, p. 57 f.; W. D. Whitney, in *J.A.O.S.* 16, XCIX ff.; Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 113; A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Cambridge Mass., 1914), p. CXX –, but is on the whole not really acceptable.

[2] Which seems to be ignored by M. Eliade, *Patterns in comparative religion* (London, 1958), p. 87: "Indra's connection with bulls, ... and with Soma, confer upon him certain lunar prerogatives".

[3] On beliefs, myths etc. in connection with the moon see M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des*

much to say about this heavenly body.[4] As there is, as far as I am able to see, on the other hand no reason to suppose that the Indian people did not share in at least part of the hopes and the anxieties with which the moon used to inspire the minds of other peoples, the most plausible inference seems to be that the Vedic priests and poets and the circles of their patrons were not much interested in that celestial body. Whereas we are under the impression that the moon always was the object of a more or less amorphous, widespread and popular belief[5] which, while often being in harmony with the folklore of other peoples[6] and still surviving in the traditional beliefs of many Indian communities,[7] has left many scattered traces in the Indian literatures,[8] a regular moon cult did not belong to the institutional rites of Vedism and early Hinduism. Generally speaking there was little direct worship of the queen of night.[9] The

religions (Paris, 1949), p. 142 ff. (= Patterns in comparative religion, p. 154 ff.), with a bibliography (p. 166; 186); C. Hentze, *Mythes et symboles lunaires* (Antwerp, 1932); P. Saintyves, *L'astrologie populaire étudiée spécialement dans les doctrines et les traditions relatives à l'influence de la lune* (Paris, 1937); K. Tallqvist, *Månen i myt och dikt, folktro och kult* (Helsingfors, 1947); O. Rühle, *Sonne und Mond im primitiven Mythus* (Tübingen, 1925); M. Esther Harding, *Woman's mysteries ancient and modern* (New York, 1955); R. Briffault, *The mothers* (abridged ed.) (London, 1959), ch. 19. See also J. G. Frazer, *The belief in immortality*, I (London, 1913), p. 65; W. Schmidt, "Introduction à l'étude de la mythologie et spécialement de la mythologie astrale", in *Semaine d'ethnologie religieuse*, 2[e] session (Louvain, 1914), p. 289 ff., esp. 294; O. Rühle, *Sonne und Mond im primitiven Mythus* (Tübingen, 1925); W. Wolf, *Der Mond im deutschen Volksglauben* (Bühl [Baden], 1929).

[4] Compare also W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1920), p. 30 ff., who is however wrong in identifying the "young one" of 9, 74, 1; 85, 11 etc. with the moon (p. 30, n. 1).

[5] J. Varenne, "La lune, mythes et rites dans l'Inde", in *Sources orientales*, V (La lune, Paris, 1962), p. 231 ff.; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index of names and subjects*, I (Benares, 1958), p. 254; V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, in *Indian Antiquary* 62 (1933), p. 175; G. Tucci, "Tracce di culto lunare in India", in *Rivista di Studi Orientali*, 12 (1929-30), p. 419 ff.; W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 35 ff.; R. E. Enthoven, *The folklore of Bombay* (Oxford, 1924), p. 46 ff.; N. E. Parry, *The Lakhers* (London, 1932), p. 493 etc.

[6] Rühle, *Sonne und Mond im primitiven Mythus* (see above); W. H. Roscher, *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (Greek and Roman antiquity) (Leipzig, 1890); E. Böklen, *Adam und Qain im Lichte der vergl. Mythenforschung* (very onesided and uncritical) (Leipzig, 1907).

[7] See e.g. J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 202; 250 and some of the books mentioned in note 5.

[8] See e.g. C. H. Tawney-N. M. Penzer, *The ocean of story*, VI, p. 100 on the ill-effects of moonshine (lunacy etc.); on the moon entering the mouth of a dreaming person, *ibidem* V, p. 30.

[9] For the popular character of moon-cult now see also F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 56. Compare also Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 311 (see n. 35).

ritual importance of the full and new moon and the role played by the moon in myths and ritual or mythological speculations should not be mistaken for more or less regular worship.[10]

Nevertheless there are some places in the early Veda from which it appears that at least some of the widespread beliefs with regard to the earth's satellite had drawn the attention of the ṛṣis. The poet of ṚV. 10, 85, 19 (cf. AV. 14, 1, 24) *navo-navo bhavati jāyamānaḥ ... pra candramās tirate dīrgham āyuḥ* "he is born ever new ..., the moon extends his long life-time"[11] is at least acquainted with the well-known conception of the moon's periodic death and rebirth,[12] the idea of "becoming new or young again" being in connection with this celestial body also expressed AV. 10, 7, 33 (*candramāś ca punarṇavaḥ*). The moon is indeed the body which waxes, wanes, and disappears and whose existence is in a very obvious way subject to the universal law of becoming, of birth, death and rebirth: compare also AV. 11, 10, 16 *candramā yutām agatasya panthām* "let the moon put (them) on the track of what is not gone" and probably also 3, 31, 6 *candraḥ prāṇena saṃhitaḥ* "the moon is joined with (abounding in, composed of) life-breath" (words which should not necessarily with the commentary be taken to refer to the moon's identification with soma which is regarded as food,[13] although its explanation *amṛtamayena rasena kṛtsnam ātmānaṃ poṣayati* "he (the moon) nourishes (causes to prosper) by means of his liquor which consists of amṛta ('nectar')" is in perfect harmony with wide-spread beliefs in the beneficial influence of the moon on the health of human beings.[14]

The author of TS. 2, 3, 5 accordingly prescribes as a therapy to the man who has been seized by "the bad illness" (*pāpayakṣmagṛhītaḥ*[15]) an offering to the Ādityas, to be presented at new moon; "verily with its waxing he makes him wax" (*amum evainam āpyāyamānam anvā pyāyayati*); these words are followed by the statement *navo-navo bhavati jāyamāna iti puro'nuvākyā* "the introductory verse is *navo-navaḥ* (see above)" (cf. also TS. 2, 4, 14, 1). According to another tradition (Keśava's Paddhati on Kauśikasūtra 24, 18 where the ritual use of the stanza AV. 7, 81, 1 which is repeated as 14, 1, 23 is prescribed) these words[16] are to be recited on the day of new moon on first sight of the celestial body in order to be prosperous. We will not err greatly in assuming that these ritual prescriptions reflect a feature of popular belief concerning a parallelism between the moon and the process of growing and prospering or, rather, of the former's influence on the latter.[17] The moon's waxing is indeed often a 'symbol' of regeneration and resurrection,[18] that which is beyond the moon being considered to be beyond becoming. "Le jour où apparaissait la nouvelle Lune, il était d'usage, chez les Indiens de San Juan Capistrano, en Californie, de rassembler tous les jeunes gens pour le célébrer ... (Ils) se mettaient à courir çà et là en désordre et comme fous, tandis que les vieillards dansaient en cercle, en disant: 'de même que la lune meurt et revient à la vie, ainsi nous qui avons à mourir, nous revivrons.'"[19] Recoveries from illness through the moon – which according to ŚB. 13, 2, 6, 11 is characterized by *āyuḥ* "a complete life-time" – and its light were also well known in Europe.[20] In Sussex the new moon of the month of May was held to cure scrofulous wounds.[21] In India similar beliefs attach to the night of new moon in the month of March;[22] drinking the lunar rays – i.e. water impregnated with these rays – is believed to cure diseases.[23] This belief is founded on the conviction – which was also shared by the ancient Greeks[24] – that the moon when waxing can make everything wax, when waning, decline and waste away. It may cause everything to grow,[25] but it would on the other hand be a preposterous

[10] See also the remarks made by J. de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 133.

[11] For the numerous other occurrences of these words see M. Bloomfield, *A vedic concordance* (Cambridge Mass., 1906), p. 543; compare also Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā* (Cambridge Mass., 1905), p. 744. The words *bhāgaṃ devebhyo vi dadhāty āyan* (pāda c) "he apportions the gods their share as he comes" referring to the moon's well-known function as a measurer of time may be left undiscussed here.

[12] Cf. also H. Baumann, *Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythus der afrikanischen Völker* (Berlin, 1936), p. 297 f.

[13] Cf. ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 19.

[14] See e.g. Roscher, *o.c.*, p. 73 who quotes Macrobius 1, 17, 11 and 1, 20, 1; Plinius, N.H. 28, 48 etc.; A. Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglauben* (Berlin, ²1869), § 453; 480.

[15] See J. Filliozat, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne* (Paris, 1949), p. 83 ff.

[16] Which HirGS. 1, 16, 1 are quite intelligibly used in connection with the appearance of the new moon.

[17] In AthPar. 40, 6, 13 the words *navo-navo bhaviṣyasi jāyamānaḥ* are prescribed at the end of the 'release from the vow' after performing an ascetic performance in honour of Rudra-Paśupati to accompany the act of purifying the performer in water.

[18] See also J. G. Frazer, *The belief in immortality*, I (London, 1913), p. 65 ff.

[19] A. Robinson, *Life in California by an American* (New-York, 1846), p. 298 f., quoted by Saintyves, *o.c.*, p. 43 f.

[20] Saintyves, *o.c.*, p. 281, quoting Theodorus, archbishop of Canterbury (7th cent. A.D.).

[21] *The Folk-Lore Record for* 1878, p. 45.

[22] See e.g. J. A. Dubois, *Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde* (Paris, 1825), II, p. 530 ff.

[23] Enthoven, *o.c.*, p. 53; W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 38.

[24] Taylor, *The Metamorphoses of Apuleius*, p. 256; Tallqvist, *o.c.*, p. 309. Cf. e.g. Varro, R.R. 1, 37, 2; Plinius, N.H. 10, 152; 18, 322 etc.

[25] See also Roscher, *o.c.* p. 61.

and dangerous proceeding to reap or chop wood when the moon waxes.[26]

In the period represented and the milieus reflected by the epics the celestial body is not only called, as in the Veda, *candra-(mās-)*, but also *soma-*. The old idea of waning, dying and being born again is still alive: Rām. 2, 19, 32; 6, 93, 65. Leaving out of consideration those aspects which do not bear upon the problem under consideration[27] as e.g. the moon's being a witness who sees whether men observe the rules of dharma,[28] special attention may be drawn to the luminary as a divine power concerned with vegetation and fertility.[29] The connections supposed by many peoples to exist between the moon, rain[30] (*candramaso vai vṛṣṭir jāyate* "rain comes from the moon" AiB. 8, 28, 15) and plant life were deduced from their being subject to recurring cycles which were held to be governed by the movements of the celestial body which in 'primitive' and archaic thought stands for perpetual renewal,[31] from the influence on the growth of living beings attributed to it,[32] and from the conviction that the moon has control of all water and moisture.[33] As is well known most 'pre-scientific' communities consider her to be the great rain giver, a view which according to popular belief has some connection with actual observations of the weather. "All trees, plants etc. thrive owing to the influence of the moon. Growth of child and tree is held to be due to its rays".[34] This luminary being considered a beneficent and fertilizing force of general efficiency, its power does not, according to popular belief, end here, for without its aid animals cannot bear young and women cannot

26 Cf. e.g. also W. Koppers, *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* (Horn-Wien, 1948), p. 282 f.

27 For the moon in the epics see E. W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology* (Strassburg, 1915), Index s.v.

28 For this conception in general see Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956), p. 7.

29 C. F. C. Beeson, *The moon and plant growth*, in *Nature* (1946), p. 572 f.

30 See e.g. Eliade, *Patterns*, p. 159 etc.; Harding, *o.c.*, p. 110.

31 See also Hentze, *o.c.*, p. 57; 155; F. Cornelius, *Indogermanische Religionsgeschichte* (München, 1942), p. 26.

32 "Comme cela arrive généralement, ces idées reposent sur des faits. D'un côté, la lumière de la pleine lune exerce sur la croissance des algues et d'autres plantes maritimes un effet analogue, quoique moindre, à celui qu' exercent les rayons solaires sur la flore terrestre. De l'autre, certaines plantes ne croissent que nuitamment. Pendant la nuit, la nature ne repose qu'en apparence" (A. H. Krappe, *La genèse des mythes* (Paris, 1938), p. 100).

33 E. Siecke, *Götterattribute und sogenannte Symbole* (Jena, 1909) (confused), passim. For the moon as the source of dew, sources, rivers in classical antiquity see Roscher, *o.c.*, p. 49 f.; 164; see also Böklen, *Adam und Qain*, p. 26; 99; Crooke, *o.c.*, p. 38; Harding, *o.c.*, p. 110. Kirfel, *o.c.*, p. 31 and other authors have incorrectly referred to ṚV. 1, 105, 1 and some other Vedic passages.

34 Enthoven, *o.c.*, p. 52. See also Crooke, *o.c.*, p. 38; Tawney-Penzer, *o.c.*, I, p. 228.

have children.[35] Thus it reads, Hariv. 1, 25, 20 *tatas tasmai dadau rājyaṃ brahmā ... / bījauṣadhīnāṃ viprāṇām apāṃ ca* "thereupon Brahmā granted him lordship over seeds, plants, brahmans[36] and water". The moon, the author of Mbh. 12, 52, 33 maintains, restores, as lord of plants, the moisture to them which is taken from them by the sun. Hence also the important role attributed to her in the processes connected with rainfall (see e.g. Varāhamihira, BS. ch. 21 ff.).

The idea that the moon is seed (*retas*, sperma)[37] is already expressed by the author of ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 4 *so (prajāpatir) akāmayata: bhūyo eva syāt prajāyeteti. sa ādityena divaṃ mithunaṃ samabhavat. tata āṇḍaṃ samavartata. tad abhyamṛśad reto bibhṛhīti. tataś candramā asṛjyataiṣa vai retaḥ* ..., and in KauṣU. 1, 2 it reads: "from the far-shining ... semen has been gathered, from the one who is fifteenfold produced,[38] from the realm of the Fathers".

This celestial body being itself periodically 'dead' it is conceived as the prototype of the deceased[39] who return to life. As death was often conceived as a transition to another life, the life-cycle of human beings, which is subject to growth and decay, to birth and death, to alternate periods of being alive and being dead, could easily be compared to and regarded as being governed by the cycle of the moon. And because what happens to the moon and to the agricultural cycle proves that there is a life in death, the dead could be conceived to go either to the underworld or to the moon – which each month enters the realm of death – to be regenerated and to prepare themselves for a new earthly existence.[40] That is why on the one hand so many peoples regard the earth's satellite as the region of the dead,

35 See also J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich-Leipzig, 1937), passim (Index, III, p. 311).

36 This detail is a reference to Soma, the king of the brahmans. Cf. e.g. J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 75 ff.

37 Cf. also H. Lommel, *Die Religion Zarathustras* (Tübingen, 1930), p. 136; 182; H. W. Haussig, *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (Stuttgart), I, p. 493 f.

38 i.e. the moon.

39 "The moon is the first of the dead. For three nights the sky is dark; but as the moon is reborn on the fourth night, so shall the dead achieve a new sort of existence" (Eliade, *Patterns*, p. 171).

40 See also Krappe, *o. c.*, p. 116; Rühle, *o.c.*, p. 30 ff., and especially Tallqvist, *o.c.*, p. 117 ff. Tower-building with a view to bring about a communication with this luminary was discussed by J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament* (London, 1919), I, p. 362 ff.; Baumann, *Schöpfung und Urzeit*, p. 256 ff. For the moon as 'Seelenaufenthalt' in classical antiquity see e.g. Plutarch, Q. Rom. 76; Roscher, *o.c.*, p. 90. For the ancient Greeks (according to a treatise attributed to Plutarch (De facie in orbe lunae, 20 ff.)), Polynesians, Guaycurus, Russian folklore etc. see e.g. also E. Taylor, *Primitive culture* (London, 1929), II, p. 70; E. Seler, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 39 (1907), p. 30 f. (Mexico); J. Bousset, *Himmelreise der Seele*, in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 4, p. 251 ff.

and on the other hand lunar deities not rarely are at the same time chthonian and funeral divinities, concerned with death and resurrection.[41] The former belief obtained also in ancient India. "Those who depart from this world", the KauṣU. 1, 2 teaches, "they all, in truth, go to the moon.[42] During the earlier half it thrives on their life-spirits; with the latter half it causes them to be reproduced. The moon, verily, is the door of the world of heaven" (*etad vai svargasya lokasya dvāraṃ yat candramāḥ*). The moon, the text continues, "rains" those who are to be born again in this world "down" in the form of a worm, an insect, a fish, ..., a tiger, a person, or as some other in this or that condition, according to his karman and his 'knowledge' (*vidyā-*). According to the well-known description of the path of the pitaras[43] in BĀU. 6, 2, 16; ChU. 5, 10, 2 "those who by sacrificial offering etc. conquer the worlds" pass by way of the smoke of the cremation fire, the night etc. into the moon.[44] The moon, JaimUB. 3, 27, 17 affirms, "being born ever new" (see above), and being immortal itself (10) "gives mind, seed, offspring and second birth back" to those who come to it and address it properly. Hence also the popular belief that the moon is made to wax, through the sacrificial gifts offered to the pitaras,[45] the mantras accompanying them and the pitaras who have been fortified by these oblations (cf. e.g. VāyuPur. 42, 2; 71, 29f.; Hariv. 1, 17, 37; Mbh. 13, 125, 38f. etc.). The moon in its turn causes the world, the gods etc. to prosper.[46] However, the deceased also drink up the liquid contained in the moon, so that it periodically loses its luminous power. That is why, according to the Indians, the deceased must be fed by their living descendants on the day of new moon.

Closely associated with these beliefs is on the one hand the conviction that the moon is a land of milk and honey,[47] which is the source of the dew[48] – which was considered a representative or 'symbol' of fertility –

[41] One might also remember the analogy felt to exist between those animals which change their skins (snakes, crocodiles, lizards etc.) or which by living alternately on the earth and in the sea exhibit a rhythmical course of life analogous to the lunar cycle. Cf. e.g. W. Schmidt, in *Semaine d'ethnologie religieuse* (Louvain, 1914), II, p. 294 ff.

[42] R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal upanishads* (Oxford, 1934), p. 303.

[43] See also H. G. Narahari, *Ātman* (Adyar, 1941), p. 91 ff.; the same, in *Annals Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.* 24 (1943), p. 45 ff.

[44] Cf. also Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 203 etc.

[45] For the moon as collector or receptacle of good works which are again bestowed on the world: R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan* (Oxford, 1955), p. 214; 254; 338.

[46] Cf. also Meyer, *o.c.*, I, p. 97. See also BĀU. 6, 2, 16.

[47] Böklen, *Adam und Qain*, p. 65; the same, in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 6, p. 31; 34; 134; on 'milk and honey': H. Bergema, *De boom des levens in Schrift en historie*, Thesis (Amsterdam V.U. 1938), p. 476 f.

[48] For ancient Greece: J. Harrison, *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 191.

and of the 'honey-dew,' i.e. honey, from which the mead was prepared.[49] In ancient Greece and Rome the belief obtained that the moon sends its forces to earth through an invisible fluid, called ἀπορρεύσεις τῆς σελήνης, *virus lunare* etc.: *multaque ab ea manant et fluunt, quibus et animantes alantur augescantque ..., maturitatemque assequantur quae oriuntur e terra* (Cicero, N.D. 2, 50).[50] Hence on the other hand also the widespread fear of the night of new moon,[51] because then the deceased come to be nourished and the powers of vegetation are to be specially respected, and also because the moon cannot fulfil its usual protective function. As the Indian tradition has it:[52] "When the moon (*candramās*) is not seen that night either in the east or in the west, then he visits this world, and here he enters the waters and plants. He is indeed a treasure for the gods, he is their food" (ŚB. 1, 6, 4, 5, cf. 15).[53] Compare also AiB. 8, 28, 8; ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 16. In that night nothing alive may be killed or injured;[54] not even the smallest piece of wood may be broken off, because the plants owe their very existence to the moon.[55]

In those circles which attached great significance to the figure of Prajāpati "the Lord of progeny and creatures"[56] this deity was in this respect substituted for the moon, or the latter is identified with the former. According to this view – which on the strength of chronological considerations in connection with the figure Prajāpati himself would appear to me to be a younger or secondary one – Prajāpati "having on the new-moon night entered with his sixteenth part (the *dhruvā*[57]) everything here that has breath, is born from that in the following morning (as the new moon)" (BĀU. 1, 5, 14). Compare also ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 16. Here it is the great Lord of Creation himself to whom the important processes of that night are attributed. To another identification was, however, given a more lasting success. In ŚB. 1, 6, 4, 5; 11, 2, 5, 3 the deity who is identified with the moon is "the king Soma, the food of the gods" (*eṣa vai somo rājā*

[49] See e.g. Roscher, *Selene*, p. 49; 65. In reality honeydew is the sweet viscid juice exuding from leaves punctured by insects and the sweet excretion of aphides and allied insects.

[50] X. F. M. G. Wolters, *Notes on antique folklore*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1935), p. 119.

[51] See e.g. also J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 202; 220.

[52] For some details see Meyer, *o.c.*, II, p. 230.

[53] ṚV. 5, 47, 3; 9, 71, 2; 10, 138, 4 should not be quoted in this connection (otherwise Kirfel, *o.c.*, p. 31 f.).

[54] See also J. J. Meyer, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 714.

[55] P. Ehrenreich, *Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Urvölker* (Berlin, 1905), p. 43.

[56] Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 180 ff.; 187 ff.

[57] See chapter IV, p. 122.

devānām annaṃ yac candramāḥ[58]). Then the celestial body is called "Soma's highest glory in heaven" (ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 46).[59] Once again, it would appear to me that we are confronted here with a belief which may be regarded as old because it is so unmistakably in harmony with what may almost be called a coherent and systematical interpretation of the lunar phenomena, or rather epiphanies, a system which was *mutatis mutandis* adopted by a considerable variety of human communities in different times and different parts of the world. This belief seems, moreover, to have been secondarily associated with an important 'divine concept' which already for a long time was the object of similar convictions and considerations.

Soma,[60] an extremely important power,[61] cannot, as far as its 'early days' are concerned, be reasonably considered a representative of the moon. The Avesta, according to which the Haoma (= Sanskrit Soma) was, in a similar way, the most important oblation and which gives evidence of a Haoma belief and a Haoma cult which are in many points not widely different from the Vedic concepts and ritual, puts the Indo-Iranian (common Aryan) 'origin' of this cult beyond controversy, but is silent on any identification of the Haoma and the satellite of our planet. Soma, "the pressed juice", the plant which is ritually pressed out in order to supply the well-known alcoholic beverage of the Vedic cult was, it is true, considered to be of heavenly origin[62] – see e.g. ṚV. 9, 61, 10; 79, 4[63] –,

[58] The obvious inference that Prajāpati – who is the sacrifice and the food of the gods (ŚB. 5, 1, 1, 2) – and Soma, "the highest oblation" (ṚV. 9, 107, 1), are identical is drawn e.g. ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 1. Cf. also J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, IV (Oxford, 1897), p. XXI.

[59] Attention may also be drawn to ŚB. 9, 1, 2, 39: "Whenever a sacrifice becomes completed, the essence of its oblations (*āhutīnāṃ rasaḥ*) goes up to the moon". For AiB. 7, 11, 5 see A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 297 ff.

[60] The most recent résumé of facts and opinions may be found in *Die Religionen Indiens* I, p. 62 ff. Compare also A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I, (Paris, 1878), p. 148; V. Henry, "Soma et Haoma", in *Ann. Musée Guimet, Vulg.* 20, p. 51; V. Henry, in W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 469 ff.; A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I (Breslau, 1927), p. 193; H. Lommel, *Die alten Arier: von Art und Adel ihrer Götter* (Frankfurt M., 1935), p. 44; 118; the same, in *Numen* 2, p. 196, etc.; H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951-59), p. 202 ff., etc.; L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IX (Paris, 1961), p. 1 ff.

[61] "C'est l'image de soma, bien oubliée pourtant dans l'Inde ultérieure, qui a été déterminante, plus que celle, plus vivace pourtant d'Agni, plus que celle des dieux personnels, dans la formation même de l'hindouisme" (Renou, *o.c.*, IX, p. 10). Or perhaps we should say that the soma-lore of the Veda and definite important Hinduistic conceptions are different formulations of the same general notions.

[62] E. Sieg, "Indra und der Somaraub nach dem Ṛgveda", in *Festgabe - H. Jacobi* (Bonn, 1926), p. 228.

[63] Cf. also K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda* (Cambridge, Mass. 1951), III, p. 73.

but is repeatedly stated to grow in the mountains. Being the most delicious of all beverages it is also called honey; probably also because it was in the course of time substituted for the ancient (honey-)mead.[64] Like honey it is the essence of all vegetable saps and believed to confer mental and physical power on those who drink it, to cure their diseases, to enhance their generative force and, last but not least, to lengthen their life-time. It is the elixir of life,[65] indispensable for men and gods: ṚV. 9, 66, 30 *yasya te dyumnavat payaḥ pavamānābhṛtaṃ divaḥ / tena no mṛḷa jīvase* "O thou who purifiest thyself, favour us (make us happy) with thy glorious milk which was brought hither from heaven, that we may live!" Because of its intoxicating and ecstatic effects on men and gods the soma is the divine drink *par excellence*, the 'nectar', to which those who partake of it owe physical strength, a long life, security against death and disease.[66] It is not surprising that the preparation of this juice was identified with other highly important processes: with sexual intercourse[67] and with the race of the horses which by their swiftness win or produce the generative power called vāja which is thought to be present in vegetation, in cattle and in man, and by which new food and new life is obtained.[68] Nor is it difficult to understand that Soma bears the regal title: he was indeed king of plants and herbs, king and at the same time 'germ' or 'source' of the waters, sometimes also king of gods and men, of the whole world, lord and creator, life-giving and imperishable preserver of all that exists (see e.g. ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 3 "Agni is the body, and Soma is the life-sap ..."; 5, 2, 19). This 'kingship' is especially significant in connection with the most notable beliefs attached to the preparation of the juice, viz. its being identified with the process of raining. The soma which is pressed out is identified with the rain which makes the growth of plants and all earthly life possible. Soma is the sap of life, the 'Urbild' and essence of all life-bearing moisture, the stream of life which being of heavenly descent makes its presence felt in all plants, animals and human beings. It is not only the life-giving moisture in the vegetable kingdom and the milk of the cow which has eaten grass and

[64] O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), p. 139. For information on many facts, popular beliefs and antique folklore connected with the mead W. H. Roscher's *Nektar und Ambrosia* (Leipzig, 1883) has not lost its value.

[65] See further on.

[66] For the term *amṛta-* see also P. Thieme, *Studien zur indogerm. Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 15.

[67] Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 187.

[68] Gonda, *Viṣṇuism*, p. 47 ff.

herbs containing the life-bearing sap, but also the generative force of all male beings[69] – TaittS. 7, 4, 18, 2 "the soma is the seed of the sexually vigorous stallion" –, not only fertilizing rain but also the drink of immortality. In the Vedic Soma cult the most important process of the juice's circular course is ritually reproduced and in the view of contemporaries its continuity promoted and achieved.

It would appear to me that it has been the obvious analogy between the circular course of this life-stream and the lunar periodicity, between the life-giving functions of Soma and the fertilizing power attributed to the moon, their being concerned with the same most important processes which have led to the eventual identification of the divine juice and the satellite of our planet, an identification which is for instance also clearly stated ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 1 (KauṣB. 4, 4; 7, 10 etc.). The moon directs and governs the waters which sponsor the growth of living beings, Soma represents or is these waters (AiB. 1, 7, 10 *saumyā hy āpaḥ*), the life-giving power manifesting itself in the cyclical processes of fertility. Both of them express the idea of uninterrupted renewal and victory over decay and annihilation, both of them stand for the principle of continuity of life in spite of temporary periods of decline. According to one tradition (ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 4) the moon is seed (*tata āṇḍaṃ samavartata tad abhyamṛśad reto bibhṛhīti tataś candramā asṛjyataiṣa vai retaḥ* "from that an egg rose; he (Prajāpati) touched it, saying 'Bear semen!'; from it the moon came into existence, because it (the moon) is semen"), according to another (TS. 2, 3, 10, 3) Soma is among the divine powers to be invoked "to make dear the semen of a man for a full life-time and vigour" (*imam agna āyuṣe varcase kṛdhi priyaṃ reto varuṇa soma rājan*[70]), the stanza forming part of a text to be used in a rite for longevity;[71] see also AV. 2, 28, 5.[72] But Soma is – as already observed – elsewhere expressly called "the seed of the vigorous steed" (ṚV. 1, 164, 35; AV. 9, 10, 14; VājS. 23, 62 *ayaṃ somo vṛṣṇo aśvasya retaḥ*,[73] cf. ŚB. 13, 5, 2, 21); "the milked (streams) of the semen of heaven" (ṚV. 1, 100, 3 *divo ... retaso dughānāḥ*) or simply,

[69] For the presumed identity of semen and rain see A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde* (Berlin², 1913), p. 92.
[70] For variants see Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, II, p. 69.
[71] Cf. e.g. ĀpŚS. 19, 23, 10 ff. (a rite for a person who has been ill for a long time or who wishes to live his full life). See also W. Caland, *Altindische Zauberei* (Wunschopfer) (Amsterdam, 1908), p. 112 ff.
[72] Cf. also Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 228.
[73] "The stallion: *dyaus* or Heaven, whose genial humour is the fertilizing rain which impregnates the earth" (R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda*, Benares, 1927, p. 257), "das Opfer als ein Sinnbild der Welt" (Geldner, *Rig-veda übersetzt*, I, p. 234).

"the seed of heaven" (ṚV. 5, 17, 3 *divo ... retaḥ* means "the rain"). In ŚB. 3, 3, 2, 1 Soma is again identified with *retaḥ*. Both the moon and Soma are, moreover, food. For the former compare e.g. ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 22;[74] for the latter e.g. ŚB. 11, 1, 6, 19; see also AiB. 7, 11, 5 "the moon is the soma of the gods" (*etad vai devasomaṃ yac candramāḥ*); ŚB. 11, 1, 4, 4 "the moon is no other than King Soma, the food of the gods". Hence also such places as KauṣB. 12, 5 "so he eats yonder Soma, the king, the discerning, the moon, food, that food yonder which the gods eat"; ChU. 5, 10, 4 *eṣa somo rājā, tad devānām annam, taṃ devā bhakṣayanti* "that (the moon, *candramāḥ*) is Soma, the king. That is the food of the gods. That is eaten by them". The beneficent and protective activity attributed by many peoples to the celestial body[75] – which destroys darkness (Mbh. 7, 84, 20) – was, to mention also this point, no doubt felt to be paralleled by the frequently glorified power of the divine juice to avert mishap (e.g. ṚV. 9, 104, 6), to ward off or conquer enemies (9, 61, 28; 10, 128, 5)[76] to protect (9, 56, 4) and to give men wealth, food, glory and all treasures of heaven and earth (e.g. 9, 57, 4).[77] Finally the soma is, in a frequency of places, described as gold-coloured, the moon is yellow; the plant when prepared is said to swell (see e.g. 1, 91, 16f.), a process which is characteristic of the moon;[78] the draught is asked to be bright (9, 9, 8 etc.) like the sun (9, 64, 30), the luminary destroys darkness (Mbh. 7, 84, 20).

Thus in passages such as Mbh. 6, 37, 13 cr. ed. (= BhagG. 15, 13) *puṣṇāmi cauṣadhīḥ sarvāḥ somo bhūtvā rasātmakaḥ* (Kṛṣṇa speaking) "becoming the sapful soma, I nourish all plants" both ideas, that of the moon as the controller of moisture and the origin of all organic life and that of soma as the universal stream of life-bearing moisture may be assumed to have been inextricably mingled.[79] As the "lord of plants" (Oṣadhapati Mbh. 3, 3, 7) the moon (*candramāḥ*) has 5, 153, 12 cr. ed. a function comparable to that of Soma, who ṚV. 1, 91, 6 is called "lord of plants or of the wood" (Vanaspati) and 9, 14, 7 (cf. 15, 7) "lord of the refreshing drink (*iṣaḥ*)", whereas Mbh. 13, 98, 16f. vulg. it reads: *vīrud-*

[74] Cf. also BĀU. 6, 2, 16.
[75] See e.g. Saintyves, *o.c.*, p. 43; 45; 270; Tallqvist, *o.c.*, p. 299 f. etc.
[76] For "allusions cosmiques ou guerrières" compare also Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.* IX, p. 3.
[77] For particulars see e.g. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, IV (Cambridge Mass., 1957), p. 231.
[78] See also E. W. Hopkins, in *Hastings' Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics*, XI, 686.
[79] However, in translating Soma may be preferred, the moon being mentioned, beside the sun and fire in the preceding stanza.

oṣadhya eva ca || somasyātmā ca bahudhā saṃbhūtaḥ pṛthivītale | amṛtaṃ ca viṣaṃ caiva ye cānye tṛṇajātayaḥ; in 14, 43, 8 cr. ed. Soma is *oṣadhīnāṃ patiḥ*. Some of the functions or qualities of the one were transferred to the other: an increase of "Soma and ocean" is for instance produced by an oblation of rice and honey offered to the rising full moon,[80] *candramās* "the moon" is Mbh. 5, 109, 5 cr. ed. said to have been consecrated king of the brahmans (*viprāṇām*; cf. 12, 79, 13). In 3, 213, 26 cr. ed. it is Soma who at the time of new moon enters the sun.[81] In 13, 92 vulg. the gods and Fathers address Soma when the latter got overfed by the abundance of śrāddhas, and a king drawn by sixteen horses – the moon's vehicle is quite intelligibly drawn by so many steeds – is likened to the "Lord of asterisms mounting his 'ambrosial car'" (Mbh. 12, 38, 33 cr. ed. *amṛtamayaṃ ratham … tārakārājaḥ*).[82] Among the objects obtained from the ocean is (1, 16, 33 cr. ed.) *somaḥ śītāṃśuḥ* "the cool-rayed Soma" (who in the Veda is mountain-born).

In view of the well-known tendency of Indian thought to identify powers and concepts on the ground of common characteristics, similar functions or manifestations – "was einander unter irgendwelchen Gesichtspunkten ähnlich ist, gilt als verwandt oder identisch"[83] – and mindful of the fact that 'generative specialization' forces celestial deities "to take into their personality every hierophany directly connected with the fertility of the universe"[84] it would appear to me that Lüders was too pessimistic with regard to the question as to how the identification of moon and soma is to be explained.[85] He seems however right in supposing that this process took place at the end of the early Vedic (altvedisch) period. Kirfel[86] and other scholars – among whom Hillebrandt has gone farthest – who held the opposite opinion have no doubt misunderstood definite Ṛgvedic stanzas or attached too much value to "les allusions (mal déchiffrables d'ailleurs) au caractère lunaire de Soma … (qui) se concentrent pour la plupart dans quelques versets de l'hymne à Sūryā 10, 85".[87, 88] There are more places in which the blend of both concepts is obvious: 13, 67, 12 vulg. *nīrajātaś ca bhagavān somo grahaṇeśvaraḥ*. Though denoted by the word *soma-* the moon is given epithets which properly speaking belong to the heavenly body in 1, 16, 33 cr. ed. where he arises from the ocean which is churned *śatasahasrāṃśur … | prasannātmā samutpannaḥ somaḥ śītāṃśur ujjvalaḥ*.

The question may therefore arise as to which part of the population of ancient India this identification must be attributed to. As far as I am able to see not to those poets and priests who were interested in the soma cult as described in the 9th maṇḍala and other parts of the Ṛgveda,[89] but rather to the speculative theorists and ritualists whose views and opinions gave rise to the brāhmaṇa literature and who were – not only in this case – prompted by the inclination to associate elements of the religious tradition of the Aryans in general with elements of the sacrificial lore and practice. The poets and redactors of the Ṛgveda may have lived before those who introduced the identification, or they may have ignored or rejected it, because it did not match their theories of soma or because they could explain its function and significance without resorting to the moon, in which they obviously did not take a keen interest.[90] The identification cannot on the other hand have failed to reinforce the old conceptions with regard to the moon.

It would however be incorrect to conclude that in Hinduism soma is

[80] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 92.

[81] "Der Mond ist es ja in der Tat auch, der, wenn er als abnehmender der Sonne immer näher gekommen, immer mehr erst gegen Morgen aufgehend, schlieszlich im Morgen, im Osten, im Sonnenaufgange angelangt ist, in dem roten Lande …, an dem Orte des Hellwerdens …, d.h. in den Feuerstrahlen der Sonne, verschwindet, nachdem er seinen Glanz … abgelegt" (Seler, *o.c.*, p. 30).

[82] Thus Hopkins, *l.c.*

[83] *Die Religionen Indiens* I, p. 177. (It may perhaps also be observed that the peculiar behaviour of some 'lunatics' is not unlike that of those under the influence of plenty of alcoholic drinks).

[84] Eliade, *Patterns*, p. 87.

[85] H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1959), p. 700.

[86] Kirfel, *o.c.*, p. 30.

[87] Renou, *o.c.*, IX, p. 4 with n. 2.

[88] In the Petrograd Dict. (I, 801) it is suggested that the identification of the soma (plant and juice) with the moon was due to the circumstance that the word *indu-* "drop, spark, moon" applies both to the soma and the moon; see also Eggeling, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, I, p. 176. n. 3. As the primary meaning of *indu-* is not known (cf. also M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterb. des Altind.* (Heidelberg, 1953-), p. 88) it is difficult to base any argument on it. In contradistinction to the Petrograd Dict. it must be maintained that "von der späteren Bedeutung Mond im ṚV. keine sichere Spur ist" (Grassmann, *Wörterb. zum* ṚV., 212).

[89] The statement that it was in "priestly speculation" that soma became identical with the moon (K. W. Morgan, *The religion of the Hindus*, New York, 1953, p. 93) can therefore lead to misunderstanding.

[90] After having written this chapter I set eyes on A. Barth, *The religions of India* (London, ⁴1906), p. 27: "The authors of the hymns have thus discarded, or at least left in the shade, a great number of legends which existed previously, those, for example, which referred to the identification of soma with the moon … In this way a long list could be drawn up of what might be called the reticences of the Veda". In substance this view was also held by Hillebrandt (see *Vedische Mythologie*, I (Breslau, ²1927), p. 305) who however fell into the error of insisting that the moon nature of Soma exists throughout, that Soma is the moon, and that the latter was the greatest and most popular of all Vedic gods. (For criticism see also A. B. Keith, *The Religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, Cambridge Mass., 1925, p. 171).

exclusively the earth's satellite. The ancient Soma conception survived. It is Soma who feeds the rivers by causing rain (VāP. 51, 14ff.; cf. ṚV. 9, 74, 3). The origin of the plants is connected with his birth (VāP. 70, 3; 31, 38; cf. ṚV. 9, 114, 2). Indra always enjoys the draught (12, 72, 33), revelling in the seven kinds of soma sacrifice (3, 88, 6; 12, 29, 56f.). There are also soma-drinking kings (5, 149, 84 cr. ed.), but the VāyuP. associates this drink with gods only. The performance of a soma sacrifice is a meritorious deed, the Vedic cult passing in the epic as the usual accepted form of worship save for Viṣṇuite passages inculcating simpler rites.[91] Agni does not only consume the oblations at the great sacrifices but, when extolled, also drinks the soma (MārkPur. 99, 65). Here again there is no more or less 'sudden' transition, but a survival, in definite groups of the population, of an element of Vedic culture.

However, Soma as a fighting god, as a valiant commander (ṚV. 9, 96, 1), a hero (9, 35, 3) and destroyer of enemies (9, 1, 3; 11, 7 etc.) is in the epics almost forgotten. It is true that he once possessed a bow and a war-chariot, but he gave them away to Indra (Mbh. 1, 216, 4f. cr. ed.). His exploit of raping Tārā, the star-wife of the planet Bṛhaspati,[92] properly belongs to the lunar component of his figure. So does the story of his partiality for one of his twenty-seven wives, the Nakṣatras (the stars and asterisms of the lunar zodiac) and the illness (consumption) in which it resulted; as the moon is the "lord of plants" and as the gods depend on vegetable offerings, his decline frightened them, so that they interceded for him (1, 60, 17; 9, 34, 48ff.). The ideas associated with the nakṣatras – an astronomical tenet which possibly was of foreign (Babylonian?) origin[93] – were, it is true, known to Vedic authors,[94] the connection of the moon with the lunar mansions being, in the later saṃhitās, conceived of as a marriage union, the fully developed story (with Dakṣa as the Moongod's father-in-law etc.) does not appear in the texts before the post-Vedic period. In combining Soma with Agni (12, 328, 52ff. etc.) and in identifying both deities (1, 220, 29) the epic poet is in harmony with the Veda: ṚV. 9, 66, 19-21 both deities are expressly identified.[95] As to his relations with other deities it seems also worth noticing that in ṚV. 10, 14, 13 he is

[91] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 68. – Compare also D. Patil, *Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa* (Poona, 1946), p. 213.
[92] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 90.
[93] Kirfel, *o.c.*, p. 36*.
[94] A. Weber, "Die vedischen Nachrichten von den Naxatra", *Abh. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1860-62; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects*, I (Benares, 1958), p. 409 ff. Kirfel, *o.c.*, p. 34 f.
[95] Cf. S. S. Bhawe, *The soma-hymns of the Ṛgveda*, III (Baroda, 1962), p. 112 f.

said to be pressed for Yama, whereas in Mbh. 1, 65, 39 he unites with Yama in fearing a saint, Yama being the only god with whom he is (also in śrāddhas) associated: as already observed there are ancient connections between the moon and the dead.

Post-epic texts (Harivaṃśa and purāṇas) delight, on the other hand, to describe the moon, Candramās, whose adventures are few and unimportant in the epics, as a warrior, adding details of his equipment, "a fact probably not unconnected with the desire of the lunar dynasty to see its progenitor exalted".[96]

This is however not all. In the epics a remarkable distinction is made between the *soma-* and the *candra-* or *śaśin-* ("moon") terminology which, though not without exceptions,[97] is worth studying at some length. In an account of its diameter and circumference the moon is Mbh. 6, 13, 42f. denoted by the words *candramās-* and *śītaraśmi-* "the cool-rayed one". Similarly when speaking of the sickle and of the waxing moon *candra-* or *śaśin-* are usually employed. Further, in connection with the sun etc.: 1, 125, 30 *pañcatāreṇa saṃyuktaḥ sāvitreṇaiva candramāḥ*; 227, 2B. like the moon covered by mist; 3, 80, 98 cr. ed. *nirmalaś candramā yathā*; 3, 142, 8B. sun, moon, stars and planets; in 3, 163, 27B. *sūryācandramasau* go round the Meru; 6, 13, 42 cr. ed.; 39, 12; 96, 36; in 1, 17, 5 in the story of the acquisition of the amṛta by the devas: the sun and the moon having seen that the dānava Rāhu attempts to drink also, give notice of his transgression to Viṣṇu who strikes his head off; from this time on this head causes eclipses (9 *candrasūryābhyām*); in connection with the demon of eclipses, Rāhu: 13, 125, 49B.; 12, 248, 63B. sun and moon are Śiva's eyes; 13, 156, 5B. again *candrādityau*; likewise *sūryācandramasau* 1, 59, 26 cr. ed.; cf. 1, 65, 38 (13, 156, 2B., however, *somabhāskarau*); in connection with the 'lunar mansions' (the asterisms or constellations through which the moon passes): 5, 138, 27 *parivṛtaḥ ... nakṣatrair iva candramāḥ*, with a planet: 9, 15, 10; the moon shining in the sky is 3, 266, 2 called *śaśalakṣaṇa-* "hare-marked"; 3, 75, 27 *śītāṃśu-* "the cool-rayed one" (but 3, 249, 31B. *somaḥ śītāṃśutāṃ tyajet*); in connection with moonlight: 13, 76, 18 B. *vaiṣṇavāś candralokāḥ* (*candravat loka āloko yeṣām ...*, Nīl.), and as a model of beauty: 9, 6, 12 *kāntirūpamukhaiśvaryais tribhiś candramasā samam*; in a description of the growth of the plants through

[96] Hopkins, *o.c.*, p. 93.
[97] And notwithstanding some remarks already made by Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 90 ff. – From 9, 6, 12 the text-places will be quoted as found in S. Sørensen, *An index to the names in the Mahābhārata* (London, 1904), and the Bombay edition. They may be easily looked up in the Critical edition, Poona, 1933 ff.

the activity of sun and moon: 3, 3, 6ff. *rasān uddhṛtya raśmibhiḥ / ... raviḥ ... oṣadhīr oṣadhīpatiḥ* (the moon) *divas tejaḥ samuddhṛtya janayāmāsa vāriṇā / niṣiktaś candratejobhiḥ ... raviḥ / oṣadhyaḥ* ... The term *candra-* (*candramās-*) occurs also in enumerations of divine names: 1, 211, 4 *tatra devo mahādevas tatrāgnir vāyunā saha / candrādityau ca śakraś ca* ...; 3, 118, 12 ... *bhavasya candrasya divākarasya pater apām* ...; 9, 45, 6; 13, 31, 7; 86, 23; 13, 165, 10 *candrasūryau* etc.; in identifications, of Śiva with other deities: 7, 202, 102 *sa candraś caiva vāyuś ca*; 103; 108 where water, stars and moon are called Śiva's mild (*saumya-*) manifestations; 13, 160, 14. In connection with Rohiṇī, the Moon's favourite wife[98] (Aldebaran) the name Candra occurs e.g. 5, 117, 9 (in an enumeration of famous married couples), Śaśin "(the heavenly body) containing a hare" 3, 68, 22; but 1, 199, 5; 3, 113, 22 we find the name Soma. The name Candramās is also found in a mythological genealogy: 1, 66, 19; in an account of *adhidaivatas*, together with the earth, wind etc. 12, 313, 11. It seems worth mentioning that the name Niśākara ("Nightmaker") is used in connection with the moon's lordship over the lunar mansions (*nakṣatras*): 12, 122, 31; cf. also 9, 34, 21, etc.; with the eclipse caused by Rāhu in a night of full moon 3, 68, 14; 6, 110, 37; with the moon in a cloudless sky: 3, 69, 11.[99] Tārādhipa "the lord of the stars" is, although considered synonymous with Soma,[100] used to denote the visible celestial body: 1, 67, 32; 3, 280, 18 etc. Similar remarks may be made with regard to Śaśin "containing a hare": 7, 6, 7; 84, 20 *tamo vighnan yathā śaśī*; 12, 11, 14 etc.; to *śaśāṅka-* idem: 8, 68, 13; to *śitāṃśu-* "the cool-rayed one", etc.

In 1, 225, 4, where Soma[101] the king (*somena rājñā*) had possessed the bow, the quivers and the chariot which Varuṇa gave to Arjuna (similarly 4, 43, 6 *somaḥ ... rājā*) the ancient Vedic Soma survives; on the chariot he had vanquished the dānavas (13): for Soma as a conqueror of enemies e.g. ṚV. 9, 20, 1; 63, 28; 29; 90, 3; 10, 128, 5; for his weapons ṚV. 6, 44, 22; 9, 61, 30 etc. In accordance with Vedic belief the brahmans are *somarājānaḥ*: 8, 42, 42; 13, 34, 1; 159, 7. In 12, 208, 9 *rājā somaḥ* is Atri's son. The well-known Vedic couple Agni and Soma, the two sacrificial gods,[102] who in the ritual and in the later Saṃhitās were closely connected, and who are AV. 3, 13, 5 said to be borne by the waters, and 6, 93, 3

[98] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 53; 63; 90.
[99] For a significant use of 'epithets' and similar words see *Epithets in the Ṛgveda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), passim.
[100] See e.g. Sørensen, *o.c.*, p. 675.
[101] It may be noticed that not all places quoted under the heading Soma by S. Sørensen, *An index to the names in the Mahabharata* (London, 1904), exhibit this name of the deity.
[102] Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 126.

invoked for protection, are repeatedly mentioned. In 8, 34, 49 they (*agnīṣomau*) are said to compose the whole world:[103] *agnīṣomau jagat kṛtsnaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ cocyate jagat*; 3, 221, 15 they are as the sons of Niśā admitted into a mythological genealogy; 3, 224, 11ff. they occasion an eclipse by entering the sun; 5, 46, 11 they occur in a text describing the nature of brahman (*agnir bhoktā somo bhojyam*, Nīl.). With regard to the body of Śiva, which consists of Agni and Soma it reads 7, 202, 41 *ūrubhyām ardham āgneyaṃ somārdhaṃ ca śivā tanuḥ*; 12, 288, 33 *agnīṣomāv idaṃ sarvam*; 341, 58 *agnīṣomamayaṃ ... jagat kṛtsnam*; 342, 1 etc.; cf. also 13, 63, 40 *agnīṣomau hi tac cukraṃ sṛjataḥ*; 84, 46 *agnīṣomātmakaṃ suvarṇam*. See also 13, 91, 23; 26. As the drink of the gods Soma appears in 5, 108, 11 *somaḥ suraiḥ kratuṣu pīyate*; 12, 342, 35 *sarvayajñeṣu suhutaḥ somaḥ pīyate*. When identified with Prajāpati the name Soma is used 5, 149, 3, where Yayāti is "sixth from Soma" and Soma is called the Prajāpati of the Kurus. When marrying twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa he is called Indu (1, 66, 13), or Soma (1, 66, 16; 9, 35, 46 etc.). In 12, 348, 15 the Vaikhānasas communicate the religion of Narāyāṇa to Soma. As a sacrificer he appears 7, 66, 10 *ije ca vividhair yajñair yathā somaḥ*; 8, 43, 46f.; 9, 50, 69 (but 51, 1 Uḍupati); as the protector of the northern region 8, 45, 32 (cf. ṢaḍvB. 4, 4, 9[104]). When the epic poets prescribe offerings to be presented to Soma in the north (e.g. 13, 97, 12) and locate the Somaloka in the same region (13, 102, 29) they are in agreement with ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 8. As is well known to all students of the Veda the soma plant was held to grow on the mountains,[105] especially on the Mūjavant (see Yāska, Nir. 9, 8[106]), which, if the identification with the epic Muñjavant is right, was the name of a mountain in the Himālaya.[107]

The term Soma does not however always apply to the moon. In 1, 25, 13 Indra is identified with Viṣṇu, Soma etc.; 55, 1 worship of Soma, Varuṇa, Prajāpati at Prayāga; cf. 71, 39 *yamaiś ca somaś ca maharṣayaś ca*; 82, 12; 170, 43 Soma learnt the science Cākṣuṣī from Manu and communicated it to Viśvāvasu; 229, 30. Similarly in enumerations of gods from which no associations with the moon can be inferred: 1, 197, 3; 3, 189, 6; 201, 18; 265, 3; 4, 56, 11; 5, 16, 27; 7, 98, 33 *devā brahmasoma-*

[103] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 218, n. 1 incorrectly says that while Rudra(-Śiva) is of the nature of fire (*agnimaya-*), Viṣṇu, of the moon: read, of Soma (*somātmaka-*), see *Aspects of early Visnuism*, p. 95 f.; see e.g. ŚB. 3, 6, 3, 19; Mbh. 7, 202, 83; 8, 34, 49; 56; 79; 100.
[104] W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder* (Bonn, 1920), p. 34*.
[105] For references: Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic index*, II, p. 475.
[106] Macdonell-Keith, *o.c.*, II, p. 170.
[107] See e.g. Mbh. 14, 8, 1.

purogavāḥ; 8, 34, 18 *viṣṇuṃ somaṃ hutāśam* (not the moon); 87, 47; 96, 60; 12, 281, 23; 13, 62, 48 and in other passages in which Soma occurs without any reference to one of those aspects or functions which are relevant to the matter under discussion: 3, 231, 46 *chatraṃ ca pāṇḍuraṃ somas tasya* (of Skanda) *mūrdhany adhārayat*; 232, 16; cf. also 8, 46, 38 (Indu as one of the horses of Arjuna's chariot). Similarly 7, 69, 24 Somarāj. Sometimes the context seems to show that Soma in an otherwise neutral statement is the moon: 2, 3, 23 *yathā vahner yathārkasya somasya ca yathā sabhā*; 3, 12, 21 *brahmā somaś ca sūryaś ca dharmaḥ* ...; 13, 82, 7 *indro vivasvān somaś ca.*

Of special interest are some passages in which two or more than two names of the moon (Moon-god) occur in close proximity. Is for instance the choice of the three names in 9, 35, 43f. – the question introducing the story of how Soma (because of his partiality for Rohiṇī: the anthropomorphous god) was cursed to go into 'consumption', how Candra (the material moon?) bathed in a holy bathing-place and how Śaśī (the moon characterized by the hare) after bathing waxed again – due to the merest chance? In the succeeding narrative,[108] in which various names of the deity occur over 30 times, the typically lunar terms are used in connection with his nocturnal visit to his favourite wife Rohiṇī (*niśākara-* 48; *candramās* 60); when his other wives (the nakṣatras) go to him (43f.); his emaciation (*uḍupati-* 62; 63; 66; 70); his behaviour with regard to the nakṣatras (74); his bath (75; 85; 86); the name Soma, when he is represented as a husband, of Dakṣa's daughters in general (cf. also 12, 207, 24) (46; 56) or of Rohiṇī (49; 50; 54); when he is addressed (57; 66; 80), and affected by consumption (62); when he wastes away, in connection with the plants (64); when the gods intercede for him (70); when he goes to the Sarasvatī (78), and is accompanied by the gods (80). He answers, however, as Śaśalakṣaṇa (68). If there is a tendency to distinguish between the divine person and the celestial body, it is to a certain extent annulled by the exigencies of versification etc. (cf. e.g. 76 *kṣayaṃ somo ... gamiṣyati*). – In the enumeration of the eight Vasus, the sons of Prajāpati, son of Manu or Muni (1, 66, 18ff.)[109] he is alternately Soma and Candramās; in the Veda these deities constitute a rather vague group connected with or led by Agni,[110] in ŚB. 11, 6, 3, 6 Candramās is the name of one of the eight; cf. also Mbh. 1, 67, 112.

[108] On account of his predilection for Rohiṇī Soma's other wives complained to their father Dakṣa who cursed Soma so that he was affected by phthisis.
[109] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 170.
[110] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 130.

However, in an enumeration of deities and their functions it reads, *inter alia, adhipo nakṣatrāṇāṃ ca candramāḥ* and *oṣadhīnāṃ patiḥ somaḥ* (14, 43, 6; 9). In a description of sun and moon going round Mount Meru the latter is 3, 163, 27 *candramās* (compound), 32 *bhagavān somaḥ.* In a late, but interesting passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (7, 23, pra. 3 and 4, 29) the world of Soma (Somaloka), where Rāvaṇa's father tells him of the local saints etc., is distinguished from the world of Candramās above the seven wind-worlds.

Elsewhere however the word soma is used to denote the celestial body in its usual cosmographic-mythological aspects: 3, 247, 9 *upaplutaṃ yathā somaṃ rāhuṇā*; similarly, 7, 116, 26; 6, 11, 3 *rāhoḥ somārkayos tathā*; 7, 137, 22; in connection with its revolution: 6, 17, 2 *maghāviṣayagaḥ somaḥ*, or with its influence on ebb and flow: *somena sārdhaṃ ca tava* (Varuṇa, as the lord of the sea) *hānivṛddhī bhaviṣyataḥ*). Inversely, the term candramās is once or twice used where we may expect to find Soma: 5, 111, 8 *rājyena viprāṇāṃ candramāś cābhyaṣicyata.* In 12, 182, 18 *agnīṣomau* are explained by the following *candrārkau.*

In the later epic Soma is said to be the son of Atri, the ṛṣi who had power over the sun, "not ineptly selected, though rather late, by the genealogists, who wished to assure equal dignity for the parvenu Moon-race with that long claimed by the solar dynasty".[111] See e.g. 7, 144, 4f.; 12, 208, 9 (*rājā somaḥ*). Thus it is, in the mythological accounts of the Purāṇas, Soma, Atri's son, who married the twenty-seven daughters of Dakṣa, or who had the Kṛttikās and other stars or asterisms as his wives; who was cursed by his father-in-law and struck with consumption. The same figure was however called Rājā "the King" (like the ancient Soma), and appointed by Brahmā as the Lord of plants, stars and brahmans (cf. e.g. BhāgPur. 8, 18, 15; 10, 84, 47; 11, 16, 16; 2, 3, 9; 9, 1, 35; BrPur. 3, 65, 46 etc. Elsewhere however he is a lokapāla with his city on the north of Mount Meru (BrPur. 2, 21, 33; 22, 14f. etc.), born from the ocean of milk (MatsyaP. 250, 2); his nectar is drunk by gods and Fathers (BrPur. 2, 23, 39; 69ff.), his water feeding the rivers by causing rain (VāPur. 51, 14ff.).[112]

Matters are however somewhat more complicated, that is to say, widespread beliefs with regard to the moon and the Indo-Iranian soma-concept, soma-theory and soma-ritual are not the only components which entered into the composition of the Hinduist beliefs concerning the moon which also include the belief that it is a cup containing the beverage of

[111] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 90.
[112] V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Purāṇa Index*, III (Madras, 1955), p. 694 f.

immortality called amṛta. The moon, which is ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 22 stated to be Prajāpati's food, delights according to Mbh. 12, 47, 39 the Fathers with 'ambrosia' (*amṛtam*) in the dark half, the gods in the bright half of the month. The purāṇas are likewise of the opinion that the moon contains amṛta which during the two weeks of the moon's increase is replenished by a special sunbeam. This amṛta is not only the food of gods and Fathers, but serves also as "cold nectar" or dew as a means of feeding the vegetable kingdom. According to several purāṇic sources the moon consists in its entirety of juices (*rasa-*).[113] This popular belief may no doubt be connected with old and widespread conceptions about the close relations between nectar or ambrosia on the one hand and honey, honey-dew, dew on the other.[114] These moistures were believed to come down from the sky or from the atmosphere (ordinary honey being not rarely conceived of as a sort of dew), or to be sent down by the moon. As the ideas concerning the salutary honey and the intoxicating mead were similar to those attached to the 'draught of immortality' enjoyed by the gods and as the soma was in all probability the Indo-Iranian substitute for mead or at least its counterpart, the inference that there existed a reservoir of soma in the moon cannot be regarded as far-fetched. Compare also the passage quoted from the Bundahišn by Darmesteter on Vend. 21, 9: "Quand le Taureau Evakdāt mourut (tué par Ahriman), grâce au sperme sorti du membre du Taureau, il poussa de terre cinquante-cinq espèces de céréales et douze espèces de plantes guérissantes. La lumière et la beauté (?) qui étaient dans le sperme du Taureau furent confiées à la lune. Ce sperme purifié dans la lumière de la lune de toute voie et façon, et organisé, produisit vie ...".

It would appear to me that with regard to the Indian form of nectar, amṛta, we are confronted with a state of affairs similar to that which we have come to know in connection with the moon. In some significant respects the amṛta concept of post-Vedic times bears a greater resemblance to the beliefs which may be supposed to have centered round the nectar idea in prehistoric times, or at least to the relevant beliefs of other

113 Meyer, *o.c.*, III, p. 208. Compare e.g. SauraP. 13, 18 "the moon, desired as nectar". We cannot discuss here those interpretations of commentators belonging to a later period who in explaining a Vedic passage identify soma and the moon, considering them to be food. See e.g. Sāyaṇa on AV. 3, 31, 6 and SB. 7, 3, 1, 46. – That the moon-god distributes nectar through his rays is still an element of modern folklore (see R. E. Enthoven, *The folklore of Bombay*, Oxford, 1924, p. 52). For this reason this deity is said to have the power of removing diseases and restoring human beings to health.

114 For particulars see Roscher, *Nektar und Ambrosia*.

Indo-European peoples than to the conceptions of the Vedic authors.[115] Here again there seems to have existed an unmistakable conceptional continuity which, however, for a certain period, remained 'underground'. It would appear to be as awkward a procedure to take for granted an abrupt transition from Vedic to post-Vedic beliefs in connection with the elixir of life as to blur out all differences between the two great periods of Indian history by summing up some main points without taking, from a chronological and 'sociological' point of view, account of the distribution of the relevant details over our sources.[116]

The well-known mythical story of the churning of the ocean and the acquisition of the amṛta by devas and asuras and its continuation, relating how the divine bird Garuḍa in order to end his mother's servitude, carried off the elixir, do not appear in our sources before the Mahābhārata (1, 17-19 and 20-34).[117] The gods and the 'demons', for once in harmony, churned the ocean, from which after a long time arose a number of very precious objects and important personalities, viz. the moon, the goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī, the milk-white horse called Uccaiḥśravas, the pearl of gems Kaustubha, the physician of the gods Dhanvantari bearing in his hand a white bowl containing the amṛta (*svetaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ bibhrad amṛtaṃ yatra tiṣṭhati*),[118] the elephant Airāvaṇa.[119] Instantly a great animosity arose between the gods and demons for possession of (Lakṣmī, the goddess of welfare, and) the invaluable drink. Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa assuming the shape of a beautiful woman (*māyāṃ mohinīṃ samupāśritaḥ*, 1, 18, 45) tricked the demons – who obviously had appropriated the draught – out of it and gave it to the gods.[120] When they drank it Rāhu, one of the demons, managed to steal a sip, but Viṣṇu, being informed by

115 See especially G. Dumézil, *Le festin d'immortalité* (Paris, 1924), and before him, Henry, in Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, p. 486: "remarquons que l'identité de ce breuvage (le soma) et de l'amṛta peut remonter fort loin".

116 See e.g. H. Zimmer, *The art of Indian Asia*, I (New York, 1955), p. 164: "Soma, king moon, dwells in the soma plant, the stalks of which yield an intoxicating juice. This dewlike elixir was the basic ingredient in the sacrificial drink offered to Indra and the other gods in the diurnal rituals of the Vedic period, being regarded as the terrestrial counterpart of the beverage of immortality, *amṛta-* (ambrosia), which the gods imbibed in their glorious mansions on the summit of Mount Sumeru and which was contained in the cup of the moon".

117 We leave undiscussed the other motives with which the story was enlarged.

118 In Mbh. 1, 18, 38 this bowl is not identified with the moon as is suggested by Zimmer, *o.c.*, p. 229.

119 For some variants as found in other sources see *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 128.

120 In the critical edition (V. S. Sukthankar, Poona 1933), the text runs as follows: *etad atyadbhutaṃ dṛṣṭvā dānavānāṃ samutthitaḥ / amṛtārthe mahān nādo mamedam iti jalpatām // tato nārāyaṇo māyām* etc., see above.

Sun and Moon, beheaded him. The gods gained the victory over the asuras. Afterwards Garuḍa – according to the epic story which is interlarded with a variety of other motives – undertook to carry off the amṛta – which is now (cf. 1, 30, 43) also called soma –, conquering the gods, killing the watchmen, extinguishing the fire behind which the drink was kept, penetrating the rotating knife-wheel and destroying the two snakes to which the care of the amṛta was entrusted. After carrying it away, he does not drink of it, but Visṇu grants him immortality and freedom from disease. Finally Indra succeeds in stealing it from him.

Now it is clear that deprived of all insertions, accretions and duplications[121] this story represents the Indian version of the well-known theme of the acquisition and theft of the water of life by a bird. The ocean was on the initiative and on behalf of the gods churned with the intention to gain the elixir of life (Mbh. 1, 17, 10); the appearance of other valuable objects and divine personalities may be considered to be of a secondary character. The elaboration of the story led also to the duplication of the theme of the theft. The popularity and the importance of the theme may appear from its occurrence in a plurality of literary works. The Rāmāyaṇa (1, 45) has it in a less elaborated and – as far as essentials are concerned – in all probability more original form: the asuras and the devas, seeking to become immortal and free from disease and other ills resolved to churn the ocean of milk. After some adversities in which Śiva and Viṣṇu came to their rescue, Dhanvantari appeared, and after him, Vāruṇī (the goddess "Wine"), the horse Uccaiḥśravas, the Kaustubha and 'the water of immortality' (*amṛtam*) for possession of which the devas and the asuras joined battle. Finally Viṣṇu, assuming a delusive form, stole the amṛta (obviously from the combatants). Those who opposed him were destroyed. According to the extended narrative found in the ViṣṇuPurāṇa (1, 9) the powerful daityas forcibly seized the amṛta-cup which was in the hand of Dhanvantari, but Viṣṇu, assuming a female form, fascinated and deluded them, recovering the beverage and delivering it to the gods, who after having drunk from it were able to defeat their enemies. The sun shone with renewed splendour and the three worlds were happy again.[122]

[121] For the story of Kadrū and Vinatā (Mbh. 1, 20 ff.) which has been omitted in the above résumé see e.g. J. Ph. Vogel, *Indian serpent-lore* (London, 1926), p. 49 ff.; for Indra and the Vālakhilyas, Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 269.

[122] The ViṣṇuPur. is among those works which do not take notice of the story told in the Mbh. and some purāṇas, of the daitya Rāhu's obtaining a portion of the amṛta. For the occurrence of the story in other purāṇas see the long note by H. H. Wilson, *Works*, VI (London, 1864), p. 146 ff.

As already observed long ago by Adalbert Kuhn[123] and afterwards in an ingenious argumentation – which however is not free from onesidedness and exaggerations – demonstrated by Dumézil[124] this epic and purāṇic story may be considered the Indian variant – and no doubt representative – of a widespread mythical theme which in all probability formed part of the stock of knowledge and tradition of the 'original' Indo-Europeans.[125] If appearances are not deceptive it essentially is the same myth as the complex of German traditions centering round the gods who being hungry had beer brewed by the god of the sea, Aegir, round Loki who being excommunicated coveted the drink, and round Thor who disguising himself as a woman, Freija, fetches back his hammer, which warrants the hegemony and longevity of the gods; as the Greek traditions about Ambrosia, the 'daughter' of Ocean and 'wet-nurse' of Zeus, and Tantalus who steals from their table the priceless ἀμβροσία, which ensues the gods' victory over the Titans, etc. etc. In short, the gods owe their extraordinary vitality to an elixir of life, called **n̥-mṛto-* i.e. "deathless, 'immortality', i.e. "which contains or grants life-power or grants longevity", "continuance of life, vitality, being secure against a premature death etc."[126] – a concept which was to become extremely important in the history of Indian thought –, and this amṛta is coveted by their rivals. What interests us most is that as a whole this ancient mythical story does not make its appearance before the great epics, that is to say in the early Hinduist period. The Kadrū and Vinatā story – an ancient and widespread animal fable – was however already in the Yajurveda amalgamated with the theft of the soma.

On closer investigation, arguments may however be adduced to show that, though in its entirety foreign to Vedic literature, it must have existed in the Vedic period. The *amṛtam*[127] is already in the Ṛgveda explicitly said to be in the waters (1, 23, 19): *apsv antar amṛtam*, words followed by

[123] A. Kuhn, *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* (Berlin, 1859), p. 247 ff. Compare also K. F. Johansson, *Solfågeln i Indien* (Upsala, 1910); J. Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasage*, (Upsala-Leipzig, 1920) and E. Sieg, "Indra und der Somaraub nach dem Ṛgveda", in *Festgabe-H. Jacobi* (Bonn, 1926), p. 228 ff.

[124] Dumézil, *o.c.*

[125] i.e. of the Indo-Europeans when living in their 'Urheimat'.

[126] See also P. Thieme, "Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte", *Ber. Verh. Sächs. Akad. d. Wiss. Leipzig* 98, 6 (Berlin, 1952), p. 15 ff.; Gonda, *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 97 f.; Henry, in Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 486, n. 2: "L'idée de l'*amṛta-*, en tout cas, paraît fort ancienne ...".

[127] It may be noticed that this word when used as a substantive does not always refer to a beverage. Cf. e.g. Geldner's note on ṚV. 1, 164, 21.

apsu bheṣajam "in the waters is the medicine". That it is the drink or food of the gods appears from 6, 44, 16 "Indra has drunk his dear amṛta" and 3, 26, 7 where Agni says that amṛta (i.e. the oblations of ghee which he is to convey to the gods) is in his mouth. It is however also identified with substances which are well known for their highly nutritious and beneficent charcter, viz. the milk of the cow (1, 71, 9; 3, 1, 14) and rain (cf. 10, 12, 3[128]). According to some scholars, e.g. Grassmann[129] and Geldner,[130] the word refers, in a number of cases, also to the ritually prepared soma. In places such as 9, 70, 2; 4; 74, 4; 110, 4 this is however far from certain. In 9, 70, 2 Lüders' view[131] is in my opinion[132] to be preferred: "der Gedanke ... ist offenbar, dasz Soma Himmel und Erde auseinanderstemmte, um sich eine himmlische Stätte zu bereiten, den schönen Strom des Unsterblichkeitstrankes im Himmel zu schaffen" (*sa bhikṣamāṇo amṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* "in dem Wunsche, das schöne Unsterbliche zu erlangen"; "... le beau (séjour) immortel", Renou, adding, "le soma se préparant son séjour céleste"). In st. 4 the words *vratāni pāno amṛtasya cāruṇaḥ* used in connection with the prepared soma ("die Satzungen des schönen Unsterblichen hütend";[133] "surveillant les obligations d'un beau (séjour) immortel"[134]) may perhaps be taken to imply an identification between the drink prepared by the officiants and an 'immortal' principle.[135] For *amṛtam* in a 'more abstract' sense ("immortality") see also 6, 7, 7; 9, 3; cf. also 1, 164, 21.[136] ṚV. 9, 74, 4 may, in a similar way, contain the assertion that the visible drink is the *ṛtasya nābhiḥ* "navel of order"[137] and the *amṛtam* "(principe) immortel".[138] For 9, 110, 4 I would refer to Lüders' interpretation.[139] With regard to 6, 44, 23 *ayaṃ tridhātu divi ... vindad amṛtaṃ nigūḷham* "he (the god Soma) found in heaven the threefold amṛta which was hidden (there)", Geldner[140] observed: "Soma der Gott ist hier vom Somatrank verschieden". I would prefer a literal interpretation "Soma found the heavenly draught of immortality" i.e. the

[128] See Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, III, p. 139.
[129] H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* (Leipzig, 1936), 94 f.
[130] Geldner, *o.c.*
[131] H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951), p. 237.
[132] Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IX (Paris, 1961), p. 19, 79.
[133] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 242.
[134] Renou, *l.c.*
[135] Some suppositions: H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vratá und awestisch urvăta* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 59.
[136] Geldner, *o.c.*, I, p. 231.
[137] See Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 606.
[138] Renou, *o.c.*, IX, p. 24.
[139] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 601 f.
[140] Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 139.

divine power manifesting itself in the drink prepared by the officiants was able "den Göttertrank herabzuholen", that means: Soma who in a considerable number of texts[141] is said to ascend to heaven or to the gods, where he is *inter alia* stated to win water (9, 71, 8) and where he has his permanent seat,[142] is 6, 44, 23 represented to fetch, on behalf of mankind and the world, the heavenly drink of immortality. Although both liquids may be identified – as may for instance appear from those places which refer to the falcon which fetched the soma from heaven[143] – a distinction – which may be supposed to be original – is nevertheless made between them. In 6, 75, 18 Soma, the king, is requested to cover the person on whose behalf the verse is recited with (his) amṛta (*somas tva rājāmṛtenānu vastām*); again no identity. In 10, 123, 3 the words *madhvo amṛtasya*, translated by "am süszen Göttertrank" (Geldner) or "am süszen Amṛta" (Lüders[144]) may mean the "immortal soma draught" (cf. e.g. 9, 72, 2 *kāmyam madhu*), *amṛtam* being an adjective qualifying the drink; cf. 8, 48, 3 where Soma is addressed as *amṛta*, 9, 110, 4 where he is called "immortal among the mortal ones"; 9, 91, 2 *induḥ ... amṛtaḥ*. In the difficult sūkta 5, 2 it reads (st. 3) *dadāno asmā amṛtaṃ vipṛkvat* "giving him (Agni) the unmixed amṛta" which here to all appearance is not the soma juice: *aham asmai agnaye amṛtam avināśyam ṛtatvasādhanaṃ vā vipṛkvat sarvato vyāptaṃ haviḥ stotraṃ vā dadānaḥ dātāsmi* (Sāyaṇa). Elsewhere it is Agni who gives an abundance of amṛta: 7, 4, 6 *īśe hy agnir amṛtasya bhūrer ... dātoḥ* (*amṛtasya*: *annam udakaṃ vā*, Sāyaṇa). In 10, 186, 3 it is Vāyu's house in which a treasure of amṛta is stored up (*amṛtasya nidhir hitaḥ*). On the strength of the above texts and considerations the conclusion seems to be warranted that in the Ṛgveda Soma and amṛta are in principle not identical, but are sometimes associated or even identified with each other.

In the Atharvaveda the 'draught of immortality' is likewise said to be of celestial origin: 18, 4, 4 *svargā lokā amṛtena viṣṭā* (*vyāptāḥ, pūrṇāḥ*, comm.) *iṣam ūrjaṃ yajamānāya duhrām* "let the heavenly worlds, filled (?) with 'nectar', yield food (and) refreshment to the sacrificer".[145] That the possession of "the immortal" was as characteristic of the gods as heroism was of Indra, and association with the herbs of Soma, may appear from 19, 19, 10 (cf. 9; 5). Agni is requested to win for those speaking,

[141] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 207 ff.
[142] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 223 ff.
[143] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 206.
[144] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 606.
[145] See Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 873.

rain, breath for their progeny and amṛta from heaven (the sky: *divas pari*): 4, 15, 10; in 4, 23, 6 the gods are said to have discovered (*anvavindan*) it – "the immortal",[146] Whitney-Lanman[147] – by or through the same deity, through whom they also made the herbs rich in honey, through whom "they brought heaven": here again the amṛta had to be found or discovered. Similarly 13, 1, 17 where the gods discovered it through "the ruddy one" (Rohita, the sun). In 10, 10, 26 the cow is called amṛta and in 29 it is, like water, the sacrifice and the domestic animals, a quarter of the seed of that animal. There is of course a connection between this elixir and the waters, which are 4, 2, 6; 12, 3, 27 qualified as "immortal": 11, 6, 23 *amṛtaṃ ... bheṣajam / tad indro apsu prāveśayat* "the immortal medicine that Indra made enter into the waters". In 18, 4, 39 which belongs to a large collection of funeral stanzas, it is "these waters, rich in honey,[148] which yield (lit. milk from themselves) to the Fathers *svadhā* (the libation offered to the deceased ancestors) and *amṛta-*": that is to say, the waters are considered to be the place of origin of the elixir. In 3, 12, 8 the wife of the sacrificer is, on the occasion of a rite accompanying the building of a house, urged on to enter the new dwelling with a full jar which – while according to KauśikaS. 43, 10 containing water[149] –, is said to be "a stream of ghee combined with nectar" (*ghṛtasya dhārām amṛtena saṃbhṛtam*); the woman is further requested to anoint[150] with amṛta.[151] The poet of 3, 13, 6 exclaims that he thinks himself to have partaken of the 'nectar' when he has enjoyed the gold-coloured waters (*manye bhejāno amṛtasya tarhi hiraṇyavarṇā atṛpaṃ yadā vaḥ*): this sūkta was according to KauśikaS. 40, 1 ff. to be used in a ceremony for directing water into a certain course, in 41, 14 it is to be recited in a rite for good fortune, according to the commentary by one who desires rain. In 8, 1, 5 the waters are requested to rain a collection of things which is indicated by the term *amṛtāni*:[152] again, the waters as the source of '*amṛtam*'. Water to be used in a rite for counteracting the evil effect of poison is in 4, 7, 1 called an "on-pouring of amṛta". In 8, 7 in which, for someone's

[146] It is indeed not always easy to decide whether *amṛtam* is in a definite context to be taken as the drink or as a 'principle'; see also Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 227 (on 5, 4, 3 "the gods won, in heaven, the kuṣṭha (plant), the sight of amṛta").
[147] Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, p. 191.
[148] For "honey": Macdonell-Keith, *o.c.*, II, p. 123 f.; O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, I (Berlin, 1917-1923), p. 139 ff.; H. W. Bailey, in *Silver Jub. Vol. of Kyoto Univ.* (1954), p. 1 ff.
[149] Cf. also the commentary *udakena pūritam ... sudhāmayodakena sampāditām.*
[150] For the object see Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 107.
[151] See also 8, 2, 1 and the note by Whitney-Lanman.
[152] Cf. also 6, 1, 3.

restoration to health, the plants are addressed, they are (st. 12), being "rich in sweets" in all their parts, and "while partaking of sweet, a drink of amṛta", requested to "milk out ghee, food, and especially milk". In st. 22 it reads: "we make this man drink the strength of this amṛta" which is therefore considered to be naturally associated with the plants addressed. Passing mention may be made of the applicability of the adjective *amṛta-* to e.g. the rays extended by the rising sun (12, 1, 15); of the fact that bráhman's stronghold (*puram*) is stated to be covered (*āvṛtām*) with amṛta (10, 2, 29); of the statement (4, 26, 4) that heaven and earth bear the 'immortal' (*amṛtam*) and the oblations, and of 4, 35, 6 where from the rice-mess – from which deliverance of death is expected – the *amṛtam* is said to have come into existence. So much is clear from 13, 2, 15 that beings who have no claims on the amṛta of the gods (men or demons?) may be supposed to appropriate it: *tenāmṛtasya bhakṣaṃ devānāṃ nāva rundhate.*[153] In 8, 7, 20 soma and the oblation qualified as amṛta are two different substances: "the aśvattha (ficus religiosa[154]), the darbha (sacrificial grass), Soma king of plants, immortal oblation (*haviḥ*)".

That also in those times and those circles in which the brāhmaṇas were composed *amṛta-* was the 'food of life' and distinct from soma may appear from ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 20 *evam u haitaj jīvam eva devānāṃ havir bhavaty amṛtam amṛtānāṃ tasmād evaṃ pinaṣṭi* "the reason why he thus grinds it, is that the sacrificial food of the gods is living, is amṛta for the 'immortals'". Similarly, 3, 8, 2, 4. When looking down on the sacrificial butter one should say (1, 3, 1, 28): *tejo 'si, śukram asy, amṛtam asi ... tejo hy etac, chukraṃ hy etad, amṛtaṃ hy etat.* By basting the hearts of the sacrificial animals, it becomes the living food of the gods, and 'immortal' for the 'immortals'": ŚB. 3, 8, 3, 8, *tathaitaj jīvam eva devānāṃ havir bhavaty amṛtam amṛtānām.* The sacrificial food which is baked by fire is likewise *amṛtam* ("immortal, or, ambrosia"[155]): 6, 2, 1, 9. That it was the food of the gods appears also from ChU. 3, 6-10. Amṛta is here also identified with water: AiB. 8, 20, 1 *amṛtaṃ vā etad asmiṃl loke yad āpaḥ* "water is continuance of life in the world"; ŚB. 1, 9, 3, 7 "water means 'ambrosia'" (*amṛtaṃ vā āpaḥ*); 4, 4, 3, 15; 11, 5, 4, 5; 13, 8, 1, 9; cf. also 5, 1, 4, 6 where VājS. 9, 6 (ṚV. 1, 23, 19) is quoted. In JUB. 1, 10, 1 "she that

[153] See Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 722.
[154] the 'sanctity' of which was recognized in Vedic times; reverence was paid to the tree itself and to the tree as an abode or symbol of divinity; see e.g. N. Chaudhuri, in *Ind. Hist. Quarterly* 19 (1943), p. 318 ff.; also 'Totenseelen- und Fruchtbarkeitsbaum", see Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 331.
[155] J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, III (Oxford, 1894), p. 164.

milks amṛta" is said to possess separate (individual) waters, wish-granting imperishableness, to be, *inter alia*, superior by speech, permeated by mind (*manas*), to be pleasant through food, and to flow in all directions unto all these worlds. In PB. 25, 18, 4 it occurs as an independent power-substance besides tapas, brahman etc.

The idea of 'continuance of life' is however associated with soma: ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 6 "he buys the immortal with the immortal when (he buys) Soma with gold"[156] (*amṛtaṃ hy etad amṛtena krīṇāti yat somaṃ hiraṇyena*). In the interesting pericope 9, 5, 1, 1 ff. the amṛta ("nectar of immortality", Eggeling) which has departed from the gods was sought by them with toil and asceticism. Finally (7) they "laid hold of it and pressed it"; "now", the story continues (8), "that same 'nectar' is soma" (*tad yad amṛtaṃ somaḥ sa*), again the identification. Just as the gods, by drinking the *amṛtam* (7), conferred 'immortality' upon themselves, so the sacrificer becomes 'immortal' by drinking, in a ritual way, soma" (10). The idea of 'immortality' is explained by the text itself: *etad vai manuṣyasyāmṛtatvaṃ yat sarvam āyur eti* "for this is 'immortality' (or, rather, continuance of life) to man when he attains a whole[157] lifetime". In 12, 7, 3, 4 VājS. 19, 72 is quoted: *somo rājāmṛtaṃ suta ṛjīṣeṇājahān mṛtyum* "King Soma, pressed, the drink of life, left death behind with the soma dregs". To this verse Uvaṭa (on VājS.) observes: *Somo rājā sutaḥ abhiṣutaḥ amṛtaṃ saṃpadyate rasībhāvāt; sthūlasya hi sūkṣmatāmṛtatībhāvaḥ* "King Soma, when pressed, turns into amṛta because it becomes elixir ('essence'), for subtlety of what is massive means becoming amṛta". Cf. also JUB. 3, 38, 10 *yad aśarīraṃ tad amṛtam* "the bodiless is 'immortal'". In this connection reference may be made to AiB. 2, 14, 1 where the libations of the omentum, that of butter and the Agni and Soma libations are explicitly said to be libations of amṛta (*amṛtāhuti-*) "these are the incorporeal libations; with those libations which are incorporeal the sacrificer conquers immortality" (*yā vai kāścāśarīrā āhutayo 'mṛtatvam eva tābhir yajamāno jayati*). Another interesting passage is VājS. 6, 34, quoted e.g. in ŚB. 3, 9, 4, 16 *śvātrā stha vṛtraturo rādhogūrtā amṛtasya patnīḥ* "ye are invigorating, conquerors of Vṛtra, agreeable through munificence, consorts of the amṛta one" (i.e. of Soma): this stanza is to accompany the water with which the soma is sprinkled.

[156] For the immortal nature of gold see e.g. ŚB. 3, 8, 3, 26 *amṛtam āyur hiraṇyam* "gold means immortal life"; 4, 5, 2, 10; 6, 1, 6; 5, 1, 5, 28 etc.; PB. 9, 9, 4.

[157] i.e. "complete, uninjured" (i.e. a hundred years, 10, 1, 5, 4; cf. 10, 2, 6, 8), not "perfect" (Eggeling, *o.c.*, IV, p. 256). See my paper on the meaning of *sarva-*, *Indian Linguistics*, 16 (*Festschrift-S. K. Chatterji*), p. 53.

While there are therefore many places to show, on the one hand the independent character of the 'food of the gods, called amṛta, which is also brought out through its frequent association with the other uses of the much used term amṛta, and on the other hand the occasional association and even identification with the soma, it is time now to pay attention to other data showing the existence of the 'nectar complex' in Vedic times. Generally speaking, Dumézil[158] seems to be right in defending the thesis that in this ancient period the 'amṛta cycle' "apparaît fragmentairement, en quelques-uns de ses thèmes les plus caractéristiques et rattaché non pas à l'amṛta, mais à la nouvelle liqueur indo-iranienne, au soma ... Le jour où ... l'idée de l'Ambroisie s'est obscurcie, les légendes qui s'y rapportaient sont passées à tel ou tel autre objet plus important pour les dieux ou plus populaire parmi les hommes". It would appear to me that, indeed, in this case the hypothesis of a reinterpretation of an ancient mythical complex which had somehow survived is to be preferred to the alternative, viz. the parallel or secondary rise of a similar complex of ideas centering round the soma and the soma sacrifice.

The sacrifice is indeed called the food of the gods (ŚB. 8, 1, 2, 10 *yajña u devānām annam*; similarly, 11, 1, 8, 2)[159] and their self or principle of life (14, 3, 2, 1 *sarveṣāṃ devānām ātmā*); 8, 6, 1, 10 etc.).

Whereas Dumézil,[160] in defending the same thesis, seems to be right in stating that "le sacrifice, en langage sômique, c'est la même chose que le festin des dieux en langage amṛtique" one may have one's doubts about the absolute correctness of his opinion that "la caste[161] sacerdotale ... a pu, tout naturellement, transposer au profit de son culte la fête et les thèmes ambroisiens", that is to say: it remains to be seen, how far the brahmans did so consciously and deliberately. That it was in the eyes of the ancient authorities the desire to gain immortality which actuated the gods to perform sacrifices is true (ŚB. 10, 4, 3, 3-8); the gods were indeed afraid of death (TS. 2, 3, 2, 1; PB. 24, 19, 2 *devā* (*ha*) *vai mṛtyor abibhayuḥ*).[162] These efforts to attain 'immortality' brought the gods into conflict with the asuras who were in possession of this eagerly desired good (Kāṭh. 37, 14 *devāś ca vā asurāś ca saṃyattā āsann; asureṣu tarhy amṛtam āsīt*). That the differences between the rivalry of gods and asuras in the Veda – cf. already ṚV. 1, 108, 6 *ayaṃ somo asurair no vihavyaḥ*

[158] Dumézil, *Festin*, p. 31.

[159] Cf. also ŚB. 1, 2, 5, 24; TS. 3, 2, 9, 7 etc.; see S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas* (Paris, 1898), p. 38; 82.

[160] Dumézil, *o.c.*, p. 32.

[161] This term should of course have been avoided.

[162] Lévi, *o.c.*, p. 41 f.

"with regard to this soma we will have to contend with the asuras" – and the quarrels on account of the amṛta or nectar in the 'cycle de l'ambroisie' are with Dumézil[163] to be considered "une déformation des thèmes" may not be taken for granted. It may be asked how these differences – e.g. Soma's commandership – TB. 1, 5, 6, 4 etc. – could be explained: they may originate in an originally independent cycle. Anyhow, the vicissitudes with regard to the soma before it can be ritually pressed out are to a remarkable degree in harmony with the parallel episode of the 'ambrosia cycle'.

According to the tradition represented by the Yajurveda (see e.g. ŚB. 3, 3, 1, 1 ff.; TS. 1, 2, 7 ff.; ĀpŚS. 10, 20, 12-19; 22, 1-27, 8 etc.) the plant is purchased ere it is pressed.[164] The seller may be a man of a lower class, even a śūdra (cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 20, 12; Kāty. 7, 6, 3 f.). The gold with which the soma is bought should be retaken by force (TS. 6, 1, 10, 3 f.; ĀpŚS. 10, 26, 10); "darkness be on the Soma-seller", who is struck.[165] "There is a clear mimicry in some measure of the winning of the divine drink from the hands of the gandharvas",[166] because according to a tradition referred to by TS. 6, 1, 10, 4 and MS. 3, 7, 8: 85, 13 these divine beings were, in the heavenly regions, the guardians of the soma, which however by order of the gods was stolen from them by the Gāyatrī or the metres in general. In ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 2 the gandharva Viśvāvasu stole the draught from Gāyatrī while she was carrying it off. In AiB. 1, 27[167] the soma "was among the Gandharvas"; as the gods and the ṛṣis desired to possess it, Vāc (the goddess Speech) offered herself to barter it. Thus it happened, with her as a stark naked[168] one they bought Soma the king ....[169] According to some texts (MS. 1, 64: 92, 18; ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 15) Vāc and the cow, with which the Soma is purchased are identical. This narrative which obviously was handed down in several versions shows "mit wie grosser Anschaulichkeit man die alte Sage von der Gewinnung des Göttertranks auszumalen wuszte ... Es sind offenbar alte volkstümliche Sagenstoffe, die uns hier vorgeführt werden, Stoffe, die vielmehr, als der Ṛgveda vermuten läszt,

[163] Dumézil, *o.c.*, p. 33.

[164] W. Caland-W. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 43 ff.; Hillebrandt, *Vedische mythologie*, I (Breslau², 1927), p. 247 ff.; cf. also Henry, *Soma et Haoma*, p. 3.

[165] Dumézil's account (*o.c.*, p. 34) is not very satisfactory.

[166] A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and the Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 327. Cf. also Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, II, p. 71, n. 2.

[167] Inaccurately reproduced by Dumézil, *o.c.*, p. 35.

[168] *mahāṇagnyā*: not "a great naked one" (Keith, *Rigveda Brahmanas*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 128).

[169] See also ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 1 ff.

Gegenstand volkstümlichen Glaubens und Denkens waren".[170] The figure of the Soma seller may indeed be considered the counterpart of the rivals of the gods who were in temporary possession of the elixir; the rôle of Vāc that of Viṣṇu-Mohinī (i.e. Viṣṇu's Māyā manifestation mentioned Mbh. 1, 18, 45) and of Thor-Freija. While subscribing to Hillebrandt's opinion that "das indische Leben inhaltsreicher (war) als die zu bestimmten Zwecken veranstaltete Liedersammlung (the Ṛgveda) uns sagt", I cannot however agree with him in considering the purchase of the soma "die ersten nachweisbaren Anfänge der dramatischen Kunst im alten Indien".[171] This 'purchase' is no "Szene eines Volksschauspiels", the śūdra who sells the soma not "der dumme Teufel" of European stage plays.

The substitution of the eagle as the thief of the soma by the metres may be noticed in passing: "An die Stelle des Adlers sind die Metren getreten, die in Adlergestalt zum Himmel fliegen, um ihre Mutter Suparṇī mit dem von dort geraubten Soma aus der Knechtschaft der Kadrū loszukaufen. Die Kadrū und Suparṇī sind aber nach ŚB. 3, 2, 4, 1; 6, 2, 2 nur Scheingestalten (*māye*),[172] die die Götter, welche sich in dieser Welt befanden ... schufen, um sich den himmlischen Soma zu gewinnen. Von den drei Metren ... erreicht nur Gāyatrī wirklich das Ziel".[173]

As to the role played by Rāhu in the epic narrative of the churning of the ocean and the acquisition of amṛta, Caland[174] drew attention to TS. 2, 4, 12; 5, 2 (cf. MS. 2, 4, 3) where Vṛtra after having been born from Tvaṣṭar's sacrificial fire appropriates the fire and the soma. "Ein Zwischenglied zwischen dieser Überlieferung, dasz Vṛtra Sonne und Mond (rather, Agni and Soma, as is in the text) eingeschluckt hatte, und der episch-purāṇischen, dasz Rāhu dies tat, findet man in einer merkwürdigen Mitteilung von Bastian:[175] 'Nach den Mongolen verfolgte ihn (d.h. Rāhu) Indra mit seinem Donnerkeil und schlitzte ihm den Bauch auf, so dasz er, obwohl er die Himmelskörper verschlingen mag, dieselben doch nicht bei sich behalten kann, sondern unten wieder herausgleiten lassen musz'". Caland was no doubt right in considering the possibility of Rāhu's being

[170] Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, I, p. 257.

[171] Compare also my publication "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung und Wesen des indischen Dramas", *in Acta Or.* 19, p. 332 f.

[172] "... die wie ein See schimmernde Scheibe des Mondes, die von allen Völkern mehr oder minder bestimmt mit dem Wasser in Verbindung gebracht wurde, von den Mexikanern geradezu durch ein Wassergefäss hieroglyphisch zum Ausdruck gebracht wurde" (Seler, in *Zs. f. Ethn.* 39, p. 30).

[173] Sieg, *o.c.*, p. 238 f.

[174] W. Caland, "Rāhu im Veda", in *Festgabe-Jacobi*, p. 240.

[175] A. Bastian, *Die Volker des östlichen Asiens* (Leipzig, 1866), II, p. 344 f.

in these Vedic texts superseded by Vṛtra: the former occurs ChU. 8, 13 as the demon who causes the eclipses.

The moral of all this is, again, that we should avoid any simplification and unjustified brevity in formulating what has happened. Very complicated problems have indeed been unduly and unjustly simplified by those who reduced them to the formula: "The Vedic sacrificial beverage or draught of immortality has become a name of the moon in Hinduism". Moreover, the conceptions discussed in the above pages are on the one hand so general in character and widespread in occurrence and on the other in essential features so well-known to other ancient Indo-European peoples, that there is for the time being no coercive reason for considering the beliefs of the peoples of the substratum to have been the determinant factor in the development of ideas.

III. THE ABSENCE OF VĀHANAS IN THE VEDA AND THEIR OCCURRENCE IN HINDU ART AND LITERATURE

Those who emphasize differences of a mythological character draw attention to the vehicles of the gods. "Prior to their amalgamation with Dravidian deities the Aryan gods did not ride animals but had only aerial cars at their disposal. But as soon as Śiva and Pārvatī started the new fashion, the gods as if tired of old vehicles, changed them immediately. The animals became much in demand as Viṣṇu selected Garuḍa, Lakṣmī – his lovely spouse – ordered a blinking owl, Brahmā and Sarasvatī shared a swan, Yama was allotted a buffalo, Śiva's two sons, Gaṇeśa and Kārtikeya, had a mouse and a peacock respectively".[1] Here also we are, however, confronted with a much more complex problem than the quotation might suggest. A closer examination of the relevant facts will not, I am convinced, bring to light so sudden and so radical a change as the author of these lines would have us believe. The question is worth considering because the attributes of the gods were not, or not only, an affair of poets who wished to embellish their works with attractive episodes or of sculptors who were in search of suitable subjects. It is no matter of indifference that the Vedic gods were represented as driving chariots. Their behaviour, emblems and attributes are worthy of minute researches, because they reveal us important particulars with regard to their character and functions.[2] The Vedic gods are 'Urbilder', prototypes, hypostases,

[1] I. Shekhar, *Sanskrit Drama* (Leiden, 1960), p. 25.

[2] For instance, the goddess Durgā, when appearing as Agni-Durgā is portrayed as riding a lion and having a terrible look; as Ambikā she is seated on her lion, bestowing boons; when represented as Vindhyavāsinī ("the inhabitant of the Vindhya mountain") the same animal should be standing near her; as Bhadrakālī ("the auspicious Kālī"), the goddess has a handsome appearance and is seated in a chariot drawn by four lions; in representations of her combat with the demon Mahiṣa the lion is helping her. As Nandā the goddess is seated on an elephant, carrying a lotus; Rambhā is an aspect of hers said to grant all the desires of her votaries, there again she is believed to sit on an elephant; as the terrible deity of the night of destruction at the end of the world (*kālarātrī-*) she is naked and seated on an ass; as Śivā she is, like her husband, thought to be seated on a bull, etc. etc.

representatives of those powers, influences, phenomena, with which man feels and knows himself confronted, numinous feelings and experiences which had taken shape in the heads of their worshippers, more or less clear and vivid ideas conceived to explain the events in macro- and microcosmos, names and 'symbols' of complexes of factors and functions manifesting themselves everywhere and invoked when man is in need of assistance. In Hinduism the gods, being more pronouncedly anthropomorphous, are functionaries playing a role in the important mundane and cosmic processes, just like the kings who are responsible for the right course of things on earth. Although they make their existence and presence felt in the powers and processes of nature, they are also in the Veda always more than these.

I repeat, it is a matter of no little significance that they are described as driving swift horses (ṚV. 10, 92, 6), as tireless travellers (8, 2, 18), as approaching the sacrificers in their chariots (1, 84, 18; 7, 2, 5). It means, first, that they are supposed to be able to move rapidly and to exert their influence in all parts of the universe, and in the second place that, as far as they were conceived as anthropomorphous, they were represented as similar to very powerful human beings of nobiliary rank who also, in war and contest, drove their chariots, which bear the same name (*ratha-*). This similarity is of course not contradicted by such statements as 2, 16, 3 "Indra's chariot – which elsewhere is described as made of gold (8, 1, 24; 25) – is larger than the mountains", or 1, 11, 1 "Indra is the first of the chariot-drivers" etc., showing an understandable difference in degree between god and man. Nor is it insignificant that it is the powerful word of the poet which yokes the horses or sets the chariot of the god in motion (3, 50, 2; 7, 19, 6), that the hymn of praise is like a horse put to the chariot (7, 24, 5); this mythological imagery throws a light on the relation between human and divine influence and on the respective share of both cooperative parties in the important processes alluded to in the texts.

In Hinduism the anthropomorphous character of the gods is, generally speaking, more pronounced. Being subject to re-birth the devas are temporary holders of important functions. Their emblems and attributes are indicative of their qualities, representations of their functions and the visual expression of very important religious ideas.[3] A change in vehicle

[3] See e.g. J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1956); H. Zimmer, *Kultform und Yoga im indischen Kultbild* (Berlin, 1926); the same, *Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization* (New York², 1947); A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Pour comprendre l'art hindou* (Paris, 1926); S. Kramrisch, *Grundzüge der indischen Kunst* (Hellerau, 1924); J. N. Banerjea, in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 7, p. 134 ff. etc.

and in the conceptions connected with it must therefore be considered to point to a change in character, qualities and functions of the gods, i.e. of those powers which were thought to be concerned with the maintenance of the cosmic and physical processes. It is, to a certain extent, a matter of indifference whether this change has come about under the influence of a foreign civilization or was due to an internal development. In both cases the replacement of aerial chariots by vāhanas must have had a deeper sense, so as to be in harmony with a changing structure of mythological and *weltanschauliches* thought.

Now the contention that in post-Vedic times the gods do not ride in chariots is an incorrect generalization. The epos even mentions the name and exploits of Indra's charioteer, Mātali, who as such is unknown to the Vedic texts, although he can hardly be conceived of as historically different from the Mātalī mentioned in AthV. 11, 6, 23[4] *yan mātalī rathakrītam amṛtaṃ veda bheṣajam tad indro apsu prāveśayat* "the immortal remedy, chariot-bought, which Mātalī knows – that Indra made enter into the waters". He is of course recognized as the best charioteer in the world, although Indra cannot always keep his position in the car.[5] Rām. 7, 28, 23 f. Mātali first baffles the demons by his skill in driving and then smites them.[6] Like a human charioteer (*sūta-*) who is also a minister of his king, Mātali is "Indra's friend, minister and car-driver" (Mbh. 5, 104, 2 f. C. = 102, 2 f. cr. ed.). In short, the god is supposed to employ a sūta of the epic type. The chariot, called the "car of victory" (*jaitra-ratha-*), has likewise adapted itself to the epic surroundings, bearing on a yellow pole a dark-blue standard known as "the Victorious" (*vaijayanta-*, 3, 42 (43), 8 and 30); it is attended by celestial musicians and accompanied by the Maruts (cf. ṚV. 10, 157, 3 *ādityair indraḥ sagaṇo marudbhir asmākam bhūtv avitā tanūnām*).

In early Buddhist texts Sakka (i.e. Indra), the king of heaven, is still borne in a chariot, which – being likewise called Vejayanta[7] – has a team of a thousand thoroughly trained horses (SaṃyN. I, 224). These horses are as swift as the wind and the sound of the chariot echoes through the firmament, shaking the sky, sea and earth (see the elaborate description in Jātaka 535, p. 408 f.) and the noise of its wheels rousing the Buddha from

[4] See A. Weber, "Vedische Beiträge", in *Sitzungsber.* (Berlin, 1895), p. 837.

[5] E. W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 125.

[6] *mātaliṃ cāha deveśo rathaḥ samupanīyatām || sa tu divyo mahābhīmaḥ sajja eva mahārathaḥ | upasthito mātalinā vāhyamāno mahājavaḥ* etc.

[7] It is worth noticing that elsewhere this is the name of Sakka's palace, e.g. Jātaka 535 (V, p. 386, 1).

his meditation when the god came in the chariot to visit the Master (cf. (cf. DīghaN. II, 271). The number of a thousand horses is in agreement with ṚV. 6, 47, 18, cf. also 4, 29, 4 (thousands and hundreds); 8, 1, 24 (thousand and hundred); compare also BĀU. 2, 5, 19. In the Veda Indra's chariot is said to be "swifter than thought" (ṚV. 10, 112, 2). Indra's visiting the Buddha may be considered the same motive as his coming down to the sacrificial ground in the Veda.[8] Though clearly concurring with the poets of the Veda, these Buddhist texts are in harmony with the epics in mentioning his charioteer and companion Mātali.[9]

Among the gods who are traditionally described as riding in a chariot is also Agni whose flames are regarded as his bay steeds (ṚV. 5, 6, 6f.), and whose shining or sparkling chariot, in which he conveys the gods to the sacrifices of men, may leave behind a black track.[10] Deities are sometimes thought to drive, sometimes to ride the same animal; thus Durgā her lion.[11]

It is in this connection worth noticing that the well-known representations of the sun-god Sūrya[12] were doubtless inspired by the descriptions of the Ṛgveda. The authors of this corpus give him a car which is one-wheeled (cf. 5, 29, 10; or consists of one wheel: 7, 63, 2[13]), which is drawn by one steed, called Etaśa (7, 63, 2),[14] or by an indefinite number of horses (e.g. 1, 115, 3), or by seven fleet and ruddy[15] horses or mares (5, 45, 9; 7, 60, 3). The (post-Vedic) authorities on iconography instruct the sculptors to represent the god as standing on a seat of red lotus flowers placed in his chariot which should be drawn by seven horses; according to another tradition he should be placed in an one-wheeled great chariot with seven horses and a charioteer;[16] the god may also stand on a lotus without car. Thus the MatsyaPurāṇa 62, 1ff. lays down that the sun-god

[8] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Straszburg, 1897), p. 55.
[9] For other particulars see Ch. Godage, "The place of Indra in Early Buddhism", *University of Ceylon Review* 3 (Colombo, 1945), p. 61.
[10] See also further on.
[11] J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, I (Zürich, 1937), p. 160.
[12] See especially D. P. Pandey, *Sūrya, iconographical study of the Indian sun-god*, Thesis (Leiden, 1939); Banerjea, *Iconography*, p. 432 f.
[13] The sun is also said to have a wheel (ṚV. 4, 28, 2).
[14] In 10, 37, 3 winged Etaśas; plural also 10, 49, 7. For Etaśa see also E. Sieg, in *Nachrichten Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1928, p. 195 (Rosselenker des Sūrya), and P. Thieme, *Studien zur indogerm. Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 68 (?), and especially Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 149 f.
[15] For the colour of solar horses ("grey") see J. v. Negelein, *Das Pferd im arischen Altertum* (Königsberg, 1903), p. 34 ff.
[16] Particulars may be omitted here; see Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 21.

should be made standing in an one-wheeled[17] chariot, carrying lotus flowers etc.; the luminous seven horses should be yoked with ropes of serpents. In stanza 8 the author however adds that (the sculptor) "may (also make him) standing, a lotus in his hand, either on a lotus flower or on a vāhana", a word which, it is true, may beside draught-animal also mean "any vehicle or conveyance". The presence of the demon or demons of darkness on the Sūrya reliefs who being under his chariot are trampled down, is also, no doubt a reminiscence of the Vedic descriptions (ṚV. 1, 50, 13 "this Āditya, i.e. Sūrya, has risen and subdues my enemy"; 4, 13, 4 "Sūrya's rays have shaken down darkness"; 7, 63, 1).

Yet, what is instructive is the extension and 'dressing up' of the representation, the greater fulness of detail, in addition to the post-Vedic appearance of an 'accretion' in the form of the lotus motive.[18] Another authority, however, has the image dressed up by means of Vedic material: "he should be made sitting in a one-wheeled chariot with the seven Vedic metres (gāyatrī etc.) as his horses" (ViṣṇuDhPur. 3, 69, 12). In most of the mediaeval sun images, a miniature figure of Uṣas is seen between the god and his charioteer[19] in the exact position assigned to her in the Ṛgveda, where she (Dawn) is said to appear together with the rays of Sūrya (10, 35, 6), to bring or to introduce the sun (5, 80, 1 etc.), and to clear a way for the luminary (1, 113, 16), which is said to "shine forth from her" (1, 121, 6). Whether Aruṇa in his function as the charioteer may be said to be Vedic, depends on the date of the Suparṇādhyāya[20] where (3, 3f.) he, "the friend of the sun", is taken into Sūrya's employ.

In the earliest examples found in Indian sculpture the solar car is however drawn by four horses, although there seems to be only one text (BhaviṣyaPur. 36) which in this connection mentions the number four. The theory that the sun image with four horses – which appears in the earliest Indian representations of the Sun (IIIth or IIth cent. B.C.)[21] –

[17] For an enumeration of Vedic and post-Vedic texts (e.g. Mbh. 7,189,54; 12,362,1; Harṣa, Ratn. 3,5) describing the vehicle as one-wheeled see Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 106, n. 46.
[18] The red lotus (*padma-*), which blooms at sunrise and is considered a symbol of purity, became an attribute of the god.
[19] Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 12.
[20] Notwithstanding the decided opinion advanced by J. Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasage* (Upsala-Leipzig, 1920), p. 395 ("der Text gehört derselben Periode an wie die hauptsächlichsten Brāhmaṇas und die älteren Upaniṣaden") the date of this work remains uncertain. For ṚV. 1,130,9 compare Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt* (²1951), p. 183.
[21] Here a quotation may be inserted from Coomaraswamy, *A history of Indian and Indonesian art*, p. 27 (the deities represented in the ancient cave at Bhājā) "are not personal deities conceived in the manner of Hindu theism, but powers personified in the Vedic hymns".

has been introduced by the Greeks[22] or by the Scythians is not completely convincing: although in other parts of the ancient world the Sun's chariot has four horses, other details (e.g. the female attendants on the Indian representations) are foreign to the non-Indian images.[23] Whereas the seven horses (mentioned also Mbh. 7, 189, 54; ViṣṇuPur. 2, 8, 7; MārkPur. 107, 2 etc.) are said to represent the sun's seven rays, which are mentioned ṚV. 8, 72, 16,[24] and thus represent another detail of Vedic-Hinduist continuity, the four horses are meant to represent the four cardinal points or the four divisions of the day. The latter idea is also found in the West and may point to Western influence[25] as far as the 'four-in-hand' is concerned. It is interesting to add that the earlier images of Sūrya have a striking resemblance in dress and attitude to the statues of the Kuṣāṇa kings who were foreigners. In the course of time, however, the foreign spirit was slowly merging into the Hindu pattern; there came to be a representation of the deity which though completely hinduized retained a certain allusion to an originally foreign form.[26]

The image with the seven horses is on the other hand unanimously accepted as Indian in origin.[27] Sometimes the god is standing erect on a seven-horse chariot, sometimes he is enclosed within the orb of the sun on his car with the galloping animals. About the middle of the VIIIth century another type comes into being, representing the god seated in his seven-horse chariot while surrounded by his usual attendants. There is also a curious image on which the central horse is enclosed within a circle indicating the wheel of the chariot and is surmounted by Aruṇa, Sūrya's charioteer, behind whom sits another figure, probably Mahāśvetā.[28]

It would on the other hand be an ill-considered contention that the Vedic gods are not associated with animals.[29] That is to say, although they are not represented as being seated on an animal or riding it – but it will be remembered that these postures are not the only positions in

[22] See e.g. J. H. Marshall, in *J.R.A.S.* 1907-08, p. 1097.
[23] For details see Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 36; 42 f.
[24] Accordingly, his seven mares are ṚV. 1,50,9 called the daughters of his car.
[25] For images see e.g. H. Zimmer, *The art of Indian Asia* (New York, 1955), I, p. 224 f.; II, plate 40; 41. Cf. also Coomaraswamy, *o.c.*, p. 76 etc.
[26] Pandey observes that in India a four-in-hand has always been considered a great distinction.
[27] For details (late Kuṣāṇa, early Gupta etc.) Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 55 ff.
[28] For a picture see *J. As. Soc. of Bengal, N.S.* 26 (1932), p. 147 ff., pl. 2.
[29] See also A. Hillebrandt, "Tiere und Götter im vedischen Ritual", 83. *Jahresbericht der schlesischen Ges. f. vaterl. Kultur* (Breslau, 1905).

which, in later times, gods and vāhanas are found together – several gods are in a number of interesting cases closely connected with an animal which belongs to them or accompanies them. Thus the bull is expressly stated to be Indra's animal, e.g. ŚB. 5, 3, 1, 3 *ṛṣabho dakṣiṇā sa haindro yad ṛṣabhaḥ* "the sacrificial gift for this is a bull, for the bull is Indra's own (animal)".[30] Compare also ibid. 6, 2, 1, 5 *tān nānā devatābhya ālipsata vaiśvakarmaṇaṃ puruṣaṃ vāruṇam aśvam aindram ṛṣabhaṃ tvāṣṭram avim āgneyam ajam* "he meant to slaughter them for different deities: the puruṣa (man) for Viśvakarman, the horse for Varuṇa, the bull for Indra, the ram for Tvaṣṭar, the he-goat for Agni". That the god of generative, creative, inaugurative, victorious, vital power and impetuousness in nature and in the universe is associated with this energetic, vital, sexually potent and impetuous animal is far from surprising. In a frequency of cases the god is called a bull or addressed as a bull. He is compared to that animal or said to be a bull. Compare e.g. 1, 54, 2 "Indra who, as a vigorous bull, by his virile (bull-like) power (*vṛṣā vṛṣatvā vṛṣabhaḥ*) overpowers both worlds"; 103, 6 "let us press out soma for the vigorous bull of important deeds, the truly valiant one"; 3, 30, 2 *sthirāya vṛṣṇe* "for the strong bull"; in 3, 46, 1 and 4, 17, 8 the god is significantly on the one hand called a youthful bull of warlike spirit (cf. 7, 20, 5) and on the other hand a bearer of the club who is not subject to old age or a *vṛṣabha- suvajra-* "the bull well-armed with the club" (similarly, 10, 44, 3 *vajrabāhum … vṛṣabham*); 3, 47, 5 he is "an all-conquering bull"; 4, 17, 8 the bull Indra (similarly, 10, 116, 4) kills Vṛtra and captures booty; 8, 6, 14 "thou mighty (*ugra*) One art known as bull"; 8, 33, 10; 8, 53, 1 the greatest of bulls and the first destroyer of strongholds; 10, 38, 5 the god, being addressed "O bull" is called obstinate; 10, 43, 8 the god rushes on like an angry bull; 10, 92, 8 "Bild des Stiers, der mit wutgeblähtem Bauche schnaubt"[31]); 10, 94, 9 he felt himself, and behaves like, a bull; 10, 153, 2 *tvaṃ vṛṣan vṛṣed asi.* Even his horses and his chariot are said to be bull-like (1, 177, 3; cf. also st. 1 and 2, the words *vṛṣabha-* and *vṛṣan-* occur no less than 9 times in three stanzas. Cf. 7, 19, 6; 10, 89, 9 (his weapons are "bullenhaft"). – In later times the "mounts" on which the deities may be seated or standing or which may be represented beside them, may under certain circumstances act also as substitutes or representatives of their gods.

It is no matter of indifference that the same god should, in Hinduism,

[30] As is well known, the giving of dakṣiṇās is a very important affair which is surrounded with meticulous care. They possess a life-giving force and are at the same time a binding device. See also J. C. Heesterman, in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 3, p. 241 ff.
[31] Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, III, p. 292.

be closely associated with the elephant, in Vedism with the bull. As appears from the text and has at some length been discussed elsewhere[32] in both epochs different sides of the god are brought to the fore, different aspects of his functions are emphasized, different traits of his character appreciated by those who take the lead in the literary documents handed down to us. We even could speak of Indra's Vedic bull nature and of his Hindu (i.e. post-Vedic) elephant nature. It may be of some interest to add that Indra's weapon, the well-known vajra, undergoes a change in its outward form which seems to point to the same modification in the appreciation of the god's activities. Whereas in the Veda the *vajra-* is a stable, metallic, club- or hammer-like weapon which the god holds firmly in his hand,[33] the artists of the later period like to give it the shape of a 'thunderbolt'.[34]

In a similar way, the horse is, in the Veda, Varuṇa's animal;[35] ŚB. 5, 3, 1, 5 *tasyāśvo dakṣiṇā sa hi vāruṇo yad aśvaḥ* "the dakṣiṇā is a horse, for the horse is Varuṇa's own"; cf. 6, 2, 1, 5; TaittB. 3, 9, 16, 1; cf. also ṚV. 1, 163, 4; 7, 44, 3; VājS. 13, 42; 22, 5 (Varuṇa as the protector of the steed, attacking the man who would slay it); ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 31. Varuṇa, moreover, is the lord of all solid-hoofed animals (VājS. 14, 30; cf. ŚB. 8, 4, 3, 13). This connection of the horse with Varuṇa seems natural enough, since this god, as the king of heaven and the upholder of 'law and order', i.e. as the lord of dharma, the famous protector of *ṛta-*, is the divine representative of the static aspects of kingship,[36] to whom sovereignty was in a striking manner appropriated, and who, in the same Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (12, 8, 3, 10), was conceived as the king of the gods. Varuṇa, this work states (9, 4, 2, 16), is "ruling power" (*kṣatraṃ vai varuṇaḥ*). The horse, on the other hand, being the most highly-favoured of animals (ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 13), represents dominion or temporal power (*kṣatram*; cf. ibid. 6, 4, 4, 12), or it even is nobility (ibid. 13, 2, 2, 15). This "highest, noblest, most vigorous, powerful, famous and swiftest of animals" (ibid. 13, 3, 3, 1; 1, 2, 5ff.) was in India as in other ancient Indo-European countries the favourite animal of the noble classes, which required it both for bearing their

[32] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 59 f.

[33] See e.g. S. Konow, in *Acta Orientalia* 8, p. 311 ff.; V. M. Apte, *Ann. Bhandarkar Or. Res. Inst.* 37, p. 292 ff.

[34] See J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta, 1941), p. 301 f.; Gonda, *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 29 f. etc.

[35] See also A. Hillebrandt, *Varuṇa und Mitra* (Breslau, 1877), p. 34 f.; Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 159.

[36] See the present author in the periodical *Numen*, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1956), p. 63; cf. also J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa translated*, V (Oxford, 1900), p. XIX.

chariots into battle and for one of their favourite sports and religious functions, the horse-race.[37]

Hence also the conviction that the horse-sacrifice (Aśvamedha) is the "king of sacrifices" (ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 1),[38] and that the other great royal sacrificial ceremony, the Consecration (Rājasūya), is considered to be Varuṇa's sacrifice (Varuṇasava[39]). Moreover, the horse is the animal *par excellence* which was regarded as able to win vāja, that complex of ideas, beliefs, conceptions and experiences converging in a 'Daseinsmacht' or power and manifesting in animal and vegetative life, in strength, potency, vigour, in the capacity for life, to grow and to last, a generative power or principle which manifests itself in vegetation, in cattle, in horses, in man, and by which new food and new life are obtained.[40] Varuṇa on his part is the lord of food (ŚB. 12, 7, 2, 20), to whom belongs what grows in ploughed ground (ibid. 5, 3, 3, 12) and what is cooked by fire and to whom barley is sacred (ibid. 13, 3, 8, 5). Yet, for the Vedic Indians themselves there was another reason why the horse should have belonged to Varuṇa. The sea is explicitly called the womb or birthplace of the horse (*samudro vā aśvasya yoniḥ*, TaittS. 7, 5, 25, 2), and so are the waters in general (*apsuyonir vā aśvaḥ*, ibid. 5, 3, 12, 2), cf. also ŚB. 5, 1, 4, 5 "in the beginning the horse was produced from the water"; 13, 2, 7, 10; TaittB. 3, 8, 19, 2 ... *vetasaśākhāyām aśvasya. apsuyonir vā aśvaḥ*. Hence Varuṇa, who is the lord of the waters,[41] is the special deity of the horse (TaittBr. 3, 9, 16, 1 *vāruṇo vā aśvaḥ*).[42] As is well known the intimate relations between this animal and water[43] are very often emphasized in myths and folklore of many peoples.[44] The conclusion is therefore warranted that the association between Varuṇa and the horse is an Indian formulation of the connections between this animal and the liquid element, or to express myself

[37] See e.g. A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Straszburg, 1923), esp. p. 137 ff.; M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949) p. 275 ff,; cf. also J. A. Potratz, *Der Pferdetext aus dem Keilschrift-Archiv von Bogazköy*, Thesis (Rostock, 1938), p. 16 ff.

[38] For an enumeration of the great kings who celebrated this rite see P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha* (Paris-Louvain, 1927), p. 1 ff.

[39] Savas are sacrifices generally following the paradigma of the one-day long Soma sacrifice, the distinctive feature of which is the insertion of an unction. – For the above reason water, being the specific dominion of Varuṇa, holds a great place in the Rājasūya.

[40] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 48 ff.

[41] I refer to *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 80.

[42] For the horse as a 'Vegetationstier': Meyer, *Trilogie*, II, p. 250.

[43] It is worth noticing that this relation with the horse is continued by Prajāpati: ŚB. 13,1,1,1; 2,3 "the horse is of the nature of Prajāpati" (*prājāpatyo 'svaḥ*); similarly, TaittB. 3,8,3,6. We will have to revert to this point.

[44] On the horse as "Wassersymbol" J. v. Negelein, *Das Pferd im arischen Altertum* (Königsberg, 1903), p. 70 ff.

otherwise, that this connection was the primary motive for considering the steed Varuṇa's animal.

Hinduism associated the god of fire, Agni, with the ram or the goat, who accompany him as his vāhana and serve as his mounts. But the god is also called a ram or a he-goat, or is represented by a goat (Mbh. 13, 84, 47B. etc.). When disguised Agni may appear as a horse,[45] a pigeon or a goat.[46] He is called *chāgavaktra-* "whose face is that of a he-goat, goat-faced" (Mbh. 3, 226, 29; 228, 3 and 5 vulg.), and the goat is a characteristic donation of his (13, 86, 24). An oblation poured on a goat's ear is virtually made to him, and according to the Brahmapurāṇa[47] he is to be worshipped by owners of goats, as Gaṇeśa, the elephant-headed god is the 'patron' of the owners of elephants. Now these close connections of Agni with goat and ram, which may assume the character of a regular identification (e.g. Mbh. 12, 79, 6 cr. ed.[48]) *ajo 'gniḥ*), also borne out by the compilers of purāṇas (e.g. ViṣṇuDh. 3, 301, 16; 306, 59; AgniPur. 209, 42), was already known to Vedic authorities.[49] One might compare: AthV. 9, 5, 7 "the goat is Agni, and they call the goat light" (*ajo agnir ajam u jyotir āhuḥ*): the offering of a goat is the theme of this text; ŚB. 2, 1, 4, 3; 6, 4, 4, 4 "the goat is sacred to Agni" (that is why, the text argues, some tie up a he-goat at the ceremony called agnyādhāna (preparation of the sacred fire), and this is done "for the completeness of the fire". The female goat, TaittS. 5, 1, 6, 2 holds, is Agni's own form (*eṣā vā agneḥ priyā tanūr yad ajā*); therefore "one unites him with goat-hair".[50] For obvious reasons it is especially the goat of variegated colour (partly black, partly white, the colour of the fire's ashes), that belongs to Agni: Kāṭh. 8, 12: 95, 16f. the he-goat who is speckled with black ... is a creature that possesses Agni's fiery energy (*ajo baddhaḥ tāṃ rātrīṃ vased agnitejasaṃ vā ajas tad eva tam agnim ādhatte kalmāṣas syāt*).[51] In binding this animal fast a formula is pronounced in which Agni is requested "to bring off-

[45] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 107.

[46] Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 103. Now see also M. Th. de Mallmann, *Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa* (Paris, 1963), p. 229.

[47] Quoted by Meyer, *Trilogie*, II, p. 245.

[48] *ajādināṃ vikraye 'gnyādayo devatā eva vikrītās tataś cāyajñiyo bhavatīty arthaḥ* (Nīlakaṇṭha).

[49] See also H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 3, 4 1923), p. 75 ff.; J. Charpentier, *Kleine Beiträge zur indoiranischen Mythologie* (Upsala, 1911), p. 64 ff. It may be observed that Agni is also represented by, and associated with, a horse: Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p. 75; Charpentier, *o.c.*, p. 65.

[50] Cf. also ŚB. 6,5,1,4.

[51] It may parenthetically be observed that the spotted colour is in this text motivated as follows: "on account of the various colours it belongs to all the gods".

spring (creatures) and regions together with cattle"; Sāyaṇa (on TaittB. 1, 2, 1, 13) is probably right in stating that the he-goat is addressed as Agni.[52] The Vājasaneyaka (i.e. the brāhmaṇa of the Vājasaneyas) prescribes that one should establish one's ritual fires on the foot-prints of a he-goat (ĀpastŚS. 5, 15, 1). The conclusion emerging from the preceding places – cf. also LāṭyŚS. 1, 4, 4 invoking Agni as "goat of Bharadvāja" – is that the association of Agni and the (he-)goat is ancient. As far as we are able to see, the animal was no vāhana of the god in Vedic times; but who can tell what inferences could be drawn from remainders of contemporaneous plastic arts or from literary sources originating in non-brahmanical circles? There is no difficulty in detecting the reason of this association: the animal and the god are, both of them, powerful representatives of generative force. Agni is already ṚV. 1, 70, 3; 7 the principle of life, the germ of all that is standing and moving; he, moreover, places the germ or embryo in all creatures (3, 2, 10; cf. 10, 21, 8), generating and fecundating (3, 2, 10; 16, 4; 7, 5, 7). Besides, Agni is the male principle entering the female waters (cf. e.g. ṚV. 3, 1, 6).[53] That it is this reputed trait of Agni's character that is found in the animal becomes the more clear if we consider that also the – grey and sexually potent – ass is closely connected with the god of fire (ŚB. 6, 3, 2, 3).[54]

In the Mahābhārata Agni is however also described as riding in a chariot drawn by seven red horses, the winds being the wheels of this vehicle; the god has seven faces, seven red tongues; a red neck and tawny eyes; smoke is his standard and head-gear.[55] The Viṣṇudharmottara-Purāṇa gives us an elaborate description (3, 56, 1 ff.) in which he is four-armed, four-tusked, three-eyed and driving a chariot with a smoke standard drawn by four parrots and driven by wind. There exist, however, mediaeval Agni figures which do not correspond to any of the descriptions just quoted.[56] A representation from Bihar[57] shows him seated on the back of his mount (a ram or a goat) in the paryaṅkāsana (so-called 'European fashion') holding a rosary in his right hand and a water-vessel in his left. In the Śiva temple at Kaṇḍiyūr (Travancore) he is portrayed with two goat-heads, and seven arms.[58] The Niṣpannayogāvali, an im-

[52] *tatrāgniśabdenājaḥ sambodhyate.* The he-goat is "the form (*rūpam*) of all cattle" (Eggeling), i.e., a manifestation of all cattle (ŚB. 6,5,1,4).

[53] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 68.

[54] Genii of fertility are believed to ride asses: Meyer, *Trilogie*, I, p. 174; 182 f.

[55] Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 97.

[56] J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 524.

[57] See Banerjea, *o.c.*, plate XLV, 4.

[58] See T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography* (Madras, 1914), p. 524, plate CLII.

portant Buddhist work on maṇḍalas which describes innumerable deities of the Tantric cult, has (p. 61) Agni as a dikpāla (guardian of a quarter of the sky) represented as red in colour, holding a sacrificial ladle and a water bowl and riding a goat.[59] Elsewhere (in the Śiva temple at Chidambaram) a bull – and not a ram as required by the āgamas – is however sculptured behind the god as his vāhana.[60]

Pūṣan was, in the Veda, a god with pastoral characteristics and functions, specially concerned with the paths and consequently with the protection of the herd, the recovery of lost animals, the conveyance of souls to heaven, the distribution of wealth and so on.[61] His knowledge of the paths and of the right directions, his ability to guide the searcher so as to retrieve what has strayed, his power to detect where lost or stolen property is concealed, are, e.g. in ṚV. 6, 54, graphically depicted. He is also entreated to take his worshippers beyond pursuers, to make the roads easy and passable, and to lead the way to pastures rich in grass (1, 42, 7f.). It is therefore in harmony with the god's character that he is (6, 55, 6) stated to be conveyed, on a chariot, by two sure-footed or firmly-proceeding (?, *niśṛmbhāḥ*[62]) he-goats, "who draw the god who brings welfare to man". The epithet *ajāśva-* "who has goats instead of horses" is in a significant way exclusively his.[63] It occurs twice in a prayer for assistance (1, 138, 4: "be of assistance to us at once for the attainment of this ... thou possessor of goat-steeds"), probably to animate the god to come soon; cf. also 9, 67, 10. In 6, 55, 3 and 4 the epithet seems to be largely stereotyped.

There is no need to cite further examples of relations between Vedic deities and animals, but it will on the other hand be useful to add a reference to a curious passage in the TaittS. (7, 5, 19, 1) from which it appears that already in Vedic times the connections between an animal and a god could be so close that they were considered each other's "yoke-fellow", or "companion, associate": *ākrān vājī pṛthivīm agniṃ yujam akṛta vājyarvā; ākrān vājy antarikṣaṃ vāyuṃ yujam akṛta vājyarvā; dyāṃ vājy ākraṃsta sūryaṃ yujam akṛta vājyarvā* "the steed has come to the earth; the strong steed has made Agni his yoke-fellow; he has come to the atmosphere and has made Vāyu his yoke-fellow;[64] to the sky and has made

[59] Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist iconography* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 362.
[60] Rao, *l.c.*, plate CLIII, 2.
[61] For Pūṣan in general see S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-veda* (Princeton, 1941).
[62] "stolzierend (?)" Geldner.
[63] *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*, p. 108.
[64] For the obvious relations between horse and wind see v. Negelein, *o.c.*, p. 64 ff.

Sūrya his yoke-fellow".[65] The first contention emerging from the above presentation of facts is that there are cases in which an animal which was, in the Vedic period, closely associated with a definite deity served him, in later times, as a vāhana.[66] The second contention is that these animals which are more or less intimately or regularly connected with gods are, in the Vedic as well as the Hindu period, theriomorphic manifestations of an aspect of the god's essence or nature. Hence "die gewissen inneren Beziehungen"[67] between god and animal, e.g. between the ominous birds and messengers of death, owl and dove, and the goddess of destruction Nirṛti. Hence also such representations as, in the Hindu period, that of Dattātreya,[68] who being regarded as a triunity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, is portrayed either as these three gods placed beside each other or as a four-armed Viṣṇu who is accompanied by the vāhanas of the two other gods.[69]

That these 'theriomorphic doubles' were well-known to other Indo-European peoples may for instance appear from Celtic (Gallic) monuments showing gods accompanied by animals.[70] With the ancient Greeks, the owl was the 'double' of Pallas Athene, the mare of Demeter; with the German Freyr was accompanied by horse, boar and deer, Odin by the raven.[71] The same Odin was however also characterized, by means of surnames, as a horse, a he-goat, a goshawk etc.; or a god could assume the outward appearance of a horse etc.: in Greece for instance it was the epiphany of the Dioscuri.

In the view of this character of theriomorphic 'doubles' – i.e. of dupli-

[65] Cf. also TaittB. 3,9,4,8.
[66] For particulars see also J. N. Farquhar, *The crown of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1913), p. 308.
[67] Hillebrandt, *Jahresb.*, p. 5.
[68] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 178.
[69] Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography*, I, p. 251.
[70] Thus the horse-goddess Epona riding her steed (Landesmuseum Bregenz, Austria). J. de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 171 f. rightly combats the now antiquated view that the animal represents a lower 'Vorstufe' of the divine figure. A more probable and satisfactory evaluation of the relative facts is that qualities believed to be inherent in a more or less anthropomorphous divine character were also recognized in an animal, the nature of which often was very well known to communities of hunters and herdsmen. We should not forget that certain traits of character not rarely dominate onesidedly in animals as well as in divine figures. Thus animals may become a sort of 'symbols', 'hiëroglyphs', attributes or complementary manifestations of divine power.
[71] See e.g. F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 77 ff.; M. W. de Visser, *Die nicht-menschengestaltigen Götter der Griechen* (Leiden, 1903); J. de Vries, *Altergermanische Religionsgeschichte* II (Berlin², 1956), p. 6; 64; 177; 190 f.; 253; 264 f. (p. 6: "Das Tier ist also vielmehr symbolhaft zu verstehen, es deutet ein charakteristisches Merkmal der Gottheit an").

cate-representations of the energy believed to be embodied or the function attributed to a god[72] – there is, as far as I am able to see, no essential difference between the Hinduist vāhana conception and the cases of association between a god and an animal in the Veda.[73] The relations – as dakṣiṇā, as draught-animal, as characterization of the god's personality or as representative of the power inherent in the divine character –, are, moreover, as well in harmony with the Vedic sphere and environment as the descriptions and representations of the vāhana fit in with the whole of the ideas expressed, and the devices resorted to, by the poets and sculptors of the Hinduist period.

We are not, it is true, in a position to demonstrate beyond all doubt that the Vedic gods were believed to ride animals – which, to be sure, was only one of the relations into which they were, in Hinduism, to enter with their vāhanas, but I cannot resist the temptation to draw attention to a few places which may perhaps lead us to the conclusion that the Vedic poets, while visualizing chariot and draught-animal as a sort of unity, were not completely unacquainted with the idea that the divine personality was also supported by the latter. Compare ṚV. 1, 177, 2 *ye te vṛṣaṇo ... indra brahmayujo vṛṣarathāso atyāḥ / tāṃ ā tiṣṭha tebhir ā yāhy arvāṅ* "deine ... Bullen, O Indra, die durch Worteskraft geschirrten Rennpferde am bullenhaften Wagen, die besteige, mit denen komm näher!" (Geldner); 10, 105, 5 *adhi yas tasthau keśavantā* "who mounts the two maned (horses)" and similarly 1, 174, 4 *tiṣṭhad dharī;* 1, 163, 2 *indra eṇam prathamo adhy atiṣṭhat*; 6, 20, 9. Elsewhere the text makes mention of mounting horses that are explicitly put to the chariot: 3, 35, 1 *tiṣṭhā harī ratha ā yujyamānā* ("das Besteigen wird im ṚV. vorzugsweise vom Wagenlenker, nicht vom Reiter gesagt"[74]); cf. 1, 121, 12. Cf. also 1, 38, 11 where the Maruts are said to travel with strong-hoofed (animals, horses), no mention being made of a chariot; 5, 61, 11; 8, 46, 26.

I have my doubts about the absolute correctness, or at least about the demonstrability, of the view worded by Dr. Pandey:[75] "It is true that the Vedic Āryans were men of great ability and mental vigour, but this found

[72] See e.g. also H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the gods* (1948), p. 378, n. 5; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 20 f. For other Indian examples and some comment see also De Mallmann, *o.c.*, p. 227 ff.

[73] For associations and correspondences between gods and animals in Hinduism other than those mentioned here see Meyer, *Trilogie*, passim.

[74] K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, I (Cambridge Mass.,[2] 1951), p. 375 f.

[75] Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 43 f. The author wrote under the influence of the ideas expressed by Sir John Marshall ("Influence of race on early Indian art") published in *Rūpam, A journal of Oriental art*, 18 (Calcutta, 1924), p. 69 ff.

its expression in their thoughts, in their literature, and in their religion. But they could not express their ideas with the chisel or the brush, for the simple reason that their tendency to intellectualisation could not harmonize with something which comes from the sphere of emotion ... which is the generator of the pictorial and plastic arts. But as soon as their race blended with the Dravidians or Pre-Āryans, the mixed stock which resulted from the union found itself possessed of the means of putting its thoughts into visible concrete form".[76] The author is, it is true, aware of the fact that his conclusion is based on the *argumentum e silentio*, viz. "the absence of any early remains in the (Vedic) North-West and the Punjab". Granting the early art of other regions ("Hindustan and Central India") is from the beginning considerably developed and characterized by "dexterity of touch" etc., it does not follow that the Vedic Aryans were, by their very mental habit, prevented from producing any pictorial or plastic art. As moreover was observed by Coomaraswamy[77] there still exist images which reflect the Vedic sphere: the deities represented in the Bhāja cave (near Poona) "are not", he says, "personal deities conceived in the manner of Hindu theism, but powers personified in the Vedic hymns. The powers of nature are regarded only in the light of their relation to human welfare ...". Interestingly enough, the other great Bhāja relief (to Sūrya's right) shows us Indra riding, in the 'modern' style, his elephant Airāvata.[78]

Whereas therefore a close association between a god and one or more definite animals[79] is not foreign to the Veda, it can, as far as I am able to see, not be indisputably proved that an animal was at that early period the god's mount. The human aspects of gods, which in the course of time came, generally speaking, to be more emphasized, remained, in characteristic attitudes, always closely associated in Indian art with their animal companions, which in some cases were, also in Hinduism,[80] real 'com-

[76] I do not understand why the author adds that we hear, in the earliest Indian sculpture "the first lisping accents of humanism and intellectualism".

[77] Coomaraswamy, *A history of Indian and Indonesian art*, p. 27 (German ed. p. 29).

[78] Coomaraswamy, *o.c.*, pl. 27 (German ed.).

[79] As to the plural "animals" compare my observations in *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 147 ff.

[80] According to an indigenous classification the images of the gods are sāttvika (the deity is sitting in meditation in the posture of a yogin), rājasika ("the image is seated upon a vāhana, adorned with various ornaments, with hands holding weapons, as well as granting boon or blessing"), or tāmasika ("a terrible armed figure fighting and destroying demons"). See E. B. Havell, *The ideal of Indian art* (London, 1920), p. 70.

panion manifestations' of divine power.[81] In principle, the 'vehicle', besides being an alternate form of the manifestation of the god's essence, also denotes the sphere of the god's influence, the 'realm' or element in which his power prevails. Whatever for instance the 'original nature' of Garuḍa,[82] if the main sphere of activity of the early Viṣṇu really was the sphere surrounding the earth and if he was supposed to pervade this sphere in order to enable the heavenly blessings to reach the abodes of men, a mighty bird moving in the air and exhibiting traits of character analogous to the sunbeams, made an excellent 'duplicate-representative' of the energy and the nature of the god. It seems evident that not only a number of epic epithets, but also the appearance of an equine avatāra (ViPur. 5, 17, 11 etc.) of the same god must be explained from a strong affinity between the conceptions represented by that animal and striking features in the character of Viṣṇu himself.[83]

Although the animal is not only a mount, it generally appears at the base of an image, immediately under the standing or seated human form. Śiva's bull and his consort's lion are also represented as reposing at the foot of their throne.[84] Yakṣa kings and queens are generally among those divine beings who are depicted as being supported by vāhanas in human form, but a yakṣa may also be shown standing erect on an elephant.[85] We even see[86] a nāga or serpent deity – who is considered to be a guardian of the life-giving waters – standing above a pond full of fish and turtles: "a particularly vivid rendition of the primitive sense of the juxtaposition of a standing divinity with the characterizing symbol beneath his feet".[87] In India and in Greater India one is accustomed to see Viṣṇu as riding on his vāhana. However, the god is also portrayed as seated cross-legged on it.[88] Besides, Viṣṇu is conceived as resting or lying on the snake Śeṣa, which, being regarded as the emblem of eternity, forms the couch and canopy of the god while sleeping during the intervals of creation.[89] Indra is portrayed with the fore part of an elephant, or as standing before his

[81] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 147 ff.
[82] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 101 ff. See also further on.
[83] Rao, *Iconography*, p. 46 incorrectly concludes to an earlier 'theriomorphic idea' of the deity.
[84] H. Zimmer, *The art of Indian Asia, its mythology and transformation* (New York, 1955), II, plate 387.
[85] See further on.
[86] Zimmer, *o.c.*, II, plate 35, left.
[87] Zimmer, *o.c.*, I, p. 44.
[88] N. Ranjan Ray, *Brahmanical gods in Burma* (Calcutta, 1932), p. 28.
[89] H. Rau, *Die Kunst Indiens* (Stuttgart, 1958), pl. 60.

mount.[90] When Brahmā is seated on the lotus, the haṃsa is at his feet.[91] In a similar way the divine river Yamunā is represented with her vehicle, the tortoise, at her feet.[92] Yama is represented in front of his mount.[93] Although the idea about the bull being Śiva's mount appears to have originated before the Ist century B.C. or Ist century A.D.[94] and his theriomorphic form was never completely given up, Nandin, then usually fully anthropomorphized, also acts as the god's attendant.[95]

The large number of 'seal-amulets' portraying a varied assortment of beasts (bull, buffalo, tiger, elephant etc.) is, probably not incorrectly, considered overwhelming evidence of animal worship by the 'Indus people';[96] but it is not possible to decide whether they were worshipped as such or because they were regarded as representing certain deities or as being their attributes. However attractive in itself the supposition that for instance the dangerous wild buffalo – the vehicle of Yama, the lord of the deceased in Hinduism – was then already "the symbol of a terrible god"[97] cannot be substantiated. It has also been surmised that there were close connections between the tiger and a female deity, who for this reason might have been the prehistoric Durgā.[98] Saraswati[99] argued that there is a plausibility in the suggestion of Miss S. Kramrisch that pre-and proto-historic terracotta animal figurines were intended as conveyances or rather vāhanas of the divinities, and that they in early Indus art might stand for the ideas conveyed by the deities concerned. Anyhow the occurrence of 'animal doubles' of divinities in as early a period as the Indus civilization is not beyond possibility.

It must of course be readily conceded that in many particular cases the close association of a deity and an animal impresses us as un-Aryan or pre-Aryan in origin. Thus Skanda and his peacock may, because of the god's relations with the Dravidian culture[100] as well as the provenance of the animal may be supposed to be a Dravidian, or in any case, southern

[90] Banerjea, *Iconography*, p. 148; 523.
[91] e.g. Temple 9 Aihole (VIIIth cent. A.D.), Rau, *o.c.*, pl. 61.
[92] J. Marshall, *Guide to Sānchi* (Delhi, ³1955), p. 138.
[93] Banerjea, *Iconography*, p. 525.
[94] Banerjea, *Iconography*, p. 534.
[95] We cannot discuss here the occurrence of a god's animal as his ensign. See e.g. Varāh. B.S. 58,43 where Śiva has a bull for ensign (*vṛṣabhadhvaja-*).
[96] E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations* (London, 1948), p. 62.
[97] Mackay, *o.c.*,p. 64.
[98] Mackay, *o.c.*, p. 63 f. It should however be noticed that on the 'seal' the 'goddess' is seen with the body of a tiger.
[99] A. K. Saraswati, *A survey of Indian sculpture* (Calcutta, 1957), p. 101.
[100] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 262; II, p. 15 etc.

pair.[101] Similar remarks might be made in connection with Durgā and her lion.[102]

Before continuing our demonstration it may be well to insert a somewhat detailed account of two particular vāhanas.

As is well known the goose or rather, the gander (*haṃsa-*) is in India associated with sentiments and conceptions entirely different from those of the West. The haṃsa is a very auspicious (Mbh. 5, 141, 17 cr. ed.) and noble bird, the vehicle of Brahmā, the embodiment of the highest virtues and in the Buddhist Jātakas (IIIrd cent. B.C. and after) we meet him reborn as the Bodhisattva. The main cause of the reverence paid to him may have been his being a bird of passage. "Must it not have appeared a marvel that at a fixed time of the year these birds flocked together, and in a northward flight towards the snowy mountains disappeared from sight, and after some months, again at a fixed time, returned to their familiar lakes and pools in India?"[103] The classical poets therefore made the marvellous migration of this bird a favourite theme, a migration which acquired a religious significance because its goal is the sacred lake Mānasa, situated to the south of Mount Kailāsa, the abode of Śiva and Pārvatī in the Himālayas.[104] The same poets endow the haṃsa not only with moral virtues of the highest order, considering him the noble bird *par excellence*, but also with a number of other qualities, which, it is true, are only partly derived from actual habits of his. The gander, moreover, was a symbol of sovereign freedom through stainless spirituality. Swimming on the surface of the water he is neither bound to it, nor polluted by moistness. He is however also at home in the pure and stainless air. Being a bondless free wanderer it gives its name (as paramahaṃsa) to the mendicant saint who has become freed from the bondage of rebirth. The Buddhists also attributed a very exalted character to the animal.[105]

Although the gander cannot be said to be a sacred animal it was already in the Veda closely associated with definite gods.[106] Significantly

[101] That is not to say (Meyer, *Trilogie*, II, p. 33) that the peacock is an older form of Skanda.
[102] See e.g. Meyer, *Trilogie*, I, p. 164; E. O. James, *The cult of the Mother-goddess* (London, 1959), Index s.v. Bull. On Durgā and her animals (bull, lion) see also F. D. K. Bosch, in *Arts asiatiques*, III, p. 29 ff.
[103] J. Ph. Vogel, *The goose* (Skt. *haṃsa-*) *in Indian literature and art, in Art and letters*, 29, p. 18.
[104] These geese were also seen by Sven Hedin when he visited the place in October 1906: S. Hedin, *Trans-Himālaya* (1909), I, p. 166 f.; II, p. 174 f.
[105] See Haṃsajātaka (Jāt. 502; 533; 534).
[106] For some more particulars see J. Ph. Vogel †, *The goose in Indian literature and art* (Leiden, 1962), p, 12 f.

enough, it is the Aśvins, the grandsons of heaven, and closely associated with the phenomena of morning-light, who are in the first place connected with this bird which seems to have been regarded as exempt from the dominion of night, doubtless as remaining awake (ṚV. 4, 45, 4 the goose is called "awake at dawn" *uṣarbudh-*).[107] The geese were also credited with a special knowledge of healing herbs (AthV. 8, 7, 24); the Aśvins are succouring gods and divine physicians. The Aśvins are, in the Veda, on the one hand described as flying or speeding like two haṃsas (ṚV. 5, 78, 1-3; 8, 35, 8) and on the other hand said to possess geese (4, 45, 4).

Another characteristic of the bird has – as far as can be seen from the texts at a later period – given rise to its being associated with another important concept and another divinity. It is not surprising that it should have been chosen to designate, in the Upaniṣads, the wandering individual soul, which moves alone in the waking and dreaming states, in this world and the next (BĀU. 4, 3, 11; 12); the soul which in "this brahma-wheel (i.e. saṃsāra) flutters about as long as he thinks that itself and the Actuator (God) are different" (ŚvetU. 1, 6; cf. 3, 18). While the haṃsa is in the MaitriU. 6, 34f. described as the gold-coloured bird staying in the heart and in the sun and so is to 'symbolize' the all-soul, ŚvetU. 6, 15 speaks, in a long passage dealing with the One God, Creator and Lord, who is in and over the world, also of the one haṃsa in the midst of this world. Thus being the Ātman, the haṃsa becomes closely associated with Brahmā,[108] the personification of Brahman, who does not make his appearance before the younger brāhmaṇas.[109] In the Mahābhārata (12, a. 299C.) Brahmā-Prajāpati assumes the shape of the goose in his well-known dialogue with the Sādhyas,[110] which is called an ancient legend, but really is an instruction: the way to attain emancipation is by truth, self-control, detachment, and a pure heart. Elsewhere the god is said to be accompanied by the bird: Mbh. 3, 275, 17ff. cr. ed. (3, 291, 17ff. C.) where he journeys on a vehicle drawn by geese, the gods and seers being his escort (*devo ... vimānena caturmukhaḥ / padmayonir jagatsraṣṭā*). In Hindu iconography the bird is the vehicle (*vāhana-*) of the same god, but

[107] See also AthV. 6,12,1 and the comment by Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda-saṃhitā*, p. 289, who refer to Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 10,23.
[108] The fact that *haṃsa-* came to indicate also the sun (Mbh. 4,66,6 B.=61,6,cr.; purāṇas etc.) – see J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 5 f. – need not detain us here.
[109] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 263.
[110] An indeterminate host of "perfected" ones who are usually grouped with other divinities: Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 175.

this conception seems to be comparatively late.[111] As his vāhana the gander was a manifestation on the animal plane of the divinity itself, "the animal mask of the creative principle, which is anthropomorphically embodied in Brahmā".[112] Whereas Varāhamihira's BṛhatSaṃhitā (VIth cent. A.D.), in accordance with the usual iconographical description, has the god seated on a lotus (58, 41; this chapter contains rules for the modelling of images), the MatsyaPurāṇa (which may have been compiled in the VIIth or VIIIth century A.D.[113]) states that he is sometimes mounted on a goose and sometimes sitting on a lotus. That the haṃsa is, as the god's vāhana, younger than his lotus-seat, may also be inferred from Amarakośa 1, 7, 16f. where after *kamalāsana-* in the genuine text, *haṃsavāhana-* is among the names added in an interpolated stanza. A fine example of Brahmā with a goose standing on his right and looking up to him is furnished by a Cālukya temple at Aihole (VII-VIIIth cent.).[114]

It may be taken for granted that from Brahmā, her consort, the goose came to be associated also with the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī.[115] According to the Rājataraṅginī (1, 35[116]) the goddess was in a tīrtha seen in the shape of this bird.[117] As P.K. Gode [118] pointed out the haṃsa was ousted by the peacock as her vāhana in the Deccan and other parts of India.[119] Another god who was quite understandably believed to assume the shape of this aquatic bird is Varuṇa: Rām. 7, 18, 5.[120]

It must be emphasized that the close association between Indra and his elephant in later times is by no means due to mere chance. On the contrary, the animal's function shows that it is representative of the same powers and ideas which are also embodied by the god. By its colour and water spouting trunk the elephant creates the impression that it is associated with the clouds and is concerned with the life-giving waters.

111 Vogel, *o.c.* (1962), p. 14.
112 Cf. also Zimmer, *Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization*, p. 48.
113 A. Hohenberger, *Die indischeFlutsage und das Matsyapurāṇa* (Leipzig, 1930), p. 74 ff.
114 *Annual Report Arch. Survey of India* 1907-08, p. 109, pl. LXXVI.
115 For female counterparts of gods riding the same vāhanas etc. as the corresponding male gods see T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography* (Madras, 1914), I, 2, p. 380.
116 *saro 'ntar dṛśyate yatra haṃsarūpā sarasvatī.*
117 See also A. Stein, *Rājataraṅginī translated* (Delhi², 1961), II, p. 274: according to the Gaṅgodbhedamāhātmya the goddess appears to the ṛṣi Pulastya from the sky in the form of a flamingo (*rājahaṃsī*, st. 75 ff.).
118 P. F. Gode, "Haṃsa-vāhanā and Mayūra-vāhanā Sarasvatī", in *J. Ind. Soc. Or. Art* 9 (1941), p. 133 ff.
119 For the peacock Meyer, *Trilogie*, II, p. 33.
120 The animal's connections with other gods can be passed over in silence; see Hopkins, *o.c.*, p. 244.

According to a widespread Indian belief it is the cousin of the clouds.[121] It also entertains relations with the goddess Lakṣmī who stands as the embodiment of such ideas as fertility and welfare. At an early date (Bhārhut, IInd cent. B.C.) it is a feature in Buddhist reliefs as a 'determinant' placed beneath yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs who are likewise patrons of wealth and fertility. According to a well-known mythical tale it appeared among the 'symbolic objects' which emerged from the cosmic sea. For a king – who is responsible for the well-being of his subjects and the fertility of their fields[122] – it is important to have "these clouds sentenced to work upon the earth" because they guarantee rain for his people. Moreover, they serve him as royal mounts.

It is therefore not surprising that Indra who traditionally was regarded as the king or leader of the gods – with whom his relations were at least in general those of friendly superiority – and as the god "who rains to protect the people" (cf. Mbh. 1, 58, 14 cr. ed.)[123] was believed to possess a mighty elephant. According to the Mahābhārata this animal, Airāvata or Airāvaṇa – the name being related to *irāvat*, "the nourishing raincloud" and identical with *airāvata-* "rainbow or lightning-stroke" – helps the god in performing his important task by drawing up water from the under-world (5, 99, 7 C. = 5, 97, 7 cr. ed.) and in the same epic the god is described as raining while seated on Airāvata (6, 95, 34 C. = 6, 91, 33 cr. ed.). These beliefs are in keeping with the representations of the early Buddhist monuments (from the IInd cent. B.C. onwards), which make him ride an elephant while carrying a bottle with amṛta in his left and the vajra in his right hand.[124] They are also found in the purāṇas; cf. e.g. Hariv. 2, 18, 1 ff.[125] It is important to notice that the elephant, according to the epic-purāṇic tradition, is white and produced, together with the moon and the lotus-goddess Śrī-Lakṣmī – both of them being closely connected with fertility and vegetative life –, from the ocean.[126]

121 See e.g. H. Zimmer, *Myths and symbols in Indian art and civilization* (Washington D. C. 1947), p. 102 ff.; the same, *The art of Indian Asia*, I (New York, 1955), p. 160 f.
122 J. Gonda, "Ancient Indian kingship", in *Numen* 3 (1956). p. 41 ff.
123 Other epic places showing Indra's activity in this respect were collected by E. W. Hopkins, *Epic mythology* (Strassburg, 1915), p. 129 ff.
124 Cf. also B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist iconography* (Calcutta, 1958), p. 352.
125 ... *śakraḥ sakrodhas tridaśeśvaraḥ / sāṃvartakaṃ nāma gaṇaṃ toyadānām athābravīt // bho balāhakamātaṅgāḥ* ("thundercloud-elephants") *śrūyatāṃ mama bhāṣitam/ ... tās gāvaḥ saptarātreṇa pīḍyantāṃ varṣamārutaiḥ // airāvatagataś cāhaṃ svayam evāmbu dāruṇam / śrakṣyāmi vṛṣṭiṃ vātaṃ ca vajrāśanisamaprabham.*
126 For some details see the present author's *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 128.

There is another function which Indra and the elephant have in common. The god is in the Veda said to make the earth habitable by supporting the sky (ṚV. 2, 12, 2 etc.) and by separating heaven and earth. The diggajas or "elephants of the quarters of the sky", on the other hand, stand, according to Hindu (post-Vedic) mythology, in the four or eight quarters of the sky, being entrusted with a similar task: they support the earth.

The epic, it is true, recognizes the elephant as a fighting vehicle, but in the earlier scenes the god fights from a chariot and "uses the elephant more for a quiet journey".[127] In younger parts of the Mahābhārata and especially in the Rāmāyaṇa Airāvata acts as battle-steed. In Rām. 7, 29, 25 Indra even abandons his car and mounts the animal to fight. The conclusion may therefore be that while the chariot is characteristic of the ancient warrior-god, the white king of the elephants (*gajarāja-vāhana-*) is not a mere alternative to the vehicle drawn by fallow steeds, but belongs to him in his function as the giver of rain, serving also as a royal mount. Hence also the custom to worship Indra, riding his elephant Airāvata, on the occasion of a festival in honour of Śrī-Lakṣmī.[128] However, this animal tends to supersede the chariot in the military sphere.[129]

It seems clear that with regard to the origin of the post-Vedic vāhana idea at least three points should be distinguished. First, the close association of a god and a vāhana (animal), which is already Vedic. The bull is, as was shown in the above pages, just as much a representative of an important aspect of Vedic Indra as the lion is, in Hinduism, a manifestation of Durgā's warlike wrath and invincibility, "an emanation of that disastrous, terrific aspect of the goddess's omnipotent presence which, when aroused, results inevitably in the annihilation of whatever foe she meets".[130] Another example of an association which, as far as we are able to see, is post-Vedic is that between Viṣṇu and his bird Garuḍa.[131] Viṣṇu's "upright, rigid, columnar pose fitly expresses his character as the Pillar of the universe; and what could better express his sustaining, equilibrating power than his vāhana, Garuḍa, the eagle with outstretched wings, poised

[127] Hopkins, *o.c.*, p. 126. It is interesting to notice that the goddess Durgā uses different types of conveyances in her coming to, and going away from, the earth. If she uses an elephant, there will be enough rain; if she uses a boat the result will be a great epidemic, etc. The popular belief is that, if she has a commodious vehicle at the time of her arrival, she brings many things to the house of the worshipper (cf. Ch. Chakravartin, *Tantras*, Calcutta, 1963, p. 101).

[128] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 225.

[129] For particulars see also Hopkins, *o.c.*, p. 126 f.

[130] Zimmer, *o.c.*, I, p. 45.

[131] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 101 ff.

motionless in mid-heaven over a Himālayan valley?"[132] The god is often represented as being supported by an anthropomorphous Garuḍa.[133] In the second place, we should distinguish the representation of god and vāhana in characteristic attitudes (e.g. the god is seen standing on the vāhana). Finally, the 'origin' of the theme of the deity depicted as riding his vāhana.

Without making the above distinction between the close association of a god and an animal, the representation of god and animal in characteristic attitudes and the origin of the theme of the god riding his animal Zimmer[134] ventured the hypothesis that the vāhana theme – as far as may be gathered from his words, integrally – is an obvious piece of evidence of "a broad and fundamental iconographic influence" from the neighbouring civilizations in the West, especially from Mesopotamia. "The formula of the vāhana", he holds, was in early times borrowed from Western peoples "for divinities of the pre-Āryan tradition". In substantiation of his view he refers to the many examples appearing on the Bhārhut pillars which are accompanied by inscriptions giving the names of popular divinities, only part of whom are familiar to us from the literary tradition as individual gods.[135] These reliefs and names may, it is true, help to prove that the vāhana idea was known to the non-Aryan circles of the pre-Christian age, but I for one must confess that for the time being I fail to see how they can be made an argument in favour of a Mesopotamian origin of the theme, the less so as no 'a god on a vāhana' appears in the many remainders of the Indus civilization.[136] Nor can I feel completely convinced of the demonstrative force attributed by the same scholar to a comparison of the Indian theme represented by Durgā riding

[132] Havell, *Ideals*, p. 73; see also *Aspects*, p. 103.

[133] See e.g. Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, II, pl. 425; 453; 564.

[134] Zimmer, *o.c.*, I, p. 43 ff.

[135] These well-known representations of yakṣas etc. standing on other beings include for instance a damsel on an elephant, called Cūlakokā devatā, a female figure on a horse called Yakṣī Candrā; another Yakṣī, Sudarśanā by name is, likewise on the Bhārhut stupa, poised on an aquatic monster (makara): Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, p. 43 f.; 72; II, pl. 33b; 33c; 34b; 35b; 33a; 34a. There can be no doubt that in these cases also the animal was believed to represent an idea similar to that conveyed by the deity. The dryad Cūlakokā for instance (who is embracing a tree and clasping a bough with her right hand) who of course presides over the life-force and fertility of trees and plants stands on the animal which is closely associated with the life-bestowing force of the waters in the clouds and on the earth. In a similar way a male figure, labelled Supravasu yakṣa, is standing on an elephant, whereas the images of yakṣa kings and queens generally show them supported by vāhanas in human form.

[136] This observation was affirmed by my colleague Prof. Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen-De Leeuw (Amsterdam).

her lion[137] and the rock carving, dating from about the XIVth century B.C., discovered in the great Hittite sanctuary of Yazilikaya, which shows a deity, bearing in his right hand a mace and in his left a thunderbolt, girded with a sword, and standing on the shoulders of two men. This deity confronts a goddess, behind whom is a male figure poised, like the goddess, above a lion, and two females who appear to be floating above a double-headed eagle.[138] "The ancient Mesopotamian hieroglyphic juxtaposition of the human form of a god with a symbol denoting his special realm and power has thus been altered in India to fit the idea of a deity actually supported by his vehicle or carriage".[139] As riding a mount and standing erect on an animal or human being[140] are by no means identical, the soundness of a remark made by Wiesner[141] seems to be beyond doubt: "diese (i.e. the last-mentioned) Göttererscheinung auf Reiten zurückzuführen, geht nicht an",[142] however much the explication added in corroboration of this statement seems to be an unproven generalization: "Dahinter steht (always?, or does he mean: 'originally'?) die Vorstellung von der mit dem Treten verbundenen Unterwerfung: Mensch und Tier berührt in gleicher Weise der Fusz der Gottheit". It

137 Zimmer, *o.c.*, I, p. 43; II, plate 285.

138 For the interpretation of this picture as the weather-god and sun-goddess etc. see F. Hrozny, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14II, p. 606.

139 Zimmer, *o.c.*, I, p. 44. – Being known to the inhabitants of the region of Susa already in the beginning of the IIIrd millennium B.C. the idea of a god standing erect on a bull seems to have spread from these parts to the Near East and from there to have been introduced, for instance as the so-called Jupiter Dolichenus – who is portrayed as standing with axe and lightning on a bull – into the art of classical antiquity (see H. Demircioğlu, *Der Gott auf dem Stier*, Berlin, 1939; A. H. Kan, *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu*, Groningen, 1901). It may be remembered that in Mesopotamia etc. a deity was also conceived as kneeling on a lying lion or as being seated on a bird.

140 That this motif was also in connecton with other deities not unknown to the Indians may for instance appear from sculptures on which Varuṇa is not only shown as seated on a makara, but also as standing on that sea-monster, Banerjea, *o.c.*, p. 526, from the occurrence of riders, leogryphs etc., standing on elephants, J. Marshall, *Guide to Sāñchi*, (Delhi³, 1955), p. 138 etc. On a Sūrya sculpture (Garhwa, XIIth century A.D. (see Pandey, *Sūrya*, p. 82 f.) a vyālaka (beast of prey) which is carved over a dwarf, stands on a small elephant, a small rider being sitting on its back. The author of the Rūpamaṇḍana explicitly says that Viṣṇu should stand on his vāhana Garuḍa (N. Ranjan Ray, *Brahmanical gods in Burma*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 26 f.). In fact such representations are, however, hardly seen. In an aspect of Gaurī, Śiva's spouse Durgā is believed to be a female figure standing upon the back of an alligator; as such she is required to be worshipped at home for the sake of wealth and prosperity (Rao, *Iconography*, I, p. 360; Banerjea, *Iconography*, p. 502).

141 Jos. Wiesner, "Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im alten Orient", *Der alte Orient*, 38, 2-4, Leipzig 1939, p. 35.

142 "Die Darstellung des auf dem Pferd stehenden Šamaš hat mit dem Reiten nichts zu tun" (Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 71, n. 11.).

must on the other hand be conceded that there can be hardly any doubt with regard to the great popularity of the Yakṣas in the pre-Aryan tradition. To all appearance they were local deities (*genii loci*) which had already enjoyed an age-long worship before the light of history fell upon them.[143] As we are in this chapter concerned with the problem of the relation between the driving and the riding gods in Indian antiquity, we must, however, leave a further discussion of this theme – the deity standing erect on an animal or human figure –, and the elucidation of its origin, to the archaeologists. It may suffice here to quote a passage from Miss de Mallmann's book on Avalokiteśvara:[144] "En Sumer, le dieu est figuré *à côté* de l'animal – interprétation (viz. of the idea of the 'animal-double' of a deity) analogue à celle des Buddha de Bala. En Assyrie, et chez les Hittites, le dieu est debout *sur le dos* de sa monture – ce qui évoque les Mañjuśrī-Vāgīśvara, et les Siṃhanāda-Lokeśvara indiens, bien que ceux-ci soient figurés assis. En Grèce enfin et en Perse, la divinité est assise, *au-dessus d'un socle où les animaux se développent en frise*, ce qui nous retrouvons à peu près chez certains Buddha, chez Mañjughoṣa ...".

It is necessary here to insert a few words about the history of driving and riding[145] from which, I am convinced, it will appear that the relation between the car-driving Vedic gods and their mounted successors may be explained from other historical factors than those suggested by the radical advocates of the 'Indus- and Dravidian theories'.

Leaving such general problems as the origin of the domestication of horses and other draught- and riding-animals,[146] and the priority of

143 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 2 vol. (Washington, 1928); 1931; Moti Chandra, "Some aspects of Yakṣa cult in ancient India", *Bull. Prince of Wales Museum of Western India* 3 (Bombay 1954, p. 43): J. Masson, *La religion populaire dans le canon bouddhique pâli* (Louvain, 1942), p. 126; Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 323 f.

144 M. Th. de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteśvara* (Paris, 1948), p. 289. One might also draw attention to the similarity, in this respect as well otherwise, between Durgā and the Magna Mater of the Near East.

145 See especially F. Hančar, *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* (Wien-München, 1956); Jos. Wiesner, *Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im alten Orient* (Leipzig, 1939); A. Nehring, in *Wiener Beitr. zur Kult. und Ling.* IV, p. 101 ff.; Gertrud Hermes, in *Anthropos* 31(1936), p. 364 ff.; Annelies Kammenhuber, *Hippologia Hethitica* (Wiesbaden, 1961), p. 5-38; A. Salonen, "Hippologica Accadica, Eine lexikalische und kulturgeschichtliche Untersuchung über die Zug-, Trag- und Reittiere ... bei den alten Mesopotamiern ...", *Ann. Acad. Scient. Fennicae*, B, 100 (Helsinki, 1955); E. Ebeling, *Bruchstücke einer mittelassyrischen Vorschriftensammlungen für die ... Trainierung von Wagenpferden* (Berlin, 1951), esp. p. 58 ff.; Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, 14, 326.

146 Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 22 ff.; Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 22.

driving or riding[147] undiscussed, we may, on the authority of those who studied and re-studied the complex problems connected with the history of the horse, assume that from a combination of philological and archaeological sources there comes clear evidence that in Mesopotamia the horse was put to four- or two-wheeled carriages at the beginning of the third millennium B.C.[148] About the region in which the horse was first used to draw chariots for military purposes opinions are divided: it may have been the highlands of Syria, the East of Asia Minor, Armenia, Caucasia[149] or the mountainous countries round Mesopotamia and Mesopotamia itself.[150] It was not before the beginning of the second millennium B.C. that the domesticated horse was kept and, on a larger scale, put into military use. Since the 16th century however the animal and the two-wheeled car rapidly became more important, spreading over large parts of the Near East and adjacent regions of Europe.[151] "Groszmachtansprüche konnten jedenfalls etwa vom (15?) 14. Jht. an nur noch Reiche geltend machen, die im Besitz leistungsfähiger Pferde waren, ein Wandel, der sich in der Amarna-Korrespondenz in charakteristischer Weise dadurch Kund tut, dasz die häufigen Wünsche für Pferd und Wagen gleich nach denen für das Heil der königlichen Familie rangieren".[152] Horse and vehicle were, indeed, as far as can be seen from our sources, owned and employed by kings and nobility;[153] they were a great status symbol: "fürstliches Auftreten ist nur mit dem Streitwagen möglich; so schafft sich Absalom einen Wagen an".[154] Not rarely, the cumulative evidence from our sources points to foreign origin of horse and horse-drawn chariot (Egypt, large parts of the Near East, and of the South of Europe[155]). Although the theory of an Indo-European "Streitwagenbewegung" implying that the Indo-Europeans in general – that is to say: also the Western Indo-European tribes and peoples – were cart-drivers and horse-breeders par excellence, and that wherever they came they introduced horse and

147 H. A. Potratz, *Das Pferd in der Frühzeit* (Rostock, 1938), p. 23; 27. Cf. also J. Smolian, "Vehicula religiosa" in *Numen* 10 (Leiden, 1963, p. 202 ff.).

148 See also Salonen, "Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamien", *Ann. Acad. Fennicae* B 72, 3 (Helsinki, 1951).

149 Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 399 ff.; 472 ff.; 524 ff. etc.

150 Kammenhuber, *o.c.*, p. 12, n. 43 a; 21.

151 See the synopsis in Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 520.

152 Kammenhuber, *o.c.*, p. 8.

153 See e.g. Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 31; 71; Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 550 (with bibliography in n. 705 g); H. Frankfort, *The art and architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1954), p. 152 f.

154 Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 71 (A.T. 2 Sam. 15, 1).

155 See e.g. Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 34; Hančar, *o.c.*, passim; V. G. Childe, *Prehistoric migrations in Europe* (Oslo, 1950), p. 148.

car from their (European) Urheimat is in urgent need of revision,[156] there can even yet be hardly any doubt that several Indo-European peoples[157] have taken an active part in developing, spreading and propagating the arts of horse-breeding and car-driving.[158]

After the first traces of the horse in the sub-continent India (in the North-West, between 3500 and 3000 B.C.)[159] there is a long and remarkable lacuna: horse and camel do not appear or re-appear before the later period of the Mohenjo Daro culture, that is to say the early second millennium B.C.[160] "Erwiesen ist die transporttechnische Herausspezialisierung des Pferdes für Indien innerhalb des III. Jht. nicht".[161] Shipping-traffic, pack-animals and ox-carts[162] seem to have met the wants of traders and governments. Among those peoples which about 1700 B.C. contributed to the rude interruption of the 'Indus culture' there seems to have been, in North Baluchistan, at least one semi-barbarian community "that numbered amongst its achievements the domestication of the horse for riding and probably chariotry as well".[163] But even Piggott who seems to over-estimate the archaeological evidence for horse and vehicle must admit[164] that the Harappā culture, while fully cognizant of wheeled

156 Cf. also Kammenhuber, *o.c.*, p. 15; 25.

157 The words for "horse" (Lat. *equus*; Skt. *aśva-* etc.), "to carry, convey, draw, drive (fahren)" (Lat. *vehit*; Skt. *vahati* etc.), "wheel" (Gr. κύκλος; Skt. *cakra-* etc.), "a wheeled car or chariot" (Lat. *rota* "wheel"; OHGerm. *rat*; Skt. *ratha-* "chariot"), "axle" (Lat. *axis*; Gr. ἄξων; Skt. *akṣa-* etc.), etc. are in any case 'original' (or 'common') Indo-European. See also F. Specht, *Der Ursprung der indogerm. Deklination* (Göttingen, 1947), p. 99 ff.; W. Porzig, *Die Gliederung des indogerm. Sprachgebiets* (Heidelberg, 1954), p. 251.

158 It is worth noticing that as far as can be concluded from our sources the four-wheeled vehicle is always older than the two-wheeled chariot. For the battle-car see also O. Spengler, "Der Streitwagen und seine Bedeutung für den Gang der Geschichte", *Die Welt als Geschichte* III (Stuttgart, 1937), p. 280 ff.

159 Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 462 ff. I also have my doubts about the correctness of the inference drawn by S. Piggott, Prehistoric India, Harmondsworth 1950, p. 121: "nomadic, horse-riding herdsmen using the site as a camping-ground are suggested by the finds in Rana Ghundai I (North Baluchistan) ..." (similarly, R. E. M. Wheeler, *Five thousand years of Pakistan*, London, 1950, p. 22) and criticized by Hančar, *l.c.*

160 V. G. Childe, *The most ancient East* (London,[2] 1935), p. 210; J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), p. 654; 666; Mackay, *Early Indus civilizations* (London, 1948), p. 62 ff.; H. F. Friederichs, "Zur Kenntnis der frühgeschichtlichen Tierwelt Südwestasiens", *Der Alte Orient*, 32, 3 and 4 (Leipzig, 1933); H. Mode, *Indische Frühkulturen* (Basel, 1944), p. 65: "... das musz hier für die Charakterisierung der Harappa-Kultur betont werden, dasz Darstellungen des Pferdes und des Schweines fehlen"; Ch. Ch. Das Gupta, *Origin and evolution of Indian clay sculptures* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 73 f.

161 Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 468.

162 See Piggott, *o.c.*,p. 175 ff.

163 Piggott, *o.c.*, p. 240. The (archaeological) evidence is scanty: Hančar, *o.c.*, 513.

164 Piggott, *o.c.*, p. 273.

vehicles, does not seem to have made use of them in warfare. In all probability Childe[165] is right in concluding that the horse, never represented on seals nor by clay models, may have arrived only after the end of the Harappā period.

In this it presented an obvious contrast to Aryan warfare which was based on the use of the same swift, horse-drawn battle-chariots, carrying a warrior armed with a bow (and driven by a charioteer), which other Indo-European peoples – or peoples which had undergone Indo-European influence[166] – introduced into the Aegean countries (before 1500, to survive to the Homeric period), in Asia Minor (Hittites), in North Syria and Mesopotamia (Mitanni),[167] in Babylonia (Kassites).[168] These Aryan chariots[169] clearly owed nothing to native Indian traditions. Appearing as startling innovations, they ranked first among the features of the material culture of Vedic nobility. Horse and battle-chariot being in the later half of the second millennium B.C. nearly inseparable, the animals – which were closely associated with the military and reigning class[170] – were, as far as appears from the Vedic texts, used essentially as chariot-animals, whether in warfare or for chariot-racing,[171] which should not be onesidedly regarded as "a favourite sport",[172] but also as an important religious ceremony.[173] Since we are not attempting to write the history of

165 V. Gordon Childe, *New light on the most ancient East* (London, 1952), p. 176.
166 Elsewhere "the Kassites introduced the use of the horse for drawing chariots ...". "It is ... highly probable that the Kassite invasion was due to the pressure of Aryan (= Indo-European) tribes on the highlands of Iran, and that its leaders were actually Aryan princes" (V. Gordon Childe, *The Aryans*, London, 1926, p. 18). For the Kassites now see H. Schmökel, *Keilschriftforschung und alte Geschichte Vorderasiens*, (Leiden, 1957), p. 171 ff.; esp. p. 176; 182 f. – Cf. also R. Hauschild, *Über die frühesten Arier im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1962).
167 See also Kammenhuber, *o.c.*, p. 24 ff.; 35 ff.; Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 34.
168 "Als wesentlich erscheint also auch nach babylonischen Schriftquellen ein verhältnismäszig unvermittelt um 1550 v. Chr. erfolgter Streitwageneinsatz des Pferdes nach vorausgehend unbedeutender Bekanntschaft mit ihm" (Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 484; cf. also p. 488).
169 To cite Piggott (*o.c.*, p. 273) once more. See now also R. Hauschild, *Über die frühesten Arier im alten Orient* (Berlin, 1962), p. 51: "den leichten pferdebespannten Streitwagen haben wahrscheinlich doch die Indogermanen mitgebracht und sind an seiner technischen Entwicklung hervorragend beteiligt gewesen".
170 ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 15 "the horse is the nobility" (see above). Cf. VinayaP., *Mahāv.* 6, 23, 11 "horses are an attribute of royalty".
171 ŚB. 13, 2, 7, 5 "the horse draws nothing else than a chariot".
172 Piggott, *o.c.*, p. 266 and other authors.
173 Chariot drives and other races have often the function of regenerating the productive forces in nature. See e.g. *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 47 (with references); J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 133 ff. Besides, races were a necessity to test the 'Leistungsfähigkeit' of the animals (see Potratz, in *Zs. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.* 105, p. 211 ff. and esp. p. 216).

the horse in ancient India, a brief reference to the frequent occurrences of chariots, cartwrights, driving, racing and horses in the Ṛgveda may suffice here.[174] Races and vehicles are a source of numerous similes and metaphors, the horse itself plays an important rôle in religious and ritual speculations. However, the view pronounced, in imitation of Von Eickstedt,[175] by Wiesner[176] is in my opinion for more than one reason open to objection: "Arische Stämme dringen mit dem Kriegswagen nach Indien, wo sie das neue Mannenideal des kriegsfreudigen über Bauern, Herden und Sklaven herrschenden Streitwagenedlen dem Handel treibenden dravidischen Städtertum entgegenstellen". First, because about the 'racial' or 'ethnic' identity of the Indus people or peoples nothing can to the present day be said with certainty,[177] and in the second place, because there is a great chance that it was not the Aryan invasion, but the military operations of other peoples which destroyed the towns of the 'Indus civilization'.[178]

The contention[179] that the 'early Indo-Europeans' did not ride horses, because they had[180] neither a verb for this process nor a noun for the riding-animal and the saddle (a linguistic *argumentum e silentio*), can be invalidated, first, by the remark that many peoples denote the process of riding by words expressing, or originally expressing, a more general sense or denoting part of the process: the Lithuanian *joti*, Ch. Slav. *jadą*, *jachati* etc. etymologically belong to Skt. *yā-* "to go (in general)" and *yāna-* "vehicle"; Avestan *barata* "he rode" belongs to Skt. *bharate* "to

174 See e.g. H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), p. 245 ff.; 291 f.; Piggott, *o.c.*, p. 266 f.; 273 ff.; K. F. Geldner-J. Nobel, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, IV, Register (Cambridge Mass., 1957) s.v. Pferd, Rennpferd, Wagen etc. For horse-, i.e. chariot-races Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 53 ff.
175 E. Frhr. v. Eickstedt, "Arier und Nagas", in *Festschrift – H. Hirt*, herausg. v. H. Arntz (Heidelberg, 1936), I, p. 364; 366 (cf. also H. Goetz, *Epochen der indischen Kultur*, Leipzig, 1929, p. 59).
176 Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 34.
177 See e.g. Chr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, in *Man in India* 25 (1945); N. M. Chaudhuri, "The Indus people and Indian religion", *Calcutta Review* 123, p. 159; 124, p. 75 (1952); H. Mode, *Das frühe Indien* (Stuttgart, 1959); D. H. Gordon, *The prehistoric background of Indian culture* (Bombay, 1958).
178 J. E. van Lohuizen – de Leeuw, *De protohistorische culturen van Voor-Indië en hun datering* (Amsterdam – Leiden, 1960).
179 W. Brandenstein, in "Die Indogermanen- und Germanenfrage", *Wiener Beitr. z. Kult. und Ling.* IV (1936), p. 247. Cf. also Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 40.
180 In contradistinction to terms for "horse", "car", "reins": see O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), p. 498 f.; 615 ff.; 680 f.; S. Feist, *Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* (Berlin, 1913), p. 157 f.; 221 f.

bear, carry off" and Greek φέρεται "he moves, goes" etc.;[181] the Engl. noun *mount* comes from *mount* "to ascend, go up" in the special (intransitive) use "to get up on, seat oneself on a horse"; and in the second place, by the observation that for many years the ancient Greeks, Romans and Germans did not use saddles;[182] the Scyths were, it is true, acquainted with the saddle, but often sat on a sort of cover. Then there is the possibility of loss of 'popular' or 'technical' terms which did not survive in the more or less aristocratic vocabulary which the main ancient Indo-European civilizations had in common.[183]

It may, however, now be considered definitely established that the horse-drawn chariot, generally speaking and leaving individual and occasional cases out of consideration, preceded the rider on horseback. "Allem 1500 v. Chr. vorausgehenden Equidenreiten haftet tatsächlich Versuchscharakter, der Habitus des Unsystematischen, Gelegentlichen und Zufälligen an, ... alles wirtschaftlich oder politisch verankerte, systematisch ausgebildete und gepflegte Pferdereiten ist erst Sache einer nach 1500 v. Chr. liegenden Zeit".[184] Even after 1500 this means of locomotion is at first rarely mentioned or represented: in the 13th century the Hittite king occasionally mounts a horse;[185] there were also, likewise at irregular intervals, mounted messengers or couriers. In Egypt riding obviously was, during the XVIIIth dynasty (1562-1308), far from common and not practised for military purposes.[186] With the Israelites it was no custom.[187] The Mycenaean plastic arts do not show us horsemen. The early Indo-Europeans were, as far as we are able to see, no riders.[188] Even in Homer's times the Thracians, who were famous for their horses, harnessed the animals to chariots;[189] but at a later date they gave up driving, turning

181 See also C. D. Buck, *A dictionary of selected synonyms in the principal Indo-European languages* (Chicago, 1949), p. 714 f.
182 Schrader-Nehring, *o.c.*, II, p. 282; F. M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Vorzeit usw.* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1914), 897 ff.
183 Cf. A. Meillet, *Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes* (Paris, 1937), p. 382.
184 Hančar, *o.c.*, p. 551. Significantly enough, Kikkuli, the author of a well-known Hittite handbook of horse-breeding (14th century B.C.) which must have originated in Mitanni, does not mention riding on horseback. For a 'cultural change' setting in the 16th cent. B.C. see also T. Burton Brown, *Excavations in Azarbaijan 1948* (Delhi, 1951), p. 254.
185 A. Goetze, "Kleinasien", in W. Otto, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* III, 1, 3 (München, 1933), p. 111, n. 7.
186 Particulars are mentioned by Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 39.
187 M. Löhr, in *Oriental. Literatur-Zeitung* 1928, p. 923 ff.
188 See also F. Flor, in *Festschrift – H. Hirt*, I, p. 112.
189 Homer, *Iliad* 10, 434 ff. (cf. 13, 4; 14, 227).

out excellent horsemen.[190] This cannot be said of the Illyrians, whom we know to have been acquainted with the chariot.[191] Far into the historical period the Dorians (Laconians of Sparta etc.) do not seem to have felt much interest in riding.[192] Also after recent investigations into the use of horses in ancient Greece[193] the opinion must prevail that "im frühgriechischen Bereich einer älteren Vorherrschaft des Fahrens eine jüngere des Reitens gefolgt ist, deren Anfang sich gerade zu Homers Zeiten stärker abzuzeichnen beginnt".[194] In the Homeric poems the horseman is no frequent character. As the fugitives on Egyptian reliefs[195] mount a horse, so Odysseus and Diomedes make off on the backs of the steeds which they have stolen.[196] Otherwise riding is mentioned only in similes,[197] the rider being a "man" or a "rider", not one of the heroes or of the combatants. Remarkably enough it was in the same period that this practice and the use of cavalry in warfare were very likely introduced into other countries: "der entscheidende Wandel vom Fahren zum Reiten im militärisch-politischen Einsatz erfolgt um die Wende zum 1. Jahrtausend".[198] A Mycenaean vase dating back to the XIth century bears a clumsy image of a warrior (deity ?) on horseback[199] – the theme did not in Greece become common before the VIIth century[200] – and a number of reliefs in the Near East including Mesopotamia[201] begin, in the same period, to show armed horsemen. In 860 the king of Assyria without disbanding his vehicular forces introduced cavalry into his army.[202] In the army of the Persian Achaemenids of the VIth and Vth centuries the chariot, though employed

190 W. Tomaschek, in *Sitzungsber. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien, 1893), p. 115; 120.
191 J. Nestor, in *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 21 (1934), p. 124; 128.
192 For references see Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 48.
193 E. Delebecque, *Le cheval dans l'Iliade, suivi d'un lexique du cheval chez Homère et d'un essai sur le cheval pré-homérique* (Paris, 1951).
194 Wiesner, in *Gnomon*, 25 (1953), p. 314.
195 Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 39.
196 Homer, *Iliad* 10, 513. "Dieses Reiten ist aber ein ganz ungewöhnliches und durch die Umstände gebotenes" (J. U. Faesi-F. R. Franke, *Homers Iliade erklärt*, II, Berlin[6], 1889, p. 139). The practise of riding on horses bare-backed is elsewhere known to Homer only in similes (W. Leaf, *The Iliad*, I, London, [2]1900, p. 460). "... Wird das Reitpferd, das doch in den ionischen Adelsheeren eine besondere Rolle spielte (vgl. Aristot. Pol. 6, 10, 9; Strabo 14, 643), bei Homer in Gleichnissen zweimal vorgeführt, in der epischen Handlung aber nur ein einziges Mal ..." (E. Drerup, *Homerische Poetik*, Würzburg, 1921, I, p. 168).
197 See Homer, *Iliad* 15, 679; *Odyssey* 5, 371.
198 Wiesner, "Fahren und Reiten", p. 44; cf. also the same, in *Gnomon* 25, p. 316.
199 Ἐφημερὶς ἀρχαιολογική (1904), plate 3.
200 In 648 horse-races were introduced into the Olympic games in addition to the traditional contest in chariot-racing etc.
201 For particulars Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 70.
202 O. Schröder, in *Orient. Lit. Z.* 1920, p. 155 ff.

in races, had however fallen into disuse.[203] In India traces of riding are likewise not found before a comparatively advanced period: saddles do not seem to occur before the lowest strata of Mohenjo-daro.[204]

What I want to emphasize is that in some cases nobility and almost everywhere[205] divinity lag behind. Clinging to traditions they continued employing their wheeled vehicles for military, travelling, and representative purposes. "Das Nomadentum, welches die Wanderungen seit 1200 verursacht, dringt weder in Alteuropa noch im Alten Orient ein, wohl aber das Reiten, dessen Intensität in stärkstem Zusammenhang steht mit der Aufnahme der neuen Reitertracht. In Alteuropa bleiben ihr Griechen, Römer, ein Teil der Kelten, in Vorderasien Ägypter, Israeliten, Syrer, Assyrer und Inder fremd; bei allen genannten Stämmen aber hält sich der Streitwagen als Symbol des Herrn und des Gottes. Entscheidend treten hier die geographischen Gegebenheiten hervor: das Reiten und die neue Tracht setzen sich nicht in den Gebieten durch, die vom genannten Ausgangsgebiet am weitesten entfernt und durch schwerwiegende natürliche Hindernisse von ihm getrennt sind. Rosz und Reiter haben die stärkste Auswirkung in der Nachbarschaft der groszen Tieflandsräume zwischen Europa und Asien, bei den Thrakern, den Germanen, Kelten und Iraniern, bei denen nur unter den zuerst im Blickfeld der Geschichte tretenden Persern eine gröszere Bedeutung des Streitwagens spürbar ist... Die groszen Gebirge die Alpen, Balkan, Kaukasus, Zagros und Hindukusch wirkten wie Prellböcke, zum mindesten abschwächend. Hinter ihnen hielt sich das alte Streitwagenerbe ..." (Wiesner, o.c., p. 83f.). In Assyria, Syria and Egypt the battle-chariot is also after ± 1000 B.C. the favoured conveyance of the rulers. In Rome it remained in use to carry the triumphator. Homeric gods – Helios, Poseidon, Hera, Ares, Artemis[206] – are described as driving or possessing vehicles.[207] The conservative Egyptian and Assyrian gods do not ride on horseback.[208] The Avestan Mithra likewise employed a chariot, and Xenophon[209] in describing a religious procession of the Persians makes mention of a ἅρμα λευκὸν χρυσόζυγον ἐστεμμένον Διὸς ἱερόν. Contrary to the contemporaneous predilection for riding and its importance for military purposes Ahura Mazda was, according to Herodotus,[210] believed to possess, like the king who is portrayed without the riding-dress – trousers –, a two-wheeled chariot. The description of this conveyance which was drawn by eight or four steeds – τὸ ἵπποι μὲν εἷλκον λευκοὶ ὀκτώ (Herodotus) – may be compared to those of Mithra in Yt. 10, 125 "four coursers pull at his chariot, all of the same whiteness", of Anāhita in Yt. 5, 120 and of Sraoša in Y. 57, 27.[211] In the Sassanidian period, however, both king and sun-god ride. Then this posture becomes a symbol of royal and divine power.[212] After that time kings, heroes and saints[213] were, in the West, very often sculptured or represented on horseback. In India the horse-drawn chariot was even far into the post-Vedic period given to deities who hitherto were not conceived as transporting themselves by means of a vehicle. The chariot of the Sun was transferred to the other planets, and all these vehicles were believed to be drawn by horses, no doubt largely in imitation of the solar car.[214]

Those gods who in antiquity did ride were sometimes foreigners,[215] for instance Dionysos in Ancient Greece, whose cult, which can be traced to Phrygia, was introduced from Thracia.[216] Interestingly enough, the

[203] Herodotus 1, 103; 7, 61 ff.; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 8, 3, 25 ff.

[204] If A. D. Pusalkar, in *The history and culture of the Indian people*, I (London, 1951), p. 194 is right.

[205] With remarkable exceptions in Egypt: A. R. Schulman, "Egyptian representation of horsemen and riding in the New Kingdom", *Journal of the Near Eastern Studies*, 16 (1957), p. 263 ff.; J. Leclant, *Astarté à cheval d'après les représentations égyptiennes*, *Syria* 27 (1960), p. 1 ff.

[206] For Hera *Iliad* 5, 720; for Artemis Hom. *Hymn* 9, 3. Pind., *Ol.* 3, 19 describes Selènè, the Moon, as driving in a chariot drawn by horned cattle.

[207] Those who do not may be supposed to continue the older tradition: Wiesner, Fahren und Reiten, p. 27. For a Mesopotamian parallel ("Im Götterdasein spielt wohl der Wagen, doch nicht der Kriegswagen eine Rolle, ein weiterer Beweis für seine Fremdheit in vergangener Zeit") the same, p. 21. In general, also E. Siecke, *Götterattribute und sogenannte Symbole* (Jena, 1909), p. 241 ff.

[208] Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 39; 70; see however Leclant, *o.c.*

[209] Xenophon, *Cyrop.* 8, 3, 12.

[210] Herodotus 7, 40; Dio Chrysostomus 36, 39 ff. "We are here nearer Vedic beliefs than the Zoroastrian system" (E. Benveniste, *The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts* (Paris, 1929), p. 30). For Selene (the Moon) see e.g. Pind. *Ol.* 3, 19 (W. H. Roscher, *Über Selene ...* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 29 f.).

[211] See also C. Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion* (Giessen, 1920), p. 153; A. Christensen, "Die Iranier", in W. Otto, *Handb. d. Altertumsw.*, III, 1, 3 (München, 1933), p. 263 f.; 287 f.

[212] F. Sarre and E. Herzfeld, *Die Kunst des alten Persien* (Berlin, 1923), p. 67 ff.

[213] For the development of the theme of the saint on horseback see J. Strzygowski, in *Zs. f. ägyptische Sprache* 40, p. 1 f., and the same, *Asiens bildende Kunst* (Augsburg, 1930), p. 328 f.

[214] W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jainismus* (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 88: "Hier zeigt sich also deutlich, dasz die arisch-nordische Vorstellung, dasz nur das Pferd das geeignete Zugtier darstellt, auch im Bereich der hinduistischen Mythologie weitgehend Raum gewonnen hat".

[215] Thracian gods and heroes like their worshippers, who must have contributed much to the popularity of riding in the south-east of Europe, were mounted (Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 63, who refers, *inter alia*, to Kazarow, *Die Denkmäler des thrakischen Reitergottes in Bulgarien*, Thesis, Pannon., 1938).

[216] See H. J. Rose, *Religion in Greece and Rome* (New York, 1959), p. 60.

mounted goddess who, accompanied by the bull, belongs to the circle of his companions, is also represented as riding on horseback.[217] Mounted deities appear on the whole only at a later period. In Greece, riding souls of the deceased do not – as far as may be seen from the archaeological finds – exist before the beginning of the Ist millennium B.C.[218]

Whereas the Ṛgvedic descriptions of chariots are so detailed that we can form a very good idea of their construction[219] and to a large extent also of their appearance, references to riding are very scarce in the ancient Indian literature. From ṚV. 5, 61, 1 ff.–the vision of Śyāvāśva who saw the Maruts and, astonished, did not recognize them[220] because "their thighs were held asunder like those of women when they give birth to a child" (st. 3), whereas horses as well as reins, saddle, goad or whip, etc. remain invisible – it may be concluded, first that riding was not completely unknown and in the second place that the Maruts, who were a class of gods, could be imagined as having mounted horses.[221] In 1, 162, 17 mention is made of the heel and the whip which may have spurred a horse[222] – that is, to all appearance, a riding-horse – overmuch. ṚV. 1, 163, 9 *yo arvantam prathamo adhyatiṣṭhat* may likewise refer to riding. Princes and mighty lords (e.g. Jātaka I, p. 100 F. "he rode along to meet them like a mighty lord in his carriage") are however generally conceived and frequently mentioned as driving, not as riding on horseback. There is in the oldest period no record of the use of cavalry in battles. According to Keith[223] – who however did not substantiate his opinion by textual evidence – the use of horses for riding had in the period reflected by the later saṃhitās and the brāhmaṇas "certainly become more common". In VājasS. 30, 13 passing mention is made of "a rider of a horse" (*aśvasādam*). The same term occurs, beside *saṃgrahītar-* "one who holds (the

[217] For references Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 46.

[218] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1931), I, p. 153, n. 3: "Reiten konnten die Toten erst, als es die Lebenden taten". Whereas Thor, who has been considered one of the most ancient Germanic gods (G. Neckel, *Kultur der alten Germanen*, Potsdam, 1934, p. 151; 181; De Vries, *Altgerm. Religionsgeschichte*, II, p. 232) was believed to employ the two-wheeled battle-vehicle, the 'younger' members of the Germanic pantheon were, Wiesner (*o.c.*, p. 61 f.) argues, possessed of mounts, Odin-Wodan riding on his swift steed Sleipnir (De Vries, *o.c.*, II, p. 178), Balder on his Silfrintopp etc.

[219] See also G. P. Majumdar, in *Indian Culture* 2 (1935-36), p. 277 ff.

[220] See Geldner, *Rig-veda übersetzt*, II, p. 68.

[221] The translation of *ya īṃ vahanta āśubhiḥ* in st. 11 may therefore be "they that ride on swift (steeds)" rather than "mit schnellen Rossen fahren" (Geldner).

[222] See however also Hillebrandt quoted by Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexikon*, II, p. 233.

[223] A. B. Keith, in *The Cambridge History of India*, I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 137.

reins), tames horses" in TaittB. 3, 4, 1, 7. Anyhow, on the employment of cavalry in war these texts remain silent.

In the Buddhist Jātakas (which may be considered to give an impression of Indian life between the Vth and IInd cent. B.C.) cavalry was however recognized as a part of the armed forces, the "complete host of the four arms" (i.e. elephants, cavalry, chariots and infantry) being not rarely mentioned (e.g. Jāt. 531, V, p. 310; 546, VI, p. 436). In Jātaka 254 (II, p. 290) the owner of a beautiful horse is said to mount on the back of this animal and after having cleared the courtyard of men, to have ridden the horse about in it;[224] in 545 (VI, p. 275) it reads: "he mounted the horse and galloped it along the top of a wall ...". In the same collection of texts the elephant appears as a mount: 479 (IV, p. 232) "accompanied by a company which ..., and mounted upon an elephant all white ... in great pomp and splendour he went to visit his parents". By the time of Alexander cavalry had secured a place in the army of king Porus[225] who, it is true, ruled, from the Indian point of view, a borderland in the North-West, no doubt one of the regions into which horses were first and most imported.[226] According to Megasthenes who visited India (± 300 B.C.) the army of the great Maurya King Candragupta consisted of four arms, infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants, that is the traditional caturaṅga-bala of the epics (Mbh. 3, 16, 2 C.; 20, 14 C., etc.);[227] the number of horsemen was 30000.[228] Nearchus says, that the horses of the Indian riders were unsaddled and had no bits.[229] Yet, Aelianus, drawing on Megasthenes' work, informs us that the Indians were great masters of horsemanship: ἵππον δὲ ἄρα Ἰνδὸν κατασχεῖν καὶ ἀνακροῦσαι ... οὐ παντὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐκ παιδὸς ἱππείαν πεπαιδευμένων, etc.[230] The

[224] *taṁ assaṁ kappetvā abhiruhitvā* etc.

[225] For the battle of the Hydaspes see e.g. V. A. Smith, *The early history of India* (Oxford,[4] 1924), p. 72; 82 ff.; B. K. Majumdar, *The military system in ancient India* (Calcutta, 1955), p. 65 ff.

[226] Kāt. 22,2,23 f. informs us that horses were the animals of the West, elephants those of the East, mules of the North. On horse-trade see e.g. ŚB. 11, 5, 5, 12 (horses from Sindh) and other texts quoted by Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 43; *Jātaka*, I, p. 124; II, p. 31 F.; according to *Rām.* 1,6,20 the best horses came from Kamboja, Balkh etc. Another ultra-Panjab people famous for its breed of horses was the Vanāyu, see F. E. Pargiter, *The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Calcutta, 1904), p. 372.

[227] See e.g. also B. K. Majumdar, *o.c.*, p. 129; P. C. Chakravarti, *The art of war in ancient India* (Dacca, 1941), p. 1 f.

[228] See Pliny, N.H. 6,19(22), 68. See B. C. J. Timmer, *Megasthenes en de Indische maatschappij*, Thesis (Amsterdam, 1930), p. 160

[229] Arrianus, *Indica* 16,10 ff. For this passage see Timmer, *o.c.*, p. 165.

[230] Aelianus, *Nat. an.* 13, 9. – For cavalry as an organized body in India see also V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *War in ancient India* (London, 1944), p. 174 ("cavalry as an organized body may be traced to the post-Vedic period, but not earlier").

first indications of the use of horses for riding furnished by the plastic arts date from about the IInd century B.C. There are, occasionally, even in connection with the largely traditional and stereotyped Sūrya images, some traces of the 'Hinduist style' to be signalized. Most remarkable among the god's attendants seen on the sculptures in the ancient cave at Bhājā is a figure on horseback provided with some sort of stirrups, which, as Coomaraswamy thought, is "the earliest known instance in the world".[231] As stirrups are also seen in Sāñcī[232] and in Pathaora near Bhārhut,[233] the art of riding must in the last centuries of the pre-Christian age have been highly developed in India. As is well known, the appearance of this invention was far from common in the antique world.[234]

Whereas comparatively early the Buddhist Mahāniddesa speaks of six kinds of animal vehicles, viz. elephant, bullock, goat, ram, camel and donkey, used for riding as well as drawing purposes – they also acted as beasts of burden –, in the Milindapañha – which gives us an idea of the culture of the North-West at the end of the pre-Christian era – the concept of *yāna-* includes not only the trained elephant but also the riding-horse.[235]

Although the authors of the Mahābhārata – which in these things give a rough idea of the period between about 500 B.C. and the end of the pre-Christian era – do not seem to have known a special term corresponding to our "cavalry" they had several words for "horse-riders" at their disposal: *aśvāroha-*, *hayāroha-*, *vājin-*, *sādin-* etc.[236] As far as can be inferred from the epic texts themselves cavalry was used, but not as organized bodies. The mounted soldiers did not act together, appearing either as concomitants of the war-cars, or individually;[237] besides, they were grouped with the elephant riders and employed as messengers etc.

[231] Coomaraswamy, p. 25 (English ed., p. 26 German ed.).
[232] J. H. Marshall, *Guide to Sānchī* (Calcutta, 1918), p. 138 (Delhi, ³1955, p. 152).
[233] A. Cunningham, *The stupa of Bharhut* (London, 1879), t. 2.
[234] I have not made investigations into this point, consulting Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Vorzeit, 1079* (who mentions Japanese and Chinese examples which may date back to the beginning of the Christian era, adding that in the West a single stirrup made its appearance in the VIth century; in the Xth century the device became more usual); Schrader-Nehring, *Reallexikon* II, p. 470; Potratz, *Pferdetext*, p. 24 ff. and J. Fergusson (and J. Burgess), *Cave temples of India* (London, 1880), p. 517.
[235] Milindap. 4,8,3 (p. 276); cf. also Mahāniddesa 145 (on Suttanipāta 816); see G. P. Majumdar, *Indian Culture* 2, p. 277 f.
[236] E. W. Hopkins, "The social and military position of the ruling caste in ancient India, as represented by the Sanskrit epic", *J.A.O.S.* 13 (1889), p. 57 ff., esp. p. 262.
[237] For details see Hopkins, *o.c.*, p. 262 f. However "the cavalry-men are (as far as appears from the epic) mainly conspicuous through falling off their horses, quite often through fear alone" (Hopkins).

(cf. e.g. Mbh. 6, 120, 28 C., = 6, 115, 26 cr.). Although Hopkins[238] perhaps goes too far in saying that riding was a common amusement, it must have been well known, in peace as well as war: cf. Mbh. 1, 100, 61 C. *nāśvena viniryāsi vivarṇo hariṇaḥ kṛśaḥ* "(you seem to be in ill health;) you don't go out ahorse any more; you look green and poorly." It must on the other hand be conceded that kings and 'chariot-knights' are often related to flee on horses when their vehicles are disabled (see e.g. 9, 25, 23). Chariots, which are of very frequent occurrence, are in the epics still the vehicles of the 'knights'.

Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, which – though often regarded as considerably older – may date back to about 200 A.D., contains some unambiguous references to riding-horses: 2, 30 (47), 37 *valgano nīcairgato laṅghano dhoraṇo nāroṣṭraś caupavāhyāḥ*[239] which was translated: "Galopp, Zelterlauf, Kurbette, Trab und 'menschlichem Stachel Gehorchen' sind die Leistungen des Reitpferdes".[240] In 10, 2 (148), 4 the same author deals with the task of the cavalry: *purastān nāyakaḥ, madhye kalatraṃ svāmī ca, pārśvayor aśvā bāhūtsārah, cakrānteṣu hastinaḥ* ... "in front the commander should go, in the centre the consorts and the ruler, on both sides the horses as 'reaching out of the arms', at the ends of the army the elephants".[241] That is to say, protecting the sides of the army belonged together with pursuit etc. to the duties of the horsemen. In 10, 5, 43 the well-known distinction is made between infantry, cavalry, chariot(-fighter)s and 'elephants' (*pattyaśvarathadvipānām*).[242]

In passing from the epics (about 300 B.C. – IIIrd century A.D.) to the older purāṇas we notice in the VāyuPurāṇa – the bulk of which probably belongs to the IVth or Vth century – a remarkable, and perhaps instructive, paucity of references to our subject. Horse-riding is indicated in no more than two cases: the legendary king Prasena probably rode on horseback when he went out for hunting (96, 37 f.) because he was killed together with the animal (*śāśvaṃ hatam*) and king Śatadhanvan when fighting in a battle rode a mare (96, 72).[243] Besides, the future avatāra Kalkin is expected to raise an army composed of horse, chariots and

[238] Hopkins, *o.c.*, p. 263, n. 1.
[239] An *upavāhya-* is an animal for riding (the term includes also elephants).
[240] J. J. Meyer, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben* (Leipzig, 1926), p. 213.
[241] See Meyer, *o.c.*, p. 565, n. 1.
[242] For a brief account of the history of elephantry in war in ancient India, based on Gupta coins, literary sources etc. the reader may consult B. P. Sinha, "Elephants in ancient Indian army", in *Journ. Bihar Res. Soc.* 41 (1955), p. 519 ff.
[243] There is however also only a single reference to the employment of elephants in war (69, 230 f.).

elephants (58, 76ff., cf. 98, 104f.). "A halo of sanctity"[244] was on the other hand attached to the chariots of legendary kings such as Yayāti and Arjuna Kārtavīrya, many other rulers being called *rathin-* "going or fighting in a chariot". The chariot obviously was considered the only vehicle of war which could find a place in the traditions about the exploits of the kings of yore. These accounts no doubt testify that chariots, not cavalry – which in these narratives is as conspicuous by its absence as the elephant-riding – had a hoary antiquity.[245]

To give a suitable end to this short survey: the Indian war-chariot must have fallen into total disuse in or before the VIIth century,[246] after a period of decline which must have commenced many centuries earlier. The chief reliance had been transferred to the elephant division, the "elephant-science" being already in the Mahābhārata (see e.g. 1, 109, 19 C.; 8, 38, 16 C.) considered an important part of military discipline.[247] Although with the disappearance of the chariot kṣatriyas are found fighting from a great howdah (*vimāna-*) on an elephant's back (see e.g. Agni-Pur. 242, 24f.), it was the arm of cavalry which, in this period, were gradually developed. Yet the cavalry never came to occupy the front rank in the organisation of the ancient Indian armies,[248] partly owing to lack of good horses, especially in the south,[249] partly because the Indians never really mastered the art of horse-archery. This technique, to which no reference whatever is made before the Scythian period (± 100 B.C. – 200 A.D.),[250] seems – as far as may be inferred from numismatical evidence – to have been introduced by the Scythian and Parthian invaders. There are good reasons to think, with Wilson,[251] that the infusion of these foreign peoples with their traditions of superior horsemanship[252] must, about the commencement of our era, have led to a re-organisation of the mounted forces in ancient India.

It is worth while here to insert a few remarks on the relations of the horse with Indian gods. First, there is the famous "king of steeds"

[244] D. R. Patil, *Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa* (Poona, 1946), p. 223.
[245] See also Patil, *l.c.*
[246] See Chakravarti, *o.c.*, p. 2; 26; H. G. Quaritch Wales, *Ancient South-East Asian warfare* (London, 1952), p. 36.
[247] See Hopkins, *o.c.*, p. 265 f.
[248] See also Chakravarti, *o.c.*, p. 36.
[249] Neither Champa nor Cambodia had any real cavalry division of the army (Quaritch Wales, *o.c.*, p. 103).
[250] Majumdar, *o.c.*, p. 118; Chakravarti, *o.c.*, p. 41 f.
[251] H. H. Wilson, *Works*, IV (London, 1864), p. 297. Cf. also A. B. Keith, in *The Cambridge History of India*, I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 137.
[252] Wiesner, *o.c.*, p. 79 f.

(*aśvarāja-* Mbh. 1, 54, 6 C. = 1, 49, 6 cr.), the swift and "pale or white" (*pāṇḍu-* 1, 18, 35 C.[253]) Uccaiḥśravas, the best of horses (9, 46, 16 C. = 9, 44, 14 cr.) which was born from the ocean, when churned, with Indra's elephant and other highly valued acquisitions (Mbh. 1, a. 18 C.).[254] Whereas the elephant is taken by Indra there is nothing in the two great epics to suggest that Uccaiḥśravas became the steed of the same god.[255] Also the ViṣṇuPur. 1, 22, 6 merely states that Uccaiḥśravas is the "best of horses". The conclusion is therefore warranted that far into the post-Vedic period Indra was not considered a riding god.[256] According to the Harivaṃśa (8220; 8924) the offspring of Uccaiḥśravas are in the sky and are given away by Indra. In later texts however the animal, being called Śakrāśva "Indra's horse", could also serve as the god's vāhana.

In view of the fact that in the preceding periods Indra first drove in a chariot and then mounted his favourite elephant Kirfel's[257] opinion "diese unterschiedlichen Angaben beweisen, dasz hier abweichende Konzeptionen mit einander vermischt worden sind", should, I think, be rectified as follows: the god's nature obviously also admitted of being associated with the "grey horse".[258] However, the animal being one of the attributes of the king of the celestials was appropriated by the asura Śumbha after conquering the gods and driving them from heaven: "mine are the three worlds and the choicest gems in them; and so are the finest elephants and the chariot of the lord of the gods; ... that gem among horses, Uccaiḥśravas ... was presented to me by the immortals" (Mārk. Pur. 85, 59ff.). This white horse was indeed counted among the seven treasures of a supreme ruler or universal emperor (*cakravartin-*).[259]

Returning for a moment to the riding-animal in general, it is interesting to note that the historical precedence of driving or riding in a chariot to riding on the back of an animal which is shown by the texts and monu-

[253] For the colour of the animal see also W. Crooke, *The popular religion and folklore of northern India* (Westminster², 1896), II, p. 205; V. Negelein, *Das Pferd im arischen Altertum*, p. 47.
[254] For other traditions see V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Purana Index*, I (Madras, 1951), p. 212.
[255] See also Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 125. Koppers' remark (in Wiener Beiträge Kult. u. Ling., IV, p. 337) "Indra's Verbindung mit dem Pferd steht natürlich mit dem von idg. Völkern in die Stiergebiete hineingetragenen Pferd in Zusammenhang" does not carry us any further.
[256] However, the man who Mbh. 1,3,98 is seated on a bull turns out to be Indra (1,3, 168).
[257] W. Kirfel, *Symbolik des Hinduismus und des Jainismus* (Stuttgart, 1959), p. 88.
[258] ṚV. 3,53,5 his chariot is drawn by a he-ass.
[259] For horse-faced gods etc., which need not be discussed here, see e.g. Rao, *o.c.*, p. 314 f. (the Aśvins).

ments of other peoples, and which we observe in the case of Indra and the horse, is repeated for instance in the relations between Agni and his mount. Whereas in older texts this god normally has his ram or goat harnessed to a chariot, medieval monuments like to represent him seated on the back of his vāhana.[260]

Another manifestation of the "gem of horses" is the divine steed Balāha, which in Northern Buddhism plays a great part on account of its connection with the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara[261] who is one of the most popular figures of the Mahāyānist pantheon. The horse Balāha here is a Saviour, filled with compassion and in one of the older versions (IIIrd cent.[262]) of the story, in which it is told to rescue some hundred merchants, it is said to have been an earlier incarnation of the Buddha.[263]

It is certainly no mere coincidence that the horse should, in different periods and by a variety of religious communities, have been associated with divine beings of the highest rank, Varuṇa, Indra, Avalokiteśvara and, as we will see instantly, Viṣṇu. One figure who in other respects has proved to be an important link in the chain connecting Vedic and Hindu beliefs awaits some brief remarks. The horse is, in the brāhmaṇas, called the highest and most perfect of animals (ŚB. 13, 3, 3, 1 *aśvaḥ paśūnāṃ paramaḥ*; TaittB. 3, 8, 7, 1 *aśvaḥ paśūnām ojiṣṭho baliṣṭhaḥ*; 8, 9, 1 *aśvaḥ sarvān paśūn atyeti*). Therefore the connections between the sacrificial horse – which is, of course, of a particular high rank and value (see ŚB. 13, 4, 2, 1) – and the "Lord of creatures", Prajāpati, is not only in itself quite understandable, but also fully accounted for by the theory of the identity of the sacrifice with Puruṣa-Prajāpati.[264] Hence the conception that the sacrificial horse belongs to Prajāpati or rather is of the god's nature (*prājāpatya-*; see ŚB. 13, 1, 1, 1; 2, 3; TaittB. 3, 8, 3, 6). That is, as the TaittB. has it (3, 9, 17, 4; cf. 3, 9, 20, 2 *aśvo bhavati, prajāpater āptyai*; 22, 2 *yad vaitat prajāpatir ālabdho 'śvo 'bhavat, tasmād aśvaḥ prajāpateḥ paśūnām anurūpatamaḥ*), this animal is a form of Prajāpati himself (*prajāpate rūpam aśvaḥ*), and is, of all animals the one most conformable or corresponding (*anurūpatamaḥ*) to Prajāpati – one of those confirmations of our deductions and conclusions by the texts themselves. Indian religion being not

[260] Banerjea, *o.c.*, p. 524.
[261] For Avalokiteśvara seated on a lion: Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, I, p. 181.
[262] Ed. Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripiṭaka chinois* (Paris, 1910-11), I, p. 224 ff.
[263] V. Goloubew, "Le cheval Balāha", in *Bull. de l'École franç. d'Extrême Orient*, 27 (1927), p. 223.
[264] See Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated, Introduction to part IV, and V*, p. XVIII f.

primarily a matter of theory but a method of realizing higher goals, of transcending the mundane limitations, of attaining a higher level of spiritual excellence, of coming into contact with the divine powers and gaining beatitude, the conclusion is drawn that the horse could also be identical with the sacrificer himself, because Prajāpati = the horse and = the sacrifice, and the sacrifice is also = the sacrificer or rather his divine self awaiting him in the other world (ŚB. 11, 1, 8, 6; 2, 2, 6). See TaittB. 3, 9, 17, 4 *yajamāno vā aśvaḥ*. By this identity the sacrificer succeeds in obtaining the fellowship of the Lord of Creatures and a place in his world (TaittB. 3, 9, 20, 2).

Before leaving this subject some words must be said on the connections between the horse and Viṣṇu. In the traditional enumeration of the god's avatāras, the last one, which is to be expected in the future, is that of Kalkin, about whom there is a double tradition. According to the obviously younger data which are not furnished by Sanskrit texts, but are recorded by foreign authors who derived their information mainly from the popular beliefs of the South,[265] the god will appear as a white horse. The literary tradition of the brahmans on the other hand represents the view that Kalkin will be a man, who according to a comparatively rare variant rides on horseback,[266] and according to another conception either leads a white horse by his bridle[267] or adores it, for instance in a kneeling position.[268] Abegg's view[269] does not seem to be free from simplification: "ein ursprünglich rein theriomorph gedachter Gott ... differenziert sich in eine tierische und eine menschliche Form, deren ständige

[265] But see T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II (Madras, 1916), 2, app. C, p. 49; de Mallmann, *Agni-Purana*, p. 37. The first published work to make mention of this avatāra was A. Rogerius, *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom* (Leyden, 1651), p. 119 (edited by W. Caland, 's-Gravenhage, 1915, p. 94; in the German edition Nürnberg, 1663, p. 253); a somewhat detailed account was given by Ph. Baldaeus, *Afgoderye der Oost-indische heydenen* (Amsterdam, 1672), p. 128 (ed. by A. J. de Jong, Thesis, Utrecht, 1917, p. 174): "De Benjanen getuygen dat Kallenkijn is een wit Paart boven in den Hemel, staande op drie voeten, houdend het voorste rechter been op... De zonde zullen zoo toe nemen, dat het Paart zijn rechter been, tot straffe der godloosheden, zal neder zetten, en de Aarde zoo zal door drukken, dat ... alle de Inwoonders zullen in de grondelooze diepte vergaan ...". For other sources see E. Abegg, *Der Messiasglaube in Indien und Iran* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1928), p. 49. For an older European account of the ten avatāras see P. Hacker, *Prahlāda*, I (Wiesbaden, 1959), p. 9, n. 1.
[266] Cf. also W. J. Wilkins, *Hindu mythology, vedic and puranic* (London, 1882), p. 205.
[267] See Wilkins, *o.c.*, p. 207; Abegg, *o.c.*, p. 47 f.
[268] "Kalki steht somit neben 'seinem' Pferd, mit dem er letzten Endes wesenseins ist, wie die Aśvin, die 'Rosseherren" neben ihren Rossen" ... (Abegg, *o.c.*, p. 48).
[269] Abegg, *o.c.*, p. 48. See also J. Przyluski, "La croyance au Messie dans l'Inde et l'Iran", *Revue d'Hist. des Religions*, 100 (1929), p. 3; 6 f.

Verbundenheit ihre ursprüngliche Identität noch deutlich genug bezeugt. K. steht neben seinem Pferd, mit dem er wesenseins ist". Nor am I inclined to subscribe to his statement[270] that the anthropomorphous figure developed "durch fortschreitende Vermenschlichung der Gestalt und Zurückdrängung des theriomorphen Elementes" – there exist, indeed, representations in the shape of a horse-headed man – from the theriomorphous.[271] It appears to be a more prudent standpoint to hold that the theriomorphous divinity formed part of old popular conceptions connected with the power embodied in the horse. What is however worth noticing is that, on the one hand, horse cult is widespread in the popular religions of India,[272] and that, on the other hand, there exist striking relations between the same animal and Viṣṇu. As pointed out elsewhere[273] the power and force, the energy active in the universe called Viṣṇu was apt to attach to a divine horse or to a mythical figure connected with a horse, because the animal is connected with vegetation and the nether world, but also related to the sun, and because it is sunlight and fecundity which are especially associated with the name of the god of the all-pervading power. ✓ The Kalkin avatāra is for the first time mentioned in the Mahābhārata (3, 190, 93 C. = 3, 188, 89 cr. *kalkir viṣṇuyaśā nāma dvijaḥ kālapracoditaḥ utpaśyate* ...), where he appears as a brahman, without a horse.

The question may be raised as to how far the pre-Aryan peoples of India were acquainted with the horse and especially with horse-riding. It seems difficult to draw reliable conclusions from the customs and practices of modern *ādivāsīs* or 'aborigines' because they may have, and often certainly have, been influenced by their Hindu neighbours. It is indeed now definitely established that at least some non-Aryan communities which originally did not employ the horse have undergone the influence of their Hindu environment.[274] That a popular belief concerning the deceased[275] and the tutelary deities as riding about on horses or elephants may be comparatively recent appears from the pictures of the Saoras (the Śabaras of Sanskrit literature, "barbarian" mountaineer tribes) representing the Fathers as riding not only on these animals, but also on bicycles, cars and even private aeroplanes.[276]

The expensiveness of a horse and the fact that the possession of this animal is a sign of wealth and status – village headmen often keep a horse or pony, to show off[277] – may have contributed to the belief that gods are riders, but we can only guess at what this may mean for the problems under consideration.[278]

Some importance may perhaps be attached to the custom of villagers in the South of India to erect, in the fields, horses, made of clay and painted red and other colours, not only to drive away demons etc., but also in honour of the popular god Aiyanār (Iyenar), the guardian deity of the fields who, being a renowned huntsman, is believed to mount these horses and ride down the demons.[279] This god, who is the male complement of the female village deities, but from a 'social' point of view of a higher rank than these, may be considered the representative of the general brahmanistic Hinduism which, making him the son of Viṣṇu and Śiva, gave him the status of a legitimate Hindu deity. In connection with the custom to have the bride come on horseback[280] "il faut rappeler que le cheval n'est rien moins que courant dans le sud de l'Inde: il n'y a pas un seul cheval dans tous les villages des Pramalai Kallar. Hypothétiquement si l'on veut, nous dirons que le cheval est ici attribut royal, et que, de même que la légende d'origine le rapporte à Indra, il traduit ici les traditions guerrières de la caste, ses relations avec le pouvoir temporel".[281] It would appear to me that this point, the comparative rarity of horses in the South of India, has not always be given due consideration by those who would, with Zimmer, advocate an 'Indus', Dravidian or 'aboriginal' origin of the conception of the mounted deity.[282]

The conclusion may therefore be that, in accordance with the general

[270] Cf. also *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 150.

[271] On horse-headed deities Abegg, *o.c.*, p. 53; R. H. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1935); and now also the remarks made by De Mallmann, *Agni-Purana*, p. 39 f.

[272] See Von Negelein, *o.c.*, p. 16; Crooke, *Popular Religion and folklore*, II, p. 205; cf. also W. Ruben, *Literatur der vorarischen Stämme Indiens* (Berlin, 1952), p. 74 f.

[273] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 147 ff.

[274] W. Koppers, "Monuments to the Dead of the Bhils", in *Annali Lateranensi* 6 (Rome 1942), p. 117 ff.; the same, *Die Bhil in Zentralindien* (Horn-Wien, 1948), p. 10.

[275] Cf. also Koppers, *Die Bhil*, p. 206, and esp. the same, *Monuments*, p. 120 ff. (with illustrations).

[276] V. Elwin, *The religion of an Indian tribe* (Oxford, 1955), p. 437; cf. p. 150.

[277] F. Fuchs, *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla* (London, 1960), p. 117.

[278] Horses are not eaten: N. E. Parry, *The Lakhers* (London, 1932), p. 84. It is taboo to touch them: Elwin, *o.c.*, p. 526 f.

[279] See e.g. E. Thurston, *Omens and superstitions of Southern India* (London, 1912), p. 166 f. and for Aiyanār in general H. Whitehead, *The village gods of India* (Madras, 1921), p. 33; L. Dumont, "Définition structurale d'un dieu populaire tamoul", *Journal asiatique* 241, p. 255; Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 14.

[280] M. N. Srinivas, *Marriage and family in Mysore* (Bombay, 1942), p. 105. Cf. also Thurston, *Castes and tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), V, p. 267.

[281] Dumont, *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud* (La Haye, 1957), p. 225.

[282] With regard to the buffalo – the vāhana of Yama – the remark may be added that this animal which is an object of veneration in India from time immemorial, is nowadays especially revered in the primitive communities of the South. See Ch. Ch. Das Gupta, *o.c.*, p. 18 f.

trend in the ancient world (the Near and Middle East, South Europe) etc. the Indian gods were, generally speaking, first conceived as driving in chariots and only secondarily, at a later epoch, as mounted. Hence also the purāṇic tradition which does not only represent the deities as riding in chariots, but also as riding on the animals with which they are associated. Varuṇa, for instance, on which the Ṛgveda is in this respect silent, uses according to part of the Hindu sources a chariot drawn by geese, according to other texts he rides a haṃsa. Whereas for instance the ViDh. Pur. has the same god harness swans to a vehicle (3, 52, 1 ff.) Varāhamihira's BṛhatSaṃhitā 57 (58), 57 describes him as mounted on that bird. In plastic arts he is in most cases represented as standing or being seated on a makara (a kind of sea-monster). On a veranda relief at Bhājā showing the demons of the night subdued by the rising sun (Ist cent. B.C.)[283] Sūrya himself is represented as driving his chariot, but his female attendants as riding horses.[284]

283 See Zimmer, *Art of Indian Asia*, II, plate 40.
284 We cannot discuss here particulars such as Kubera's riding on a man (Banerjea, *Iconography*, p. 528), although his usual mount is a sheep.

IV. THE NUMBER SIXTEEN

As is well known there is a vast amount of material on the dominance of the number 16 in Indian culture.[1] Up to recently a rupee was 16 annas and already in the beginning of the Christian age the monetary unit *kārṣāpaṇa-* was divided into sixteen *māṣas* or *paṇas*. In subdivisions the ratio 16 had the same importance: a silver kārṣāpaṇa was equivalent to 1280 (= 80 × 16) cowries, a copper, to 80 (= 5 × 16) *raktikās*.[2] Set phrases such as "twelve annas in the rupee" are very common.[3] Many entities consist of sixteen parts and "this is not worth a sixteenth" is in Buddhist texts as well as the Mahābhārata and other Hindu works a well-known expression: Manu 2, 86 "the four great sacrifices enjoined by the rules of the Veda are not equal in value to a sixteenth part of the sacrifice consisting of muttered prayers"; Aṅguttara-Nikāya 10, 17, 167 (V, 251) "compared with this latter, the descent of a brahman is not worth one sixteenth part of it" (*kalaṁ n'agghati soḷasiṁ*), an expression which occurs fairly often in the Pāli Tipiṭaka. Sixteen suppressions of the breath accompanied by a definite recitation are – if they are repeated daily – the penance for murder of a brahman (Manu 11, 248)[4]. There are sixteen "caryatids of the universe", *diggajāḥ* ("elephants of the four quarters"), who support the dome-shaped shell of the firmament on their backs.[5] Mbh. 12, 224, 43 cr. ed. "the limbs invested with form and having sixteen

1 One should not lose sight of the frequent occurrence of other numbers in India: on 18 see O. Stein, in the *Poona Orientalist* 1,3, p. 1 ff. and 2, p. 164 ff.; on 12 J. W. Spellman, in the *Journal of Asian Studies* 22 (1962), p. 79 f. In cubic measures the ratio 8 is very frequent (see e.g. W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, Bonn, 1920, p. 331 f.). Units of weight occur in a variety of ratios. For numbers in general see also H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 46 ff.
2 Cf. also Manu 8, 134; 136.
3 In studying these attention may also be paid to such progressions as 4, 8, 16 (Manu 11, 126); 4, 8, 16, 32 (see *Jātaka* 104).
4 W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Prag, 1939), p. 73.
5 According to one version of their origin, when Garuḍa burst from his egg, Indra's elephant-mount, Airāvata, appeared from one half of the broken eggshell, followed by seven more male elephants, while eight females came forth from the other half. See e.g.

constituent parts become what is called body". We hear of "the sixteen attributes" (the five breaths, the ten senses and 'mind'). As a round number 16 occurs Rām. 4, 16, 28 where young girls to this number enter joyfully, bringing scents etc., and 1600 Rām. 2, 70, 20 where sixteen hundred excellent horses are given as a present. Hindu digests distinguish sixteen "ways of service" (*upacāras*), being the items and stages in the whole procedure of the cult of the gods (*devapūjā*). The Nyāyasūtras begin with an enumeration of the sixteen subjects or phases of reasoning, viz. the *pramāṇas* or means of right knowledge, the object of right knowledge, doubt, purpose, illustrative instances, accepted conclusions etc.[6] In brahmanic ritual ascetics are stated to restrain their breath sixteen times (see VaikhSmS. 9, 8). The Tantrists assume the existence of sixteen divine Mothers (e.g. MahānirvT. 10, 127). In their doctrine of the cakras or padmas, the "lotuses" or centres of the body, the so-called soma-cakra, a sixteen-lobed ganglion, comprising the centres in the middle of the cerebrum, plays an eminent rôle. In Buddhist writings the 'typical number' under discussion plays a similar part. There are for instance sixteen things that cannot be satisfied (the sea is not satisfied with all the rivers, nor fire with fuel etc.): Jātaka 402. The number of (lesser) hells is sometimes thirty-two or a hundred and twenty-eight, but also sixteen (Jātaka, 21 and 142). There are also sixteen arhats, defenders of the Law,[7] who in Mahāyānism are often called the *Ṣoḍaśasatpuruṣāḥ* "the sixteen virtuous men" (the importance of the number may appear from Lamotte's remark: "......à côté des grands disciples, figurent nombre de personnages inconnus; en ce qui les concerne, la fonction a absorbé la personnalité: ces Arhats ne sont plus que des prête-noms, de simples *numina* répartis sur la rose des vents"); sixteen aspects of the four noble truths are distinguished.[8] Jātaka 539 (p. 37f.; VI, 24 transl.) makes mention of a list of sixteen treasures, to wit that of the rising sun, that of the setting sun, etc. In Buddhist Tantrism the *bodhicitta-* ("the thought of enlightenment"), the mental attitude which aspires to Buddhahood or Bodhisattvahood is stated to have sixteen kalās.[9]

H. Zimmer, *The art of Indian Asia* (New York, 1955), I, p. 160. – For the upacāras see P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 729.

6 For details see e.g. S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, I (Cambridge, [3]1951), p. 294. – For the soma-cakra see A. Avalon, *The Serpent Power* (Madras, [4]1950), p. 156.

7 S. Lévi et E. Chavannes, "Les seize Arhat protecteurs de la Loi", *Journal asiatique* 1916, p. 136 ff.; E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain, 1958), p. 769 ff.

8 For particulars: Lamotte, *o.c.*, p. 678 f.

9 For *kalā* see further on. Compare e.g. S. B. Dasgupta, *An introduction to tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 164.

As numbers play an important rôle in the cultural life of many ancient – and modern – peoples[10] it would be useful if the relative Indian facts were collected and as far as possible explained. The well-known predilection of Indian speculation for numerical arrangement would no doubt justify an encyclopaedical treatment of this subject.[11]

As seems to appear from Hemmy's determination of what is considered a collection of weighing-stones and of the standard unit of weight for the Indus civilization as the ratio 16, this number must have played an important part in the civilizations of Mohenjo-daro, Harappā and Chanhu-daro. According to this author most of the weights from Chanhu-daro fall in the simple ratios 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 160, 320, 640, and 1600, with the possible intrusion of doubtful weights in the ratios 24, 48, 240, and 480, as well as ratios 40 and 80.[12] In Wheeler's[13] opinion the system was, in the lower denominations, binary: 1, 2, $1/3 \times 8$, 8, 16, 32, etc. to 12,800, "with the traditional Indian ratio (cf. 16 annas = 1 rupee) as the probable unit". With reference to this fact Allan[14] at the time observed with regard to coinage that, although very little is known concerning the denominations and standards of ancient India, "we shall be content to point out that the ratio of 16 annas = 1 rupee goes back at least 2,000 years to the 16 māṣakas = 1 kārṣāpaṇa of the law-books",[15] and Miss Ripley Hall[16] arrived at the conclusion that "the traditional importance

10 See the recent observation made by F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 161 ff., and the literature quoted on these pages. Compare also J. W. Hauer, in *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 1934 (Zürich, 1935).

11 It seems opportune to repeat a remark made by Stein (*o.c.*, p. 5; 37): for reasons which remain to be investigated into a so-called round, typical or 'holy' number may in the course of time replace some other number. Thus the numeric attribute of brahman becomes enhanced: in *JUB.* (3,38,8) it is said to be sixteenfold (*ṣoḍaśakalam*), in the *Mahābhārata* 12,341,13) it becomes eighteenfold (*aṣṭādaśaguṇam*). The above arhats, defenders of the Law numbered four, eight and sixteen successively (Lamotte, *o.c.*, p. 769). In studying this subject one might do well to investigate also the occurrences of these numbers among the related peoples or in the neighbouring countries. See e.g. A. Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes* (Kobenhavn (Acad.), 1943), esp. p. 58.

12 A. S. Hemmy, "Weights at Chanhu-daro" and A. Ripley Hall, "The cube weights in Boston", in E. J. H. Mackay, *Chanhu-daro excavations* 1935-36 (New Haven Conn., 1943), p. 236 and 239; see also J. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus civilization* (London, 1931), II, p. 596. It must however be noted that the methods applied and the results obtained by Mr. Hemmy in other investigations have been severely criticized by D. D. Kosambi, in *New Ind. Antiquary* 4, p. 1; 49.

13 M. Wheeler, *The Cambridge History of India, Suppl. Vol.*, p. 61.

14 J. Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of Ancient Indian* (A catalogue of the Indian coins in the British Museum, VII, 1936), Introd. p. CLIX.

15 Cf. e.g. Manu 8, 136.

16 *l.c.*, p. 241.

of 16 and the sequence of 4, 8, 16, 32 may be traced to the prehistoric civilization of the Indus Valley", adding: "this is a striking example of the imprint which these prehistoric peoples have left on the culture of India". When the authoress in substantiation of her opinion refers to some texts and a collection of text-places which, belonging almost completely to post-Vedic literature and, – in a small number – to the Upaniṣads, she perhaps unwittingly creates the impression that the importance of the number 16 did not manifest itself during the Vedic period in the proper sense of the term. In any case she not only overlooks the fact that this number can be obtained in various ways – e.g. as half, or the metrical unit of, an anuṣṭubh-stanza – or find a place in more than one series, but also fails to mention that the authors who left us the ancient literature attached also to the number under discussion some importance. Even those who may be inclined to subscribe to the views of Miss Hall or to admit that they may contain an element of plausibility as far as popular standing phrases or units of money are concerned must object to this lack of sound method.[17]

The number sixteen is, in the Veda, represented by 16 on the one hand and by 1/16 on the other. The numeral for 16, *ṣoḍaśan-*, does not, it is true, occur in the Ṛgveda – and in this it joins *saptadaśan-* "17", *aṣṭādaśan-* "18", and other numerals –, but the term *kalā-*, "one-sixteenth" is, once, found in a context which can hardly be misunderstood: 8, 47, 17 (cf. AthV. 6, 46, 3; 19, 57, 1) *yathā kalāṃ yathā śaphaṃ yatha ṛṇaṃ saṃnayāmasi* ... "as we bring together (pay off) a sixteenth, an eighth (the literal sense is "hoof", each foot consisting of two 'hoofs', from the eight hoofs of cattle), a (whole) debt ....."[18] The same expression is, somewhat more equivocally, used in the well-known passage dealing with the purchase of the soma,[19] see e.g. MS. 3, 7, 7; ĀpastŚS. 10, 25, 2ff. From these texts it appears that the adhvaryu priest who is to buy the soma plants for sacrificial purposes offers in succession the *kalā-* (which according to the commentaries means "the lowermost part of the foot", but is translated by "one sixteenth"), the *kuṣṭhā-*, according to the commentaries "the dew-claw", translated "one twelfth", the *śapha-* "hoof" i.e. "one eighth", and the *pada-* "the foot or leg", i.e. "the fourth part"; the soma is finally

[17] It may be observed that this number does not seem to have played a special rôle in medieval German literature: W. Knopf, *Zur Geschichte der typischen Zahlen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1902).

[18] For the interpretation of this line see K. F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda übersetzt* (Cambridge Mass., 1951), II, p. 368.

[19] See e.g. J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 152; for particulars W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 44 f.

bought with the whole cow. To this episode reference is made TaittS. 6, 1, 10, 1 *yat kalayā te śaphena te krīṇānīti paṇeta* ... "if he were to barter (the soma) in response (to the words): 'let me buy with one sixteenth (of the cow) from you, with one eighth' ...". The presentation of this ritual bargain in the tradition of the White Yajurveda does not however confront us with any difficulty, the words *kalayā te krīṇāni, śaphena, padā, ardhena, gavā te krīṇāmi* in ŚB. 3, 3, 3, 1; 3 obviously referring to the series 1/16, 1/8, 1/4, 1/2, 1.[20]

Semantically as well as etymologically[21] the term *kalā-* presents difficulties. According to the Petrograd Dict. II, 157 the first meaning is "ein kleines Teil eines Ganzen,[22] namentlich gebraucht vom Sechzehntel", "the digit or one-sixteenth of the moon's diameter" being obviously considered a special or secondary use. Others, however, preferred to invert this order: "a *kalā-* is the sixteenth part of the moon's diameter, and then a sixteenth part generally,[23] or to connect the sense of "one sixteenth" with the four fourth parts of the four hoofs:[24] cf. the above *śapha-* "hoof" and "one eighth" (because of the divided hoofs of the cow): ṚV. 8, 47, 17. Grassmann's[25] hypothesis to derive the word from the same source as Gr. κείρω "to cut short, shear, clip" has now been superseded by other attempts to connect it with words of similar meanings in the related languages, Walde – Pokorny[26] giving their readers the option between *kalā* "kleiner Teil", "(kann) auch als 'Spaltstück' verstanden werden": √ *qel-*, *qelā-* "schlagen, hauen, schlagend abbrechen" (cf. Gr. κελέϊς· ἀξίνη (Hesych.) "battle-axe"; κόλος "docked, stump-horned"; κλάω "to break, break off"[27]; Lit. *kalù, kálti* "to strike, forge, hammer" etc.) and √ *(s)qel-* "to cut" ("nicht zuverlässig von *qel-* 'schlagen' und *qel-* 'stechen' zu trennen"), identifying the Sanskrit word ("kleinster Teil") with the second member of the Serbo-Croatian *pro-kola* "Teil eines gespaltenen Ganzen" (cf. Gr. σκάλλω "to hoe"; δίκελλα "two-pronged fork"; σκύλλω "to skin, strip off"; Alban. *hal'e* "splinter" etc.). Neither

[20] A complete description may be read in Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 45.

[21] "ambiguous", F. B. J. Kuiper, *Proto-Munda Words in Sanskrit* (Amsterdam, 1948), p. 49.

[22] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 10,4,4,4.

[23] J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, IV (Oxford, 1897), p. 347 (10,4,1,18).

[24] W. Caland et V. Henry, *o.c.*, p. 44, n. 5 and Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-brāhmaṇa* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 507.

[25] H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, 317.

[26] A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927-30), I, p. 436; II, p. 590, Pokorny, *Indogerm. etymol. Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1948-), p. 545 (cf. p. 923) does not mention the former possibility (√*qel-*).

[27] Cf. also Hj. Frisk, *Griechisches etym. Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954-), I, p. 867; 903.

attempt succeeds in carrying conviction, but Gr. κέρμα "fragment, coin, esp. of copper money"[28] and probably also the Engl. *shilling*, OEngl. *scilling*, Goth. *skilliggs* etc., when belonging to √ *skel-* "to split" (cf. OIcel. *skilja* usw.),[29] may in addition to Lat. *siliqua* "a pod or husk of leguminous plants", which came to be a name of a very small weight or measure, and as a coin, "the twenty-fourth part of a solidus", be retained in memory as examples of words for small particles of a whole which being split off or detached, developed into a term for a small unit of definite value.[30] In favour of the supposition that the meaning "one sixteenth" is no more than a special use one might refer to the meanings "interest of a capital", a "certain division of time" (said to be 1/900 of a day or 1,6 minutes, or 1/1800 of a day or 0,8 minutes) or "minute of a degree" which it can, in special contexts, express also.[31]

I now continue my remarks on the number 16 from where I left off. Whereas in the above instances the quantity 1/16 is obtained by a process of repeated division into two halves, in ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 17 the number 16 is described as the sum of eight pairs of two: the words *loma* "hair", *tvac-* "skin", *asṛj-* "blood", *medas-* "fat", *māṃsa-* "flesh", *snāva* "sinew", *asthi* "bone", *majjā-* "marrow" make sixteen 'digits' (*kalāḥ*). In 12, 8, 3, 13 and 13, 3, 6, 5 the animals are in a similar way declared to be *ṣoḍaśa-kala-*: "with 16 stanzas he offers, for animals are of 16 parts". According to Sāyaṇa on PB. 19, 5, 6 these 16 parts are: head, neck, trunk, tail, four feet and eight hoofs.[32] Elsewhere, the All or Totality is said to be sixteenfold (e.g. ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 13; 5, 1, 15; 6, 2, 12; ŚāṅkhŚS. 15, 12, 15 etc.), because, Vināyaka on KauṣB. 16, 4 and Sāyaṇa on ŚB. 7, 2, 2, 17 hold, there are 10 indriyas or organs of perception and action, the central organ manas and the five prāṇas, but according to the same commentator on KauṣB. 17, 1 the All or Totality is sixteenfold, because the four quarters of the sky are each of them subdivided into four parts: *caturbhāgāsu catasṛṣu dikṣu*, quoting *catasro 'pi catuṣkalāḥ*.[33] In ChU. 4, 5ff. the four quarters of Brahman are made up of the four quarters of the sky, earth,

[28] Cf. also Frisk, *o.c.*, I, p. 810.

[29] P. Persson, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift 33, 286 f.; S. Feist, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (Leiden, ³1939), p. 433; see also N. van Wijk, *Franck's Etymol. Woordenboek der Nederlandsche taal* ('s-Gravenhage, 1912 (1929)), p. 580 s.v. *schelling*.

[30] For other examples see Persson, *l.c.*

[31] An – in my opinion unsuccessful – attempt to establish a quadrupartite numerical system on the basis of the practice of cutting up smaller sacrificial animals was made by W. Brandenstein, in *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgesch. u. Linguistik*, IV, p. 251.

[32] For similar places, mentioning or alluding to the sixteenfold character of cattle see Caland, *Pañc. Br.* p. 507, n. 1.

[33] See also A. Weber, *Indische Studien* 9 (Leipzig, 1865), p. 111 f.

atmosphere, sky and ocean, fire, sun, moon and lightning, breath, the eye, the ear, and 'mind'. Cf. also PrU. 6, 4. As already observed by Eggeling[34] these explanations impress us as highly artificial or – I would add – at least as intended to complete the significant number sixteen.

Similar far-fetched distinctions or combinations of entities obviously meant to complete the same number occur ŚB. 5, 3, 4, 23 stating that there are 16 kinds of water and 16 oblations; 7, 2, 2, 17 where the number is obtained by adding up some numbers of furrows; PB. 3, 12, 1, where in a similar way 3, 12 and 1 verses are combined so as to make a sixteenfold whole; PB. 3, 13, 1 where 3, 10, and 3 make 16. Passing mention may also be made of passages such as PB. 13, 5, 22 where Vṛtra is said to have encircled Indra with 16 coils. The number occurs also as the last term of the series 4, 8, 12, 16: PB. 19, 6, 1.

The predilection for the number 16 is also apparent from a special rite, viz. the Soma festival having sixteen rounds and hence called Ṣoḍaśin Soma festival (cf. e.g. ĀpŚS. 14, 2-3).[35] Hence also passages such as GB. 2, 4, 19 *tad āhuḥ kiṃ ṣoḍaśinaḥ ṣoḍaśitvam. ṣoḍaśa 'stotrāṇi ṣoḍaśa śastrāṇi ṣoḍaśabhir akṣarair ādatte*; 2, 6, 15 *sarvā eva ṣoḍaśa śaṃsed iti haike*.

It is however in part of the above passages perfectly clear that the more or less artificial character of the sums and combinations of entities which are to complete the number 16 is due to the very importance of that number because it belongs to Prajāpati, the "Lord of creatures" who represents and presides over procreation. The earliest occurrence of this idea is, as far as I am able to see, in a mantra of the Yajurveda, viz. VS. 8, 36 *prajāpatiḥ ..... trīṇi jyotīṃsi sacate sa ṣoḍaśī* "Prajāpati, being sixteen-partite, belongs to (abides in) the three luminaries (sun, lightning, fire)". Cf. e.g. ŚB. 7, 2, 2, 17 "both kinds (of furrows) amount to 16, Prajāpati consists of 16 parts" (*ṣoḍaśakalaḥ prajāpatiḥ*); 9, 2, 2, 2 "he then takes ghee in 16 ladlings; Prajāpati consists of 16 parts". Since however Prajāpati is All, is the Totality (see e.g. ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 2) the number sixteen is characteristic of the Totality: ŚB. 13, 2, 2, 13 "and 16 (victims) he binds to each of the other (stakes), for all this (universe) consists of 16 parts"; 13, 5, 1, 15 "everything here consists of 16 parts" (*ṣoḍaśakalaṃ vā idaṃ sarvam*); K(Śā)B. 8, 1 by reciting 12 verses so as to repeat the first and the last twice a series of 16 verses is made up: "all this (universe) has sixteen parts; verily (it serves) to obtain all this (universe)". See also KB. 16, 4; 17, 1. Thus the number 16 is associated with the idea of totality.

[34] Eggeling, *o.c.*, V (Oxford, 1900), p. 342, n. 2.

[35] See e.g. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 1204 f.

As seen by Lüders,[36] this conception of the sixteenfold Prajāpati has in all probability exerted influence on the so-called doctrine of the sixteenfold brahman in ChU. 4, 4-9 (east, west, south, north are one quarter of brahman, and likewise, earth, atmosphere, sky, ocean; fire, sun, moon, lightning; breath, the eye, the ear and mind). This doctrine seems to have developed from the theory of the fourfold Puruṣa in ṚV. 10, 90, 3f. (cf. also ChU. 3, 18 which may represent an intermediate stage). It may be taken for granted that this theorem has also led to the doctrine of the sixteenfold body-cum-vital air of ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 17 (see above), i.e. to that of sixteen-partite man (11, 1, 6, 36; ChU. 6, 7, 1ff.; PrU. 6, 2; 5[37]): *ṣoḍaśakalaḥ puruṣaḥ*. The doctrine of man's sixteenfold nature is also found TB. 1, 7, 5, 5 *ṣoḍaśakalo vai puruṣaḥ, yāvān eva puruṣaḥ, tasmin vīryaṃ dadhāti, ṣoḍaśabhir juhoti ṣoḍaśabhir gṛhṇāti, dvātriṃśat sampadyante* .... The doctrine of the sixteenfold brahman is, further, in a curious way expounded in the Jaiminīya-Upaniṣad. In a discussion of the origin of the gāyatra-sāman it reads JUB. 3, 7, 1, 8 (= 3, 38, 8): "they sang sixteen syllables unto (him). Verily sixteenfold is brahman; part by part brahman thus entered him ....." This doctrine of the sixteenfold brahman is followed by, and connected with, that of the sixteenfold nature of man (3, 7, 2, 1 = 3, 39, 1): "he sang unto (him) sixteen syllables.....; sixteenfold is man; part by part he thus shook off his bodies". He who knows the doctrine of the sixteenfold brahman, the same text argues (4, 11, 4, 2 = 4, 25, 2), "him the sixteenfold brahman comes unto". The sixteen constituents are in 4, 11, 4, 1 (= 4, 25, 1) said to be "being and non-being, non-being and being, speech and mind, (mind and) speech, sight and hearing, hearing and sight, faith and penance, penance and faith (sic !)".

Now, Prajāpati who is identified with the highest and most general categories,[38] is in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad not only said to be the year, that is the complete cycle of time, but also connected with the moon: 1, 5, 14 "that Prajāpati is the year and consists of 16 constituent parts (*ṣoḍaśakalaḥ*). His nights, indeed, have 15 parts, the 'fixed part' (*dhruva-*) being his 16th", and 15 "the person here who knows this is himself that Prajāpati who consists of 16 parts and who is the year; his wealth is the 15 parts, the 16th part is his self" (*sa eṣa saṃvatsaraḥ prajāpatiḥ, ṣoḍaśakalaḥ. tasya rātraya eva pañcadaśakalaḥ, dhruvaivāsya ṣoḍaśī kalā* .... *yo vai sa saṃvatsaraḥ prajāpatiḥ ṣoḍaśakalaḥ, ayam eva sa yo 'yam evaṃvit puruṣaḥ. tasya vittam eva pañcadaśakalāḥ, ātmaivāsya ṣoḍaśī kalā*). The term *dhruva-* is used here to indicate the non-manifested part of a whole, the manifested parts of which are transitory or of a temporary nature. It expresses the idea of a whole or total including and encompassing the constituent parts. In connection with the occurrence of the number 16 in Buddhist texts it has been observed[39] that it seems "that of these sixteen parts one is chief, the others negligible". The Vedic rite called *ṣoḍaśin*-round[40] enabled Indra, though he was the last-born of the gods, to attain the highest place among his colleagues (TS. 6, 6, 11, 2), because it is (ŚB. 4, 5, 3, 2) said to be a means to surpass "all (that is) here" or, as AiB. 4, 1, 4 has it, *vajreṇaiva tat ṣoḷaśinā paśūn parigachati* "with the ṣoḍaśin as a vajra he encompasses cattle". From passages such as ŚB. 14, 4, 3, 22; 8, 5, 1, 10; ṢaḍvB. 4, 6, 2 (when the Ādityas, Rudras and Vasus have enjoyed, each of them, five parts of the moon, the sixteenth part is left over) it appears that the sixteenth is an extra element added to a total made up of fifteen parts. By virtue of this quality the sixteenth not only exceeds, but also encompasses the preceding fifteen-partite totality.[41] In connection with the moon the Mahābhārata says that only one of its sixteen parts remains intact, the others increasing and decreasing (12, 293, 3ff., crit. ed.)[42]: *candramā iva kośānāṃ punas tatra sahasraśaḥ / līyate 'pratibuddhatvād evam eṣa hy abuddhimān // kalāḥ pañcadaśā yonis tad dhāma iti paṭhyate / nityam etad vijānīhi somaḥ ṣoḍaśamī kalā //*, the meaning of these stanzas being that the *ṣoḍaśī kalā* is the only *amṛtā kalā*; the remaining fifteen forms or "vestures" (*kośāḥ*) appear and disappear in the sky thousands of times. The expression *pañcadaśā yoniḥ* conveys the idea that these fifteen *kalāḥ* are so to say supernumerary, the sixteenth being the only real and *amṛtā kalā*, which is the source (*yoniḥ*) as well as the merging place (*dhāma*) of them all, so that the real moon is the sixteenth kalā.[43] This theorem is quoted to explain the character of the incarnated soul (the *jīva-*) which likewise is one sixteenth pure soul and like the moon renews itself again and again (cf. 4f. *kalāḥ pañcadaśā yonis tad dhāma*

[36] H. Lüders, *Zu den Upaniṣads*, II, "Die Ṣoḍaśakalavidyā", *Sitzungsberichte Akad. Berlin, Ph.-h.* Kl. 1922, p. 243 ff. (= *Philologica Indica*) (Göttingen, 1940), p. 509 ff., esp. p. 522 ff.

[37] See also the note by R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads* (Oxford, 1934), p. 388 f.

[38] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 190.

[39] By F. L. Woodward, *The Book of gradual sayings*, V (London, 1955), p. 240.

[40] See above.

[41] J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 13 f.

[42] Curiously enough the contradiction between the 15 days of the half lunar revolution and the 16 kalās have not prevented the Hindus from teaching that during the 2nd up to the 14th day (inclusive) of the waning moon the gods drink the nectar contained in it, leaving one kalā (for details: Kirfel, *Kosmographie*, p. 137).

[43] See S. K. Belvalkar, *The Śāntiparvan*, III B (Poona, 1954), p. 2211 and for *pañcadaśā yoniḥ* (i.e. *pañcadaśa adhikāḥ āsu iti pañcadaśāḥ kalāḥ*) Pāṇini 5,2,45.

pratibudhyate / nityam etad vijānīhi somaṃ vai ṣoḍaśīṃ kalām; kalāyāṃ jāyate 'jasraṃ punaḥ punar abuddhimān / ..... ṣoḍaśī tu kalā sūkṣmā sa soma upadhāryatām ....).[44] That there was a fixed relation between this heavenly body and the number 16 may appear also from the epic tale according to which Varcas Somaputra, a part of Soma, the moon, becomes Abhimanyu, who lives sixteen years, corresponding to the sixteen days of the bright moon (Mbh. 1, 61, 86 crit. ed., see also 18, 5, 165 vulg.).

There is indeed no reason to suppose the custom "to give something into the bargain" – the well-known English baker's dozen[45] – to have sprung from one single root, for instance to avoid an 'unlucky' even number (cf. ŚB. 3, 9, 3, 34). In connection with the Old Norse expression (Gudhrūnakvidha fyrsta) "seven sons, and my husband the eighth" and Alcman's curious fragment 56 (76) ὥρας δ' ἔθηκε τρεῖς, θέρος καὶ χεῖμα κ' ὀπώραν τρίταν, καὶ τέτρατον τὸ ἦρ – where spring as the fourth is added to an enumeration of the three seasons – Hopkins[46] already observed that like other peoples the Hindus "were very apt to close or fasten a number by the addition of one as a sort of head", quoting ṚV. 10, 85, 45 *daśāsyām putrān ā dhehi patim ekādaśaṃ kṛdhi* "give her ten sons, make her husband the eleventh".[47] "There are thirty-three gods", ŚB. 4, 5, 7, 2 says, "and Prajāpati is the thirty-fourth". That is to say, Prajāpati not only exceeds but also encompasses the totality of the gods. There are more instances in the Veda of the number of the whole being obtained by adding one to the whole already obtained.[48] In KB. 19, 2 the thirteenth month is said to stand for the whole year: *etāvān vai saṃvatsaro yad eṣa trayodaśa māsas, tad atraiva sarvaḥ saṃvatsara āpto bhavati* "the year is as great as this thirteenth month; in it verily the whole year is obtained".[49] In BĀU. 1, 5, 15 a man's wealth is said to be fifteen parts, his self (*ātman-*) being the sixteenth (see above).

[44] "En bref, l'ātman apparaît dans le corps comme un principe d'abondance et de dépassement" (O. Lacombe, *L'absolu selon le Védānta*, Paris, 1937, p. 112).

[45] See J. Gonda, *Reflections on the numerals "one" and "two" in ancient Indo-European languages* (Utrecht, 1953), p. 46. For 101 see e.g. ṚV. 10,130,1.

[46] E. W. Hopkins, "The holy numbers of the Rig-veda", in *Oriental Studies* (Oriental Club of Philadelphia 1888-1894), Boston, 1894, p. 141 ff.; 151.

[47] ṚV. 8,3,24 and 10,72,8 do not belong here; see also J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik, III* (Göttingen, 1930), p. 201 ff.; E. Benveniste, *Noms d'agent et noms d'action en indo-européen* (Paris, 1948), p. 160; J. Gonda, in *Bingkisan Budi (Festschrift- Ph. S. v. Ronkel)* (Leiden, 1950), p. 139 ff.

[48] See also G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata, an ethnological study*, Thesis (Leiden, 1935), p. 123, and on the principle itself already A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique d'après les hymnes du Rig-Veda*, II (Paris, 1881), p. 123 ff. It is clear that this method of explaining when applied without foundation in well-attested facts may easily lead to absurd conclusions. – There are parallels outside India: R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), p. 154: "zwölf Stunden und wirkliche Glieder ergeben zusammen dreizehn (das Ganze)". Curiously enough the number 13 is in the German middle ages used in contexts normally exhibiting the number 12. It seems however difficult to decide if 13 here occurs in its own right or as twelve+one. See Knopf, *o.c.*, p. 68.

Anyhow, the number 16 is frequent in a variety of Vedic texts. Thus AV. 3, 29, 1, apparently in connection with a payment due to Yama's "assessors" on admission into the other world, speaks of "the sixteenth of what is offered-and-bestowed" (*iṣṭāpūrtasya ṣoḍaśam*). In connection with sacrifices AV. 11, 7, 11 makes mention of "a four-night, five-night, six-night, seven-night one" and of "the one of sixteen" (*ṣoḍaśī*). In AiB. 5, 26, the Agnihotra connected with the All-gods is said "to be sixteen-fold" (*ṣoḷaśakalam*, when in the cow, it is Rudra's, when allowed to drop, it is Vāyu's etc.), which, according to the commentary, means "of sixteen positions" (*ṣoḍaśāvastham*). JB. 1, 242 dwelling on the metra speaks of a series of 16 syllables and one of 32 syllables (anuṣṭubh). The pṛṣṭha-lauds have sixteen verses (PB. 19, 5, 6), this number constituting, however, a series with 4, 8, 12, 20 and 24; by means of it one wins "cattle consisting of sixteen parts" (cf. 19, 6, 2). In PB. 18, 3, 2, 16 seems to be the base of the progression 16, 32, 64, 128, 2 × 128 etc. Cf. also PB. 3, 12, 1f. A certain Mahidāsa Aitareya lived a hundred and sixteen years (ChU. 3, 16, 7).

The conclusion that the Vedic speculations about the significance of the number 16 were influenced by an observation of, and theories about, the moon would therefore, in my opinion, deserve no less serious consideration than the supposition that in a considerable number of culture traits it is this 'Vedic significance' of 16 which survives, that is to say, that the foundations of a number of ritual, psychological or philosophical doctrines based on, or incorporating, the idea that "totality or the 'metaphysical whole' is sixteen-fold" were laid in Vedic times and in Vedic culture. This idea is not only obvious in the above ṣoḍaśin rite[50] – by which one wins everything –, but also in other cults, rites and theories which were to survive in Hinduism. It is for instance in connection with *śrāddhas* – i.e. "the gift of food, or, sacrificial material, for the benefit of the deceased" – laid down in numerous works that there are sixteen śrāddhas which must be performed for a departed person in order to free his spirit from the condition of being a preta ("a ghost", i.e. "a spirit of a dead person before the obsequial rites have been performed"): the so-called

[49] In a similar way Prajāpati exceeding and encompassing a sixteen-partite totality is associated with the number 17. ŚB. 10,4,1,16 f. this is explained as 16 plus one.

[50] Cf. also J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, III (Oxford, 1894), p. XVI f.

sixteen *pretaśrāddhāni*.[51] The fact that there is a great deal of divergence of views about what these sixteen śrāddhas are seems to show that the fixed number prevailed over its constitution. The number sixteen was obviously especially suited to express the idea of more or less unsurveyable plurality. This seems to point to an old tradition in connection with the desirability to perform just sixteen śrāddhas. Whether this tradition reaches back to great antiquity is not known to me. In most of the digests the principal *saṃskāras* (so-called sacraments) are said to be sixteen, although there is some difference of opinion as to which rites are to be included in this number.[52]

The so-called *mahādānas*, ceremonial gifts of certain kinds[53] are in the purāṇas usually enumerated as sixteen (see MatsyaP. a. 274ff.; AgniP. a. 210; LiṅgaP. 2, a. 28ff.). The word *mahādānāni* occurring in the great epic (15, 5, 15 crit. ed.), some of the names of these donations go back to pre-Christian times. According to one text, however, the Mahādānas were ten (gold, horses, chariots, land etc.: AgniP. 209, 23f.). This seems to show that here also sixteen is a round number.[54]

In Mbh. 12, 224, 43 crit. ed. the obviously traditional doctrine is expounded that the body is sixteen-fold: *śrayaṇāc charīraṃ bhavati mūrtimat ṣoḍaśātmakam*, the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha explaining: *ṣoḍaśa pañca sthūlabhūtāni samanaskāny ekādaśendriyāṇi ca tadātmakaṃ śarīraṃ ṣoḍaśānāṃ sṛṣṭis tu vyaktātmakaṃ mana iti* ...... The sixteen constituent parts invested with form are what is called the body (see above). Compare also 12, 293, 8 *tad evaṃ ṣoḍaśakalaṃ deham avyaktasaṃjñakam / mamāyam iti manvānas tatraiva parivartate* (*ṣoḍ*.: *cidacidsaṃghātarūpam piṇḍabrahmāṇḍātmakam*, Nīlakaṇṭha), and 12, 298, 15 *manaḥ ṣoḍaśakaṃ*

[51] Kane, *o.c.* IV (Poona, 1953), p. 518 f.
[52] Kane, *o.c.*, II (Poona), p. 194 f.; Raj Bali Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras* (Banaras, 1949), p. 37 f.
[53] For an enumeration see Kane, *o.c.* II, p. 869.
[54] Curiously enough the number 17 was used in a somewhat similar way in the European middle ages. In Germany it occurred for an uncounted not too large number and inpopular usages, fairy-tales and children's rhymes it served to express the idea of an indefinite plurality. In the late middle ages it even played a rôle in political thought. When Nicolaus Cusanus (De pace seu concordantia fidei opera, ed. Basel 1565, p. 862) makes mention of the sages "of all nations and languages" they are 17 in number. The same number applied to the totality of all Christian kingdoms, and the duke of Burgundy had a herald "who knew the 17 languages". An English author (Nashe, P. Penilesse, *Works* (1904), I, p. 225) spoke of "Scotland, Denmarke, and some more pure partes of the seaventeene Provinces". According to the Dutch historian J. Huizinga (*Verzamelde Werken*, II, Haarlem, 1948, p. 140 ff.) this "vague number" was also applied to the unsurveyable plurality of the Burgundian countries to survive in the ancient name of the Provinces of the Netherlands.

prāhur adhyātmagaticintakāḥ "those who reflect upon the condition of the embodied soul regard mind as the sixteenth".

Mbh. 12, 177, 32 crit. ed. (= 12, 184, 35 vulg.) furnishes a curious instance of replacement of another number by 16. After enumerating the different kinds of form (*hrasvo dīrghas* etc., numbering 12 in the text of the critical edition which may reflect a more original version) it reads: *evaṃ dvādaśavistāro jyotīrūpaguṇaḥ smṛtaḥ*. A number of manuscripts however, inserting st. 34 ab (*kaṭhinaś cikkaṇaḥ ślakṣṇaḥ* .... *!*), have *ṣoḍaśavistāro* ...., and thus assume that there are sixteen species of visible forms.

That there are also in Hinduism unmistakable instances of a direct influence of the lunar cycle on the occurrence of the number 16, may appear from a tantric rite described by Tucci.[55] This rite is performed, in former times by sixteen girls of the age of one to sixteen years, later by the same number of brahmans. Each participator represents an aspect of the heavenly body. Beginning at new moon the organizers and performers of the rite aim at furthering the growth of the moon and no doubt also of all phenomena which have the same rhythm or are believed to be associated with the celestial body. The assumption that here also the number 16 has been chosen under the influence of an ancient monetary system or of definite units of weight would be highly improbable.

Such occurrences as the following may be regarded as based on a popular tradition and be connected with the ratio 16 used in weighing, counting money etc.: Mbh. 2, 38, 26 crit. ed. *iṣṭaṃ dattam adhītaṃ ca yajñaś ca* .... / *sarvam etad apatyasya kalāṃ nārhanti ṣoḍaśīm* "worship, gifts, study and sacrifices ..., this all does not equal one sixteenth part of (the merit gained by having) a son"; 3, 89, 19 *na sa pārthasya saṃgrāme kalām arhati ṣoḍaśīm* "in battle he does not equal one sixteenth part of Pṛthās son"; similarly 7, 35, 6; see above. Compare also places such as Mbh. 12, 268, 6 "the happiness of love on earth and the great happiness in heaven equal not even one sixteenth (*nārhataḥ ṣoḍaśīm kalām*) the happiness of the utter vanishing of desire". As already stated this phrase which no doubt was a popular expression occurs in Pāli texts: *kalaṁ n'agghati soḷasiṁ* "is not worth one sixteenth part of", e.g. Dhammap. 70.[56] The occurrences of round numbers such as 1600, 16000 (see e.g. BhāgP. 1, 11, 30 *prāsādā* .... *patnīnāṃ sahasrāṇi ca ṣoḍaśa*) may likewise

[55] G. Tucci, "Tracce di culto lunare in India", in *Rivista di studi orientali* 12 (1929-1930), p. 419 ff.
[56] For other instances see F. L. Woodward, *The book of Gradual Sayings*, V (London 1955), p. 240.

be attributed to a popular tradition. The fifteen cows and a bull which the eldest son, being born of the eldest wife is according to Manu 9, 124 to receive may be a reminiscence of an ancient formula indicating a whole or totality, the comment "it seems that of these sixteen parts one is chief, the others negligible"[57] being of course beside the mark. We can, in my opinion, be less sure in the case presented by Manu 3, 46 *ṛtuḥ svābhāvikaḥ strīṇāṃ rātrayaḥ ṣoḍaśa smṛtāḥ / caturbhir itaraiḥ sārdham ahobhiḥ sadvigarhitaiḥ* "sixteen days (in each month) including four days which differ (from the rest) and are censured by the virtuous (the correct ones), (are called) the natural period of women proper for conception". There exist, however, other statements, according to which the fertile period is the first twelve days after menstruation begins. Curiously enough the period of sixteen days is mentioned not only in part of the medical handbooks, but also in the dharma texts (see beside this Manu passage, Yājñ. 1, 79). I am not convinced that this is the original view.[58]

Did the number 16 of the units of weight exert any influence on trains of Vedic thought? Or is the early preference for this number exclusively determined by speculations in connection with the moon and a progressive division (4, 16 ...)? These questions remain, as far as I am able to see, unanswered. Was already in the Indus civilization the principle underlying the frequent occurrence of the basic number 16 – if the relative hypothesis is well-founded – the moon and its monthly cycle? It is possible, but not to be proved. Anyhow, Eliade[59] who, whilst ignoring the relevant Vedic facts, concluded, on the ground of the suggestions advanced by Miss Hall, to a lunar cult in the earliest Indian civilizations seems to over-estimate the demonstrative force of her arguments as well as overstep the possibilities of our methods. Does, moreover, a lunar calendar always entail lunar cult?

We should not forget that other factors and causes may come into play here. "Die Fünfzehn hat ihre Bedeutung noch aus alten Mondreligionen. Sie stellt den Höhepunkt der Mondmacht dar".[60] It may be true, but this number is however also important from an arithmetic mystic point of view, because it constitutes the sum of $1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5$ and the

[57] Woodward, *l.c.*
[58] As is taken for granted by J. Jolly, *Medicin* (Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Phil. u. Alt.) (Strassburg, 1901), p. 50. See also J. J. Meyer, *Sexual life in ancient India* (London, 1930), p. 216.
[59] M. Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949), p. 167 (= *Patterns in comparative religion* (London-New York, 1958, p. 187).
[60] F. C. Endres, *Die Zahl in Mystik und Glauben der Kulturvölker* (Zurich-Leipzig, 1935), p. 164.

product of the 'holy' or 'symbolical' numbers 3 end 5. So the occurrence of 15 does not necessarily point to a direct influence of a moon cult.[61] As 15 is 3×5 and 5 was the number of the Babylonian Ištar, Niniveh, which was the goddess' town, had 15 gates; 15 was also the number of the priests of the Idaeic Mother (= Ištar).[62] After having drawn attention to the 15 purifications of Parsism[63] Endres[64] recalls to memory the German *Mandel* "Haufe frisch geschnittenen und gebundenen Getreides; bestimmte Garbenmenge; Mengenbezeichnung für 15 oder 16 Stück"; the word has however nothing to do with *Monat* "month";[65] I am not able to decide whether this author is right in regarding it as "ein bescheidenes Restchen ältester Mondmystik".

In other cases there is a fixed correlation with the number of syllables of the well-known metrical unit (anuṣṭubh), thus e.g. Manu 2, 38 "the time for the initiation of a brāhmaṇa passes after the 16th year, of a kṣatriya after the 22th, of a vaiśya after the 24th", 8, 11 and 12 (16, 22, 24) being the units of the Vedic metra. Similarly Manu 2, 65. Or the number 16 may be the result of the progressive division of a more original four or eight. Thus beside the above sixteen diggajas we elsewhere find four of these animals at the four quarters of the sky, which are moreover watched over by four or eight divine guardians.[66] As is well known there is in Hindu culture an unmistakable tendency to multiply numbers.

Those who have stood up for the 'Indus' or pre-Aryan origin of the predilection for the numeral 16 have, finally, failed on the one hand thoroughly to examine the numeration systems of the peoples composing the substratum and on the other hand the rôle of 16 in other civilizations. As to the first point, Sten Konow at the time observed that the Munda peoples who had in ancient times widely spread over India had a vigesimal system which must have left its traces in languages of other origin.[67] In Assam, Bihar and Bengal this numeration is indeed still usual.[68] Konow's

[61] See e.g. F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 172.
[62] Here I follow Endres, *l.c.* Compare also M. Knapp, *Pentagramma Veneris* (Basel, 1934).
[63] Cf. Videvdāt 8, 99; 9, 30. In general e.g. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 1962), p. 107 ff.
[64] Endres, *o.c.*, p. 165.
[65] The word is connected with Lat. *manus* "hand"; see e.g. F. Kluge-A. Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Berlin[15], 1951), p. 473.
[66] See e.g. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *The Purāṇa Index*, II (Madras, 1952), p. 86; J. N. Banerjea, *The development of Hindu iconography* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 519 ff.
[67] S. Konow, in *Linguistic Survey of India*, III, 1, p. 179.
[68] S. K. Chatterji, *The origin and development of the Bengali language* (Calcutta, 1926), II, § 523.

suggestion was corroborated by Przyluski,[69] who showed that "l'habitude de compter (namely, on the base of the human body) par tétrades et par vingtaines" led, *inter alia,* to the importance of 4 in multiplications and to the preponderance of multiples of 4 and 20: 16, 80 etc. "En même temps que 4 suggère un agrégat: la tétrade, il évoque nécessairement l'idée de quartier, c'est-à-dire de fragment et de division du tout en ses parties constitutives".[70]

[69] J. Przyluski, "La numération vigésimale dans l'Inde", in *Rocznik Orjentalistyczny,* IV (1926), p. 230 ff.

[70] Additional note. For sixteen see e.g. also P. Deussen, *Alg. Geschichte der Philosophie* (Leipzig, [4]1920), I, 2, p. 242; E. W. Hopkins, *The great epic of India* (New York, 1902), p. 168 f.; on 16 gifts see Nāradasm. 4, 19 ff.; 16 styles of gallop: Kauṭ. AŚ. 2, 30, 47; "a full sixteen" *(pariṣoḍaśan-),* of elephants Mbh. 3, 78, 2 C. (= Nala, 26, 2); for 16 in Tantrism e.g. MahānT. 5, 17; 100; 113; 117; 172; 6, 77; 9, 87; 10, 127; 14, 75; 210; according to some authorities there are sixteen *cakras.* See also p. 382.

V. THE IŚVARA IDEA

The rectilineal development of religion proceeding in an orderly sequence from animism through polytheism to monotheism which was, in the last decades of the XIXth century, adopted by many scholars has since proved to be untenable. Andrew Lang[1] for instance, as early as 1898, drew attention to the fact that so far from monotheism being the final product of an evolutionary process, among various very 'primitive' peoples tribal High Gods, or Supreme Beings are neither spirits, ghosts of the deceased nor departmental gods carried to the highest power.[2] It has now been established – largely through the researches of Father Wilhelm Schmidt c.s.[3] – that these High Gods, which stand on a plane by themselves, constitute a genuine feature of many more or less 'primitive'[4] religions. Whereas part of these Supreme Beings are more or less otiose, many of them represent the highest moral values, are believed to be ubiquitous and, though being invisible, to be 'omniscient',[5] to have created and to sustain the earth, and to be responsive to supplications. "Such a conception of Deity ... is a religious response to the notion of divine Providence ..., a spontaneous, purposive functioning of an inherent type of thought and emotion; an evolution of the *mysterium tremendum* ....".[6] "In the main this Supreme Being resembles the God whom the 'proverbial plain man' imagines to himself even to-day, the Creator, the Sustainer of the Universe, eternal and primal, benevolent and the Father of men, invisible,

[1] A. Lang, *The making of religion* (London, 1898), p. 160 ff.

[2] See also E. O. James, *Prehistoric religion* (New York, 1957), p. 204 ff.

[3] P. W. Schmidt S.V.D., *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee* (Münster, 1912-1954). See however also K. Th. Preuss, *Glauben und Mystik im Schatten des höchsten Wesens* (Leipzig, 1926), esp. p. 42 ff.; W. J. Goode, *Religion among the primitives* (Glencoe Ill., 1951), p. 253 f.; G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), ch. 18.

[4] For the use of this term see G. van der Leeuw, *L'homme primitif et la religion* (Paris, 1940).

[5] R. Pettazzoni, *The all-knowing god* (London, 1956).

[6] James, *o.c.,* p. 207.

omniscient and the guardian of morality".[7] This idea of the Supreme Being – who on account of his sublimity and remoteness from the world is taken into consideration only occasionally – has however amalgamated everywhere with so-called animistic and dynamistic viewpoints and has been overgrown by a luxuriance of mythological concepts. This God, though often given a proper name,[8] is also called "Father", "Great Spirit" or "the Lord".

In the languages of the Christian peoples of the West the ecclesiastical use of words for "lord, master etc." is often based on loan translations. Our "Lord" goes back ultimately to the Jewish substitution of Hebr. *adonāi* – which was also used to denote a lord of a people, a house, a slave, a husband, a king, a god in the polytheistic sense – "the Lord", which was faithfully rendered in the Septuagint by κύριος, one of those terms which was, at a later period, adopted by the Christians, who "in einem polemischen Parallelismus",[9] borrowed a terminology which had also been adopted in Caesar-worship (παντοκράτωρ "almighty", which was, however, also used of the god Hermes[10] and of the Lord of the Old Testament; σωτήρ "saviour", which was also applied, by Pindarus and others, to Zeus[11] and other gods, to Egyptian rulers, to the God of the Jews, etc.).[12] The Greek κύριος was followed by Lat. *dominus*, which served as a model for It. *Signore*, Fr. *Seigneur* etc. Some words of this category became restricted to the religious use, as Rum. *Domn* (< *dominus*), Lith. *Viešpats* – which corresponds to Skt. *viśpati-* "lord of the house, tribe, people" – Russ. *Gospod'*. These facts show that also in the West the same terms were, at least for some time, applied to ordinary human beings, gods, rulers, and God.[13] It is however one thing to explain the origin of these names and quite another to form a clear idea of the motives which led man to believe in a Supreme Being.

Names may, however, also lead us astray. For instance, when a term which is usually, or may conveniently, be translated by "king" is applied to a god, we may not take his sublimity and omnipotence for granted. Many Vedic gods were addressed as "king" (*rājan-*) and yet, they were no

[7] Van der Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 160; see also Lang, *o.c.*, p. 173.
[8] See van der Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 161 f.
[9] A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1908), p. 247; 263 ff.
[10] G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), 815 (Creta).
[11] to whom persons after a safe voyage offered sacrifice and who often had a temple by harbours.
[12] E. Lohmeyer, *Christuskult und Kaiserkult* (Tübingen, 1919); see also K. M. Setton, *Christian attitude towards the Emperor in the 4th century*, Thesis (New York, 1941).
[13] For the use of Av. *ahura-* in connection with worldly rulers see H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 73; 439.

"lords" (*īśvara-*), the well-known title given, in later times, to the Indian form of the High God. There must have been serious reasons why the ancient word *rājan-* could not serve to express the idea of divine lordship as conceived in the later or Hindu period. The Vedic gods were *devāḥ*, a title which, while denoting powerful beings, regarded as possessing supernormal faculties and as controlling a department of nature or activity in the human sphere, was – though, as far as I am able to see not in the ancient literature – also given to kings.[14] Those eight great gods from the eternal and essential particles of whom the king was in the beginning created (Manu 7, 4ff.)[15] very significantly represent those functions and activities which are the main characteristics of kingship. Like a man of the military class the Sun burns and slays, dispelling enemies and destroying the beings of darkness. Varuṇa, the god personifying the static aspects of dominion, is the lord of punishment, who holds the sceptre even over kings.[16] Indra is the representative of the dynamic aspects of leadership. Like Yama, the earthly ruler is to control all his subjects, and so on. Kingship was, indeed, even when held by a god, essentially a highly important mundane and social affair, because "sovereignty was for protection":[17] the King is the one who protects men, is valorous and powerful, punishes the wicked and is ever wakeful for the benefit of his people.

There is another Sanskrit term translated by "lord" which could not rise to the highest rank, viz. *pati-*. The idea that a god or goddess is the lord or lady of a particular department of nature seems to have been widespread. Macdonell[18] was no doubt wrong in maintaining that the appellations formed in Sanskrit with *pati-* to designate "deities presiding over a particular domain" must in general be comparatively recent as products of reflexion.[19] These names, which are of frequent occurrence in the Veda, are, as a type, no doubt old or rather 'primitive'. They are indeed not only found in other ancient Indo-European languages – cf. e.g. Lith. Laũkpatis

[14] For ancient Indian royal titles compare also E. Kuhn, in the *Festschrift-V. Thomsen* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 217 ff.
[15] See J. Gonda, "Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view", in *Numen* 3 and 4 (Leiden, 1956-57), esp. 3, p. 60 ff.
[16] For Varuṇa see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 77.
[17] *Śukranīti*, 1,375; see *Numen* 3, p. 37 ff.
[18] A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 103. Compare also J. Charpentier, *Brahman* (Uppsala, 1932), p. 65, n. 4; A. B. Keith, in *G. Jhā Commemoration Volume*, p. 215.
[19] H. Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896), p. 89; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, II ²herausg. von A. Nehring (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), p. 248; Schrader, in Hastings Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics II, p. 35n. For other bibliographical details see J. Gonda, *Brahman* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 87.

"Lord of the field", Dimstipatis "Lord of the house", the Mediterranean πότνια θηρῶν[20] (Artemis), but also in non-I.E. cultures. On the Indonesian island of Timor people are of the opinion that they, when making a fence, prick the "Lord of the ground", and the natives of near-by Flores call the power of the wind which blows from a certain direction the Lord of that direction or quarter of the sky.[21] With the Eskimos all things, even a 'mana-like' concept like *sila* "universe; weather; intelligence" have a particular possessor.[22] Among those more or less backward peoples who live by hunting and food-gathering we often find the idea of a "Lord of Beasts", who rules the game and can grant or deny the all-important capture of them. Remarkably enough, this deity, who himself has beast-form, not rarely survives in considerably more advanced cultural environments.[23] The complex of the "Lord of animals" – who sometimes assumes the form of "Lord of the forest or of the mountain" – is spread throughout the whole of Asia, from the Caucasus to Mongolia;[24] apart from being a protector of hunters he may be the most important deity or even be identified with the Supreme Being, as among the Tungus.[25] In America we find Lords of fishes, of pigs etc.[26] It has been surmised[27] that the concept of a celestial Being in the proper sense developed, among the proto-Andamanese and the other Negritos, out of certain particular aspects of the primitive Lord of Beasts, "not without the concurrence of suggestions due to contact with the higher and settled continental culture". Bayagau, the "master of wild pigs" of the Negritos of the Allakápan district (N.-W. Kagayán, Philippine Islands) has, no doubt likewise under foreign influence,[28] quite lofty attributes: he is invisible, omniscient, immortal (in the literal sense of the term) and lives in heaven, which is where the good go when they die.[29] Among most African peoples "le grand Dieu céleste, l'Etre suprême, créateur et tout-puissant, ne joue qu'un

[20] See also A. Dirr, in *Anthropos* 20 (1925), p. 139 ff.
[21] Information from the Rev. P. Middelkoop and Father K. van Trier.
[22] K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur* (Zürich, 1946), p. 388.
[23] H. Baumann, "Afrikanische Wild- und Buschgötter", in *Zs. f. Ethnologie* 78 (1938), p. 208 ff.; R. Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 294 f.
[24] A. Friedrich, in *Paideuma* 2 (1941), p. 20 ff.
[25] S. M. Shirokogoroff, *Psychomental complex of the Tungus* (London, 1935), p. 126 ff.; I. Paulson, in I. Paulson u.a., *Die Religionen Nordeurasiens und der amerikanischen Arktis* (Stuttgart, 1962), p. 67 ff.: "Für die verschiedenen Naturbereiche gibt es verschiedene Naturgottheiten oder Eigner (owners)".
[26] For North-America see O. Zerries, in W. Krickeberg u.a., *Die Religionen des alten Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 308 ff.
[27] Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 308 ff.
[28] Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, p. 320.
[29] M. Vanoverbergh, in *Anthropos* 1930, p. 547; 563.

rôle insignifiant dans la vie religieuse ... Ainsi, par exemple, les Yombas ... croient en un Dieu du ciel nommé Olorun (lit. "Propriétaire du ciel") qui, après avoir commencé la création du monde, confie le soin de l'achever et de la gouverner à un dieu inférieur ... Néanmoins il est invoqué comme une dernière ressource en temps de calamité".[30]

Now, the Indo-European *poti-s*, though translated by "lord, master", obviously denoted the one who holds rule over definite other people, over definite objects, the one who wields power over a department or special sphere of influence. In Greek, πόσις – like the Lith. *pats* – has specialised in the meaning "(lawful) husband", i.e. "the lord of a definite woman", the feminine noun πότνια "mistress, queen" being mostly connected with the genitive: πότνια θηρῶν (see above), πότνια βελέων (sc. τῶν ἐρωτικῶν), τὰν ἐρώτων πότνιαν (Aphrodite), πότνια λαῶν ("of men") etc.; the words δεσπότης "the master of the house" and δέσποινα (< *δεσ-ποτνια) "mistress, lady of the house" are fixed compounds of I.E. *dems–* (which probably as a sing. genitive in any case represents the word **dem-/dom-* "house") and the above words;[31] compare Skt. *dampati-* and Av. *dəng paitiš* "the lord of the house"; and O. Pruss. *wais-pattin* (sg. acc.) "housewife, mistress of the house"; Lith. *viẽšpats* "lord".[32] In Latin the word survives in *hospes* (< **ghosti-pots*) lit. "the 'lord' of a stranger", i.e. "he who, as a friend or gratuitously, entertains a stranger", "a host"; in Gothic it is significantly preserved in *brūþ-faþs* "lord of the bride", i.e. "bridegroom" and other compounds ("lord, leader, of a hundred", cf. Ved. *śatapati-*; *þūsundifaþs* "l. of a th."; *sunagogafaþs*, i.e. the Greek ἀρχισυνάγωγος "ruler (Vorsteher) of a synagogue"). The same 'departmental' meaning is also obvious in Sanskrit compounds such as *kṣetrapati-* "lord or owner of the field, landlord"; *bhūmipati-* "lord of the earth, king"; *aṃśupati-* "lord of rays" i.e. "the sun"; *dvārapati-* "lord of the door", i.e. "door-keeper"; *nṛpati-* "lord of men", i.e. "king"; *viṭpati-* "lord or chief of men, king, prince"; *gṛhapati-* "master of the house, householder"; *grāmapati-*; "chief of the village", etc. Similarly, we find in Avestan *nmāno.paiti-* "lord, master of the house"; *zantu.paiti-* "lord, governor of a district"; *baēvarə.paiti-* "lord, chief, leader of ten thousand"; *aēθra.paiti-* "lord of the school", i.e. "(priestly) teacher"; *hamiδ.paiti-* "lord, master, of the learned society", etc., the single noun *paiti-* – which

[30] Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions*, p. 54.
[31] H. Humbach, "Die Genetivformen von idg. *dem-* 'Haus'", *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 6, p. 41 ff.; Hj. Frisk, *Griech. etymol. Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1954-), I, p. 371.
[32] Cf. also A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen*, II (Berlin-Leipzig, 1927), p. 78.

may also mean "husband" – being accompanied by a possessive genitive in "lord of the dwelling-place"; "lord of dominion or kingly power" (Y. 44, 9).

The frequency of Vedic nominal phrases with *pati-* is in perfect harmony with this widespread use of the I.E. word **poti-*. Thus there is a "lord of the way" (Pūṣan, ṚV. 6, 53, 1 *pathas pate*), a lord of heroic power (Indra, 1, 11, 2 etc. *śavasas pate*), a lord of speech (*Vācaspati*, 10, 166, 3), a lord of *vājas* (Indra 1, 29, 2 etc.), a lord of vision (Soma 9, 75, 2; 99, 6 *patir dhiyaḥ*), who is the proclaimer of the vision or intuition and the power who wields it. The god who is regarded as the lord or owner (Inhaber, Eigner) of a certain power is also believed to display that power or to place it at the disposal of his worshippers.[33] It is clear that these departmental 'Inhaber' deities could not lend their titles to the exalted figure of the Hinduist Īśvara. But what about the Īśvara's beginnings, what about the concept expressed by that term in its initial stages?

Already in the Ṛgveda the tendency appears more or less consciously to dwell on the similarity of the gods. As for instance appears from an examination of the epithets and other qualifications many, or some, of them not rarely have a number of more or less important characteristics in common. Agni, Indra, Varuṇa, the Aśvins are "omniscient",[34] Indra, Soma, the Aśvins, Pūṣan are "benevolent" (*maghavan-*). It is indeed in itself a normal historical process for one or another god of a polytheistic pantheon to obtain greater importance in certain circles. Without resulting, in the subsequent period, in a fully crystallized conception of a Supreme God, this tendency aimed, in Vedic India, rather at the discovery of the common power that works behind them all, or of the principles immanent in all of them. Compare such statements as ṚV. 1, 164, 6 "what is the One in the shape of the unborn one, which has kept apart these six divisions of the universe?", ibid. 46 "what is but one, the wise call by different names as Agni, Yama, and Mātariśvan"; 10, 114, 5 *suparṇaṃ viprāḥ kavayo vacobhir ekaṃ santam bahudhā kalpayanti.* Yet this One which is incidentally postulated and inquired into is only vaguely and impersonally conceived. The most prominent among the conceptions of a Highest Principle is, in the period of the brāhmaṇas Prajāpati, the "lord of creatures", whose name implies that all created beings are his offspring. Being first used in the literal sense the title was given to various gods; in the course of time it acquired an independent status. Whether the final stanza of ṚV. 10, 12, 1, which mentions his name was made at

[33] For particulars see *The vision of the Vedic poets* ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 72 f.

[34] *Epithets in the Ṛgveda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 86 ff.

the same time as the stanzas 1-9 or not, the poet considers him the sole creator, the one god who grants life and force, the sole king of all, the establisher of heaven and earth, the supporter of sun and firmament, the only being who 'encloses' (takes care of) all creatures. He also is a *pati-*, but a *pati-* of high rank: *bhūtasya jātaḥ patir eka āsīt* "when born he was the sole lord of creation" (st. 1) . In the AthV. and VājSaṃh. of the YV. he is commonly, in the brāhmaṇas regularly, recognized as the chief god, occupying the special place of the 34th who summarizes and encompasses the totality of 33 gods.[35] He is also called the immortal one, the gods being his sons (ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 17). Yet, he is not an Īśvara and in the course of time he is replaced or absorbed by other concepts and figures.

However the tendency to monotheism appeared also in another form. Derived directly from the Brahman-ātman conception the Supreme Being is, in consonance with it, here taken to be immanent in all that constitutes the universe. It first received the name of the "Inner controller" (*antaryāmin-*) "who controls this world and the next and all things" (BĀU. 3, 7, 1), the principle which binds together all beings and on which all things are strung like a garland with a thread; he dwells in the elements, in the constituent parts of the universe and of the physical body, in light and darkness, controlling them from within, without being known by them. In MāṇḍU. 6 this Antaryāmin is expressly identified with the Lord of all (*Sarveśvara*), the All-knowing (*Sarvajña*) and the Source (*Yoni*) of all. The first idea already occurred in BĀU. 4, 4, 22 *yo eṣo 'ntarhṛdaya ākāśaḥ tasmin śete, sarvasya vaśī sarvasyeśānaḥ sarvasyādhipatiḥ* "it is in the space within the heart that lies the ruler of all, the lord of all, the king of all" ... *eṣa sarveśvaraḥ eṣa bhūtādhipatiḥ eṣa bhūtapālaḥ* "he is the lord of all, the overlord of beings, the protector of beings".

Now the question may arise as to the source from which these authors derived this idea of "Lordship", the motives which induced them to prefer the term *īśvara-*, or the concepts underlying that idea.

Observing that "probably there is no other Sanskrit word whose history (including that of its idea) is so interesting and can throw such a vast light on the history of the development of religious as well as philosophical thought in India as that of the word Īśvara", Dr. M. D. Shastri[36] made an effort to show that the well-known religious and philosophical acceptation of this term developed from a 'profane' and political use: "throughout the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali the word

[35] For Prajāpati see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 187 ff.

[36] M. D. Shastri, "History of the word 'Īśvara' and its idea", in *Proc. and Trans. VIIth All-India Orient. Conf.* (Baroda, 1933 (1935)), p. 487 ff.

has been consistently used ... in the sense of a rājā or an administrative head".[37] In the saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda – the only saṃhitā in which it occurs – the term has, he continues,[38] not yet its later sense of Parameśvara, denoting only a "lord" or "master". "It seems that in the Vedic literature the word had the general sense of 'a lord' or 'competent' which later on developed into that of 'a rājā'".[39] The Manusmṛti and the Bhagavadgītā represent a "transitional period" in which both meanings occur; afterwards the word "came to be used almost exclusively in the sense of Parameśvara alone".[40] From the fact that Buddha never denounced or refuted the idea of Īśvara in the sense of Parameśvara, Dr. M. D. Shastri infers that – in contradistinction to the conceptions of Brahman and of the functional Vedic gods – at the time of the Master the idea itself did not exist.[41] The very expansion of a godless system like Buddhism would have been inconceivable, if the modern idea of Parameśvara had been prevalent in those days.[42] It was, he concludes, due to the influence of Śivaism that the word Īśvara became so popular, because, on the one hand, *īśvara-* and *īśāna-* (which gradually became a synonym of Śiva) derive from the same root, and on the other Śiva occupied a most important place in the pre-Vedic (i.e., he adds, tantric) culture of India.

Among the missing links in the author's argument is the demonstration that Rudra-Śiva was before any other god the Īśvara – a term which is indeed, in the compound *maheśvara-* applied to this god in ŚvU. 6, 7 –; that this *īśvara-* in the 'Hinduist' sense of the word had, first, in śivaite circles developed from the supposedly older meaning "king, lord" and, in the second place that semantic development could hardly have taken place elsewhere. Moreover, other authors have emphasized the difference between a human master or worldly ruler on the one hand and the Vedic Īśvara on the other, the former "having something under him – which is not under his complete control – and something opposed to him, the latter being master in the complete sense of the term, a master at all times and in all circumstances".[43]

The term *īśvara-*, while being absent in the saṃhitās of the Ṛg-, Sāma-

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 487.
[38] *Ibidem*, p. 488 f.
[39] *Ibidem*, p. 492.
[40] *Ibidem*, p. 494.
[41] *Ibidem*, p. 498.
[42] *Ibidem*, p. 502.
[43] Sri J. Ch. Wadiyar Bahadur, *Dattātreya* (London, 1957), p. 102 adding: "So the meaning of the Vedic Īśvara is complete; and the meaning of this word in common usage is as uncomplete as it could be. Hence the circumstance and the psychological background of the Vedic usage are totally different from those of the common use".

and Yajurvedas, occurs six times in the AtharvavedaSaṃhitā. Although not used in the later sense of Parameśvara the word is in all these passages applied to divine powers: 7, 102, 1 to anonymous deities – among whom are, as may be inferred from the context, Heaven and Earth, the Atmosphere and Death; according to the commentary they are Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya and Mṛtyu – who may do harm; 19, 6, 4 to Puruṣa – the primaeval Man of ṚV. 10, 90 – who is called "lord of immortality" (*amṛtatvasyeśvaraḥ*) which means something like "disposer of continuance of life", the parallel texts giving *īśānaḥ*; 11, 4, 1 and 10 to Prāṇa "Breath", "lord of all (*sarvasyeśvaraḥ*), in whom all stands firm", and "lord of all, both what breathes and what does not", the latter place no doubt aiming at universal lordship or dominion (cf. st. 11 where Breath is identified with Death and is worshipped by the gods); 12 where Prāṇa = Prajāpati, and st. 23 and 24; to Time (Kāla) which is 19, 53, 8 in a similar way called the lord of all.[44] I fail to see why these occurrences – cf. 12, 3, 42 *anīśvarā abhitaḥ santu ye 'nye* – should be immaterial and throw no light on the history of the Īśvara concept, which, if we may generalize, comprised such ideas as absolute superiority, power of granting felicity and capacity for harm.

Attention may however be drawn to ṚVKh. 5, 87, 9 (Śrīsūkta) invoking Śrī as "lady (ruler) of all beings" (*īśvarīṃ sarvabhūtānām*) and thus attributing to her absolute divine sovereignty.

The adjectival use of *īśvara-* in the sense of "able, having the potency to, being likely to, being liable to, running the risk of etc." in Vedic prose[45] – for a similar sense of the verb see e.g. ṚV. 8, 25, 20 – can be passed over in silence.

The remarkable distribution of the term *īśvara-* in the Vedic texts should not be disconnected from the absence of most derivatives in *-vara-*, *-vala-* in the Ṛgveda.[46] Instead of *bhāsvara-* "shining, brilliant" (Brāhmaṇas) the Ṛgveda uses the participle (fem.) *bhāti* (Uṣas), the root *bhās-* appearing in the Atharvaveda; instead of *sthāvara-* "standing still, fixed, stable, established" (YajurVeda) the ṚV. has *tasthivas-* (part. perf.) etc. It is therefore no great surprise to find in a frequency of Vedic places *īśāna-*, not

[44] Cf. also 12,3,42.
[45] See also B. Delbrück, Altindische Syntax (Halle a.S., 1888), p. 87; 430 f.; L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite* (Paris, 1930), p. 135; 501 and especially H. Oertel, "Die Konstruktion von *īśvara-* in der vedischen Prosa", in (Kuhn's) *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachforschung* 65 (1938), p. 55 ff.
[46] J. Wackernagel-A. Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2 (Göttingen, 1954), p. 906. Exceptions are *karvara-* "work" (twice), *vidvala-* "clever, artful" (once 10, 159,1) and, with *-tvara-*, *itvara-* "travelling; traveller" (once).

īśvara-. This preference for the substantivized participle points, however, at the same time to a close connection with the verbal idea expressed by *īś-*. It likewise expresses the idea of extraordinary power and ability to achieve uncommon performances, of sovereignty and the disposal of important and much desired things and experiences including 'immortality'.[47]

The participle *īśāna-*, denoting the one who has power, is mighty or able, etc., is indeed very frequent in the Ṛgveda. Leaving those places which are of little interest undiscussed[48] – it may for instance express the adjectival sense of "mighty, powerful" (1, 87, 4) – attention may be drawn to 1, 5, 10 *īśāno yavayā vadham* (Indra is addressed) "wehre die Todeswaffe ab, der du die Macht dazu hast!" (Geldner; = *samarthaḥ*, Sāyaṇa) – cf. 7, 94, 2; 5, 73, 2 (applied to Mitra and Varuṇa) – and to 8, 1, 20 *ka īśānaṃ na yāciṣat* "wer sollte einen Mächtigen nicht bitten?" (Geldner). The participle not rarely combines with *ojasā* "by (his) energetic and creative, vital and inaugurating power":[49] 1, 11, 8; 175, 4; 8, 6, 41; 17, 9; 40, 5; 76, 1: Indra is able to perform a deed of extraordinary importance by means of the *ojas* which is so characteristic of him; in 8, 17, 9 *viśvasyeśāna ojasā* he is said to rule, by his *ojas*, over all. The same phrase is 9, 101, 5 used in connection with Soma, who in 9, 86, 37 is said to go, as mighty one, or as lord in different directions through the world (*īśāna imā bhuvanāni vīyase* "toi qui es maître (or rather, "who art able to do so," "who art powerful"), tu traverses ces mondes-ci"[50]). In connection with one of Indra's extraordinary exploits: 1, 130, 9. In 2, 24, 15 Brahmaṇaspati is mighty by his particular power, brahman. As is also the case with other occurrences the participle is 7, 1, 16 used in a statement of a god's special power and ability, only an able and mighty god may justly be supposed to perform such a deed (Agni), cf. 7, 15, 11; 9, 61, 6. For the meaning "to dispose of" see 1, 5, 2; 7, 82, 4 (cf. 7, 83, 5 with *rāj-*);[51] 8, 83, 5 (the gods are lords of lovely things[52]); 10, 9, 5; 1, 122, 13.[53] In 1, 113, 7 Uṣas is said to reign over all earthly good and benefits;[54] in 1, 24, 2 Savitar is an *īśāna- vāryāṇām*; 7, 6, 4; 7, 7 Agni a lord of goods;

[47] The relative frequency of verbal forms deriving from *īś-* may in part be explained from the absence of a verb beside the nouns *pati-* and *patnī*.
[48] The word may also be used of human beings: 1,73,9 "being possessed of" (+gen.); 7,1,17.
[49] See the author's *Ancient Indian ojas* ... (Utrecht, 1952).
[50] A. Bergaigne, *La religion védique*, I (Paris, 1878), p. 163; 190; Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.* IX, p. 35.
[51] Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.* VII, p. 82.
[52] *vāma-* "any desirable good".
[53] See Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.* IV, p. 29; V, p. 7.
[54] Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.* III, p. 47.

cf. 1, 79, 4. Pūṣan, the lord of riches, is asked for them (6, 54, 8); cf. 8, 26, 22; 46, 6; 53, 1[55] Indra, the *īśāna-*, is implored for wealth; in 1, 61, 15 he is *bhūrer īśānaḥ*. Indra is ṚV. 1, 61, 6 and 12 characterized *īśānaḥ kiyedhāḥ* "allvermögend, was es auch sei schaffend" (Geldner). In 7, 32, 22 the same god is lord (*īśāna-*) of "this movable and immovable", i.e. over the animate world and nature. In 4, 16, 11 he is *haryor īśānaḥ* "lord of the two bay steeds". See also 9, 62, 29 *ugram* ... *īśānam*. The author of 7, 90, 2 addresses the god Vāyu (Wind) as *īśāna* "the mighty one", or perhaps "the lord" or "master": Grassmann's[56] suppletion "of the oblation" (*prahuteḥ*[57]) is, though possible, not necessary (see the context). In st. 5 and 6 the absolute use is beyond doubt, the form applying to Indra and Vāyu. In 1, 84, 7 the word is practically used as a substantive: *īśāno* ... *indro aṅga*. ṚV. 2, 33, 9 is interesting because Rudra who is to acquire the name of Īśāna is called "the lord of this great world": *īśānād asya bhuvanasya bhūreḥ*. In the light of the above texts the phrase *amṛtatvasyeśānaḥ* applied 10, 90, 2 to the primaeval Being (Puruṣa) may mean "lord-and-disposer of immortality"; it would be possible to translate the difficult line *utām. yad annenātirohati*[58] contrary to ancient interpretations[59] as follows: "who is ... <for that>[60] which grows up by food".[61]

The participle may also be used in connection with men: 1, 129, 2 "the mighty", and according to Sāyaṇa – who is followed by Geldner – 10, 63, 17 *īśānāso naro* ... *astāvi jano divyaḥ* (: *dhanasyeśvaraḥ svāminaḥ*), or does the text refer to the more powerful deities and the divine race generally? (the hymn is dedicated to the Viśve devāḥ).

As to the Atharvaveda, the following occurrences of *īśāna-* may be mentioned: 3, 15, 1 (Indra, being requested to give wealth); 9, 2, 3 (Kāma, *ugra īśānaḥ*, being asked to do harm to an enemy); 7, 18, 1 (Dhātar, being implored to give rain); 6, 2, 3 Indra is called "a conqueror and a lord": *jeteśānaḥ*, i.e. *jayaśīlaḥ sarvasya jagata īśitā svāmī* (Sāyaṇa); 7, 17, 1 Dhātar, being implored to assign wealth, is called "a lord and master of

[55] Why "den Reichen" (Geldner, *o.c.*, III, p. 375)?
[56] H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda*, 237.
[57] See the context.
[58] Which was discussed by Geldner, *o.c.* III, p. 287 and by R. T. H. Griffith, *The White Yajurveda translated* (Benares, 1927), p. 309 f.
[59] *api ca devatvasya ayaṃ svāmī, yasmāt kāraṇāt prāṇināṃ yogyenānnena nimittabhūtena svakīyāṃ kāraṇāvasthāṃ atikramya paridṛśyamānāṃ jagadavasthāṃ prāpnoti* (Sāyaṇa, on ṚV. 10,90,2) or *amṛtatvasyāmaraṇadharmasyeśānaḥ mukter īśaḥ. yo hi mokṣeśvaro nāsau mriyata ity arthaḥ kiṃ ca yaj jīvajātam annenātirohati utpadyate tasya sarvasya ceśānaḥ* (Mahīdhara, on VS. 31,2).
[60] For the absence of the correlative demonstrative pronoun see my publication *Ellipsis, brachylogy and other forms of brevity in speech* (Amsterdam, 1960), p. 34 f.
[61] See also Griffith, *o.c.*, p. 307.

the moving creation" (*īśāno jagatpatiḥ*); the second epithet being in harmony with the god's creative function. In 11, 9, 4 the word is used in the second member of a parallelism after *deva-* applying to a spirit of lower rank. In 15, 1, 5 the term is, after *mahādeva-*, applied to the vrātya who compassed the lordship of the gods (*sa devānām īśāṃ paryait sa īśāno 'bhavat*). According to 15, 14, 10 (19) there is a similar relation between Īśāna (as a proper name) and the gods (*devāḥ*) as is supposed to exist between Rudra and cattle (6), between Yama and the Fathers (7), between Prajāpati and progeny (11), between Varuṇa and the western quarter (3), etc., that is to say, Īśāna is supposed to be lord of the gods. In 15, 5, 1-7 Īśāna is, as a proper noun, used after Śarva and Bhava. Ascribing divine power of the highest order to Ucchiṣṭa, the 'remnant' of the sacrifice,[62] the AV. 11, 7, 16 uses, *inter alia*, the phrase *viśvasyeśānaḥ* (: *sarvasya jagata īśvaraḥ*, Sāyaṇa).

There are a few interesting places in the brāhmaṇas and allied literature.[63] In ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 17 the Sun is said to be *īśāna-*, because he rules over this All (*āditya vā īśāna āditya hy asya sarvasyeṣṭe*). A similar relation to that sovereign celestial luminary appears AiB. 4, 10, 7 where ṚV. 7, 32, 22 *īśānam asya jagataḥ svardṛśam* is quoted: "like kine unmilked we call aloud, O hero, to thee, lord over this moving world, who art like the sun,[64] lord (also), O Indra over the immovable world", the text continuing "yonder (sun) is he who beholds the light, therefore he does not pass over Sūrya". In connection with the rays of the sun it reads in the mystic speculations of JaimUB. 1, 29, 3 "now, (the ray) consisting of the vital spirit stands firm crosswise, that same is Lord by name" (*sa ha īśāno nāma*).

From TaittB. 1, 5, 5, 2 it appears that the term *īśāna-* might be used 'absolutely' as an epithet to qualify an individual god: *yad gharmaḥ paryavartayat antān pṛthivyā divaḥ agnir īśāna ojasā varuṇo dhītibhiḥ saha* (similarly, ibid. 4) "since the heat (i.e. the sun) caused the ends of heaven and earth to turn round (?, overthrew ...?), Agni, the Lord, with ojas, Varuṇa together with his visions ...".[65] Ibid. 2, 4, 7, 11 the same god Agni is addressed as follows: *īśānaṃ tvā bhuvanānām abhiśriyaṃ / staumy agna urukṛtaṃ suvīraṃ havir juṣāṇaḥ sapatnāṃ abhibhūr asi / jahi śatrūṃ apa mṛdho nudasva* "I praise thee, lord of the beings, arranging one, O Agni, who art a causer of extension and who art very heroic; enjoying the oblation thou overpowerest the rivals, slay the enemies, remove the

[62] L. Scherman, *Philosophische Hymnen* (Straszburg, 1887), p. 87 ff.
[63] Not to mention the use of the word as a proper name (= Rudra).
[64] L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV (Paris, 1958), p. 100.
[65] See W. Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II (Amsterdam, 1924), p. 33. Compare also *The vision of the Vedic poets* ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 240 f.

adversaries." That Agni was considered an, or the, Īśāna appears also from KāṭhakaS. 40, 5 *īśānaṃ tvā śuśrumā vayam* "we have heard that thou art the Lord", the author adding a prayer for prosperity and calling the god a "lord of treasures" (*vasupate vasūnām*).[66]

TaittB. 3, 12, 3, 2 the author in addressing Śraddhā ("Faith"[67]) uses the term in an absolute way: *sā no juṣāṇopa yajñam āgāt kāmavatsāmṛtaṃ duhānā śraddhā devī prathamajā ṛtasya viśvasya bhartrī jagataḥ pratiṣṭhā tāṃ śraddhāṃ haviṣā yajāmahe sā no lokam amṛtaṃ dadhātu īśānā devī bhuvanasyādhipatnī* ...: "... the goddess Śraddhā, the first-born of ṛta, the supporter (mistress, protectress) of all, the firm support[68] of the whole world, we worship her, Śraddhā, with an oblation; she must destine for us an immortal world, the Lady, the goddess, the ruler of the world". Here again the deity on which the adorer's attention is focussed is not only considered the universal sovereign, but also the Īśāna par excellence.

An illustrative passage exhibiting both *īśāna-* and *īśvara-* is also TaittĀ. 10, 47, 1 *īśānaḥ sarvavidyānām īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ brahmādhipatir brahmaṇo 'dhipatir brahmā śivo me astu sadā śivom* (comm.: *ūrdhvavaktrapratipādakaṃ mantram āha ... iti ... sarvavidyānāṃ vedaśāstrādīnāṃ ... īśānaḥ niyāmakaḥ* ("controller"), *tathā sarvabhūtānāṃ akhilaprāṇināṃ īśvaraḥ niyāmakaḥ, brahmādhipatiḥ vedasyādhikatvena pālakaḥ, tathā brahmaṇaḥ hiraṇyagarbhasya adhipatiḥ, tādṛśo yaḥ brahmā asti pravṛddhaḥ paramātmā* ...). Here the *īśānaḥ* is the ruler of all living beings, and the lord of all knowledge and even of brahman, i.e. of the Veda. TaittĀ. 3, 15, 1 *hariṃ harantam anuyanti devāḥ viśvasyeśānaṃ vṛṣabhaṃ matīnāṃ* (comm.: *hariṃ haraṇaśīlaṃ prāṇāpahartārāṃ mṛtyudevaṃ, sarve devāḥ anuyanti ānukūlyena gacchanti, na ko 'pi devo mṛtyum ullaṅghayituṃ kṣamate. kīdṛśaṃ hariṃ? harantam āyuṣo 'vasāne prāṇāṣṭakam apaharantam, ata eva viśvasyeśānaṃ sarvasya jagataḥ svāminaṃ,*[69] *matīnāṃ mananīyānāṃ devānāṃ madhye vṛṣabhaṃ śreṣṭham* ...): here Death is called the Lord of the whole world because he snatches away all living beings and because all the gods have to conform to his wishes, the term

[66] TB. 2,8,5,3 *rāyaḥ syāma rathyo vivasvataḥ vīreṣu vīrāṃ upapṛṅgdhi nas tvaṃ yad īśāno brahmaṇā veṣi me havaṃ sa ij janena saviśā sajanmanā saputrair vājam bharate dhanā nṛbhiḥ*: see ṚV. 2,24,15 and compare also ṚV. 5,54,13.
[67] See ṚV. 10,151 where she is invoked as a deity; in TaittBr. she is the daughter of Prajāpati.
[68] See the present author's paper Pratiṣṭhā in *Studia Indologica Internationalia* I (Poona-Paris, 1954).
[69] A *svāmin-* is a lord, master or owner as opposed to a servant, a subject or a subordinate.

īśāna- obviously implying the idea of absolute superiority and unrestricted authority.

In the Upaniṣads the participle *īśāna-* is of frequent occurrence. Apart from 1, 4, 11 where it occurs beside Indra, Varuṇa, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mṛtyu, as the name of a god, and 6, 3, 5 where it appears in the sequence *rājeśāno 'dhipatiḥ*, it is in the BĀU. used to indicate the Supreme Lord: 4, 4, 15 *ātmānam*, *devam* and *īśānaṃ bhūtabhavyasya* are different names of the Supreme, by knowing whom one becomes 'immortal' (14), who is the maker and the creator, whose is the world and who is the world itself (*tasya lokaḥ sa u loka eva*, 13). Thus the term does not signify a creator other than the created, but a principle which is eventually one with it. On the other hand, the power of knowledge, and especially the identification of one entity with another (14), being an important motive force behind Vedic and Upaniṣadic speculation, the inference seems warranted that the association of *īśāna-* with 'immortality' (ṚV. 10, 90, 2; cf. also AthV. 19, 6, 4 *amṛtatvasyeśvaraḥ*) may have contributed to the preference for this term in connection with the Supreme, knowledge of which (whom) confers 'immortality'. Similarly, KaU. 4, 5 *ya imam madhvadaṃ veda ātmānaṃ jīvam antikāt īśānam bhūtabhavyasya na tato vijugupsate: etad vai tat.* The individual soul, it is stated, is identical with the universal soul and the eternal Lord of what has been and what is to be; cf. also st. 12; 13[70] ("la quatrième section développe une sorte d'hymne à l'identité-unicité entre le Soi-ātman et le Soi-brahman, symbolisée par la formule 'ceci est cela'").[71] This Supreme is described in st. 9 as "that whence the sun rises and where it goes to rest" and as that from which all the gods derive their being, etc.

In BĀU. 4, 4, 22 both terms, *īśāna-* and *īśvara-*, occur in the same context: "the great, unborn Soul ..., the ruler of all (*sarvasya vaśī*), the lord of all (*sarvasyeśānaḥ*), the overlord of all (*sarvasyādhipatiḥ*), is said to be *sarveśvaraḥ*, *bhūtādhipatiḥ*, *bhūtapālaḥ* "the lord of all, the overlord of beings, the protector of beings," the 'synonyms' helping us to form an idea of the implications of the term *īśvara-*. Cf. also 5, 6 *sa eṣa sarvasyeśānaḥ, sarvasyādhipatiḥ, sarvam idaṃ praśāsti yad idaṃ kiṃ ca*, being an attempt at elucidating the idea of absolute sovereignty: "this one is ruler of everything, is sovereign of everything, governs this whole universe, whatsoever there is". In a similar passage KauṣBU. 3, 8 (9) – dating from about 600-400 B.C.[72] – the form *-īśa-*, which obviously is equivalent,

[70] Cf. ĪśaU. 6.
[71] L. Renou, *Kaṭha Upanishad* (Paris, 1943), p. 4.
[72] Cf. also L. Renou, *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1948), p. 3.

is used: *eṣa lokapāla eṣa lokādhipatiḥ, eṣa lokeśaḥ, sa ma ātmeti vidyāt* "he is the protector, the sovereign, the lord of the world (there is a variant: *sarveśaḥ*). 'He is my self (*ātman-*)' – this one should know".

The author of ŚvetU. 3, 12, whilst expatiating upon the characteristics of the Cosmic Person called him "a great lord (*prabhu-*), the impeller or instigator of existence,[73] with regard to reaching the purest attainment,"[74] "he is the Lord (Īśāna), is light, and is imperishable". It is worth noticing that the term under discussion is now used without a possessive genitive, that is to say in an 'absolute' sense. In st. 15 the Puruṣa is according to most translators said to be "this whole world (*idaṃ sarvam*), whatever has been and whatever will be, the lord of immortality (*amṛtatvasyeśānaḥ*) and whatever grows up by food". The last stanza is identical with ṚV. 10, 90, 2 etc.[75] St. 17 shows us that the Īśāna is not only the universal authority (*prabhu-*), but also the firm refuge (*śaraṇam bṛhat*) of all. By discerning, it reads in 4, 11, "him who rules every single source, in whom all this comes together and dissolves, who is the lord (*īśānam*), the bestower of wishes, the adorable God, one goes for ever to this peace". That is to say, the Lord is also the goal of those who seek final emancipation.

The supreme lordship of an Īśa is emphasized ŚvetU. 5, 3: *bhūyaḥ sṛṣṭvā yas tu yatis* (?)[76] *tatheśaḥ sarvādhipatyaṃ kurute mahātmā* "après avoir émis les agents de la création, alors le maître, le Soi suprême exerce sa souveraineté universelle".[77] He is the knower: ibid. 1, 9 *jñājñau dvāv ajāv īśānīśāv ajā hy ekā bhoktṛbhogyārthayuktā* "there are two unborn ones: the knowing (Lord) and the unknowing (individual soul), the Lord and the impotent; she (i.e. Nature, Prakṛti), too, is unborn, who is connected with the enjoyer and the objects of enjoyment". According to 3, 20 one becomes freed from sorrow when through the grace of the Creator one sees the Lord and His majesty (*mahimānam īśam*). Cf. also 4, 7 ... *yadā paśyati anyam īśam tanmahimānam iti vītaśokaḥ.*

In the MuṇḍakaU. (± 300 B.C.) – which belongs to a group of metrical Upaniṣads in which the ātman speculation combines with allusions on Yoga practice and vague ideas of a personal God – the form *īśa-* is (3, 1, 2)

[73] Cf. KaU. 6,7.
[74] *sunirmalām imāṃ prāptim*, as to *prāpti-* compare its use in the terminology of Yoga ("extension, the ability of reaching everywhere, or of obtaining everything"; see S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga*, Lund, 1932, p. 179). The accusative seems to be an 'acc. of relation' (see L. Renou, *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, 1930, p. 290); Mbh. 13,62, 30 *evam eva mahābhāga bhūmir bhavati bhūmidam.*
[75] See above.
[76] For the text see R. Hauschild, *Die Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 29.
[77] A. Silburn, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1948), p. 69.

in the famous simile of the two birds[78] used to denote the Highest Person who in ṚV. 1, 164, 21 is described as *ino viśvasya bhuvanasya gopāḥ*; on seeing him and his majesty (*mahimānam*) one becomes freed from sorrow. In st. 3 the poet speaks of the same Person (Puruṣa) as the creator (*kartāram*), the lord (*īśam*), the source of Brahman; when a seer sees Him, he is a knower and attains supreme identity with him. That is to say, the sage who knows the Puruṣa, i.e. the cosmic form of brahman, will attain to the identificatory knowledge of brahman.[79] As this text is rightly considered one of the 'sources' of the Bhagavadgītā,[80] there can be no doubt whatever that the idea of "Supreme Lordship" was already expressed, before the latter work, by nouns deriving from the root *īś-*. The stanza 3, 1, 2 occurs also ŚvetU. 4, 7. In ŚvetU. 1, 8 the Lord (*īśaḥ*) is stated to support all this which is a combination of the perishable and the imperishable,[81] the manifest and the unmanifest; "without the Lord the soul (*ātmā*) is bound, but by knowing God (*devam*) he is freed": *anīśaś cātmā badhyate bhoktṛbhāvāt, jñātvā devam mucyate sarvapaśaiḥ*. Notice the use of *deva-* = *īśa-*. With regard to 3, 7 "higher than this (i.e. the phenomenal world) is brahman, the supreme (principle), which is hidden in all beings, the One which envelopes the universe; knowing Him (as) the Lord (*īśam*) (men) become 'immortal'"[82] Radhakrishnan[83] observes: "the reference here is to Īśvara ..., to the indwelling Lord (*antaryāmin-*), to the Supreme Personal God (*parameśvara-*)". It is therefore clear, that the term under consideration is in the ŚvetāśvataraUpaniṣad systematically applied to the Supreme Being. "The reason for this is not far to seek. The term 'Lord' implies among other things the essential distinctness of the Supreme Being from the finite soul, and in so far as this was only imperfectly conceived earlier, and was clearly conceived only in the Śvetāśvatara, it could be used freely of the Supreme Being only by the author of the Śvetāśvatara".[84]

In ŚvetU. 6, 7 other terms are used to denote the Supreme Being the sovereign position and absolute character of whom is now clearly understood: *tam īśvarāṇāṃ paramaṃ maheśvaraṃ taṃ devatānāṃ paramaṃ ca daivatam patiṃ patīnāṃ paramaṃ parastād vidāma devaṃ bhuvaneśam*

[78] See Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, I³, p. 231.
[79] For which see also KenaU. 1,3-5.
[80] J. Maury, *Muṇḍaka Upanishad* (Paris, 1943), p. 3.
[81] For the opposition *kṣara-:akṣara-* see A. Silburn, *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* (Paris, 1948), p. 55.
[82] Cf. also st. 8 and 9.
[83] S. Radhakrishnan, *The principal Upaniṣads* (London, 1953), p. 727.
[84] Bh. Kumarappa, *The Hindu conception of the deity* (London, 1934), p. 46.

īḍyam "him who is the Supreme Lord of lords,[85] and who is the supreme deity of deities and the supreme master of masters, transcendent, him let us know as God, the lord of the world, the adorable". The text continues: "there is no action and no organ of his to be found; there is not seen his equal or his better etc." In this connection mention may also be made of st. 9 *na tasya kaścit patir asti loke, na ceśitā* "of him there is no master in the world, no ruler (*īśitṛ-*)".

Mention should also be made of ĪśaU. (a text which may date back to ± 300 B.C.) *īśāvāsyam idaṃ sarvam* "(know that) all this ... is enveloped by the Lord (*īś-*)": *īś-* : *īśitā parameśvaraḥ* (cf. Ānandagiri).

In an attempt to define the idea of the Supreme MaitrU. 6, 8 describes it as "lord of the soul (*ātmeśānaḥ*), the auspicious One (*śambhu-*, also a name of Śiva or Brahmā), the becoming One (*bhava-*, also a name or form of Śiva), Rudra, Prajāpati, the emanator of all, Hiraṇyagarbha,[86] the true ... Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa etc. etc.".[87] In another passage of the same text, ch. 7 an analytic statement of the contents of which would be "the various divinities and divine powers, the earthly beings etc. are transient emanations in the six different directions, returning again into the one unlimited Soul (Ātman) of the whole world",[88] this Ātman is inter alia called "the lord of all": (§ 1) "Unconceivable, disembodied (*amūrtaḥ*), profound, mysterious, irreprovable, condensed (*ghanaḥ*), secret, without guṇas, perfected, luminous, partaking of the guṇas, dangerous, active, lord of yogins, omniscient (*sarvajñaḥ*), powerful, unknowable, without beginning or end, prosperous-and-illustrious (*śrīmān*), unborn, wise (*dhīmān*), indescribable, emanating all, soul of all (*sarvasyātmā*), experiencing all (*sarvabhuk*), lord of all (*sarvasyeśānaḥ*), innermost within all".[89] In 7, 7, "the authenticity of which is entirely uncertain",[90] this Ātman is, *inter alia*, called *parameśvaraḥ* "supreme lord" and *īśānaḥ*. Here again we see that several derivatives of the root *īś-* are used indiscriminately.

It is time now to turn to the Bhagavadgītā. In 18, 43 the compound *īśvarabhāvaḥ* meaning something like "leadership"[91] is put on a par with

[85] For this polyptoton, used for emphatical reasons see the present author, *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1959), p. 264 f.
[86] According to ṚV. 10,121 the anonymous primeval Being became a golden germ, which was deposited in the waters which produced the first god; according to Manu 1,9 this seed became a golden egg, in which the Self-existent was born as Brahmā the creator.
[87] See also J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* ('s-Gravenhage, 1962), p. 43 f.
[88] Hume (see further on), p. 452.
[89] For the secondary character of this passage see van Buitenen, *o.c.*, p. 62 f.
[90] Van Buitenen, *o.c.*, p. 63.
[91] Cf. also Kullūka, on Manu 1,14 *īśvaraṃ*: *svakāryakaraṇakṣamam*.

"heroism, vigour etc." and reckoned among the characteristics of a kṣatriya. I am not convinced of the correctness of Shastri's view[92] that here we find "the earlier sense of the word". The only thing we can safely say seems to be that the term was also used in a 'profane' or non-technical sense.[93] In 4, 6 the Bhagavān declares Himself to be "unborn, of imperishable self (*avyayātmā*)" and "the lord of all creatures (*bhūtānām īśvaraḥ*)". In 13, 27 and 28 *parameśvara-* and *īśvara-* are synonymous: *samaṃ sarveṣu bhūteṣu tiṣṭhantaṃ parameśvaram ... yaḥ paśyati sa paśyati* and *samaṃ paśyan hi sarvatra samavasthitam īśvaram ...*: "he who sees the Universal Spirit, in all things, sees and becomes himself universal".[94] The same 'absolute' meaning occurs 18, 61 *īśvaraḥ sarvabhūtānāṃ hṛddeśe 'rjuna tiṣṭhati*; 16, 8 "they say that the world is unreal (*asatyam*), without a basis,[95] without a Lord (*anīśvaram*)". The Lord, that is to say, an inherent fraction (*aṃśa-*) of His own self (15, 7), may take up a body and leave it (15, 8), becoming an incarnate soul,[96] but (15, 17) he also enters the three worlds and sustains them, being called also the Highest Person (*uttamaḥ puruṣaḥ*) and the Supreme Self (*paramātmā*). The adjective *aiśvara-*, qualifying *yoga-* seems to be in 9, 5 in harmony with this 'absolute sense': "and (yet) the beings do not dwell in Me, behold my yoga[97] as Lord"; cf. 11, 8. Similarly *te rūpam aiśvaram* "that form of thine as Lord"; 11, 9. – In 11, 25 and 45 Arjuna addressing the Lord, who as *mahāyogeśvaraḥ* "great lord of yoga" revealed to him his supreme form as Lord (11, 9), asks him to be gracious, "O Lord of gods (*deveśa*), Refuge of the worlds (*jagannivāsa*)"; similarly 11, 37 *ananta deveśa jagannivāsa, tvam akṣaraṃ sad asat tatparaṃ yat*. The compound *parameśvara* occurs 11, 3 (vocative). An interesting combination of vocatives is 10, 15 "Supreme Person" (*puruṣottama*) ..., "Lord of creatures (*bhūteśa*), god of gods (*devadeva*), Master of the world (*jagatpate*)". Other compounds and phrases may likewise be considered attempts at defining and fathoming the character of the Highest Being: 10, 3 *lokamaheśvara-*; 5, 29 *sarvalokamaheśvara-*; 9, 11 *bhūtamaheśvara-*; in 13, 22 the Supreme Person in the body is said to be "the ... Supporter, Experiencer, the Great Lord (*maheśvaraḥ*) and the Supreme Self (*Paramātmā*)"; 11, 16

[92] Shastri, *o.c.*, p. 494.
[93] Similarly *aiśvarya-* 2,43 and 44. BhagG. 16,14 is differently understood: *Īśvaro 'ham* "I am a lord", and "I am the lord" ("the sin of Lucifer") S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavadgītā* (London, 1948), p. 338.
[94] Radhakrishnan, *o.c.*, p. 311.
[95] See above TaittB. 3,12,3,2.
[96] Cf. e.g. W. D. P. Hill, *The Bhagavadgītā* (Oxford-London, 1928), p. 239.
[97] Behaviour of a practically religious character which methodically aims at the highest goal.

viśveśvara. Summarizing I would advance the opinion that the occurrence of these terms in the Gītā appears to be a natural continuation and extension of the use made of them by the authors of the older Upaniṣads. That the Lord of the Gītā is also the goal of those seeking final emancipation appears from 4, 9; 7, 19; 23; 9, 25; 28; 34; 10, 10; 18, 65.

From a comparison of ŚvetU. 1, 11 where it is stated that the soul of the man who has come to know God (*deva-*) achieves "universal Lordship" at death (*viśvaiśvaryam*) and 4, 10 which says that "the whole world is pervaded by beings which are part of Him" (*tasyāvayavabhūtais tu vyāptaṃ sarvam idaṃ jagat*) it may be inferred that this work does not mean that the soul at death simply becomes Īśvara. We might compare BhagG. 15, 8 where the term *īśvara-* is used to denote the Lord assuming the character of an individual soul which (in 15, 7) is expressly stated to be part of God. So "the achievement of lordship means no more than the passage from the condition of being a bondsman to matter to the complete freedom of the spirit".[98]

The phrase *īśāṃ cakruḥ* AV. 11, 9, 25 ("mastery over you have the Maruts and other gods gained") is explained *īśvaraḥ ... śikṣakāḥ ... niyantāraḥ*. In 11, 10, 2 mention is made of the "lordship" (*īśām*) and kingdom (*rājyam*) of the 'demon' Triṣandhi, "who is clearly Indra's bolt".[99]

The verb *īś-* is already in the Ṛgveda also employed to express the ideas of "to be able to, to have the power to": 7, 4, 6 *īśe hy agnir amṛtasya bhūrer īśe rāyaḥ suvīryasya dātoḥ* "denn Agni vermag den reichlichen Lebensbalsam, er vermag einen Schatz von guten Söhnen zu geben" (Geldner). Similarly, AV. 4, 27, 6 (the Maruts); of a human subject ṚV. 2, 28, 6; 3, 18, 3.

For "to dispose of" compare ṚV. 8, 14, 1 *yad indrāhaṃ yathā tvam īśīya vasva eka it*... "wenn ich gleich dir, Indra, ganz allein über Reichtum verfügte ..." (Geldner). The same god is 1, 170, 5 addressed as the "lord or disposer of possessions (wealth, good things)":[100] *tvam īśiṣe vasupate vasūnām* "thou, lord of goods, art master of goods".[101] Cf. 10, 43, 3. However, the text of 1, 170, 5 admits also of the translation "Thou art the Lord, O Master of goods" (cf. KāṭhS. 40, 5). Similarly, of the same god 4, 20, 8; of Uṣas 4, 52, 3; 7, 75, 5; of the Sun 1, 71, 9 (*ekaḥ satrā sūro vasva īśe*); of Agni 1, 127, 7; 2, 1, 6; 7; 10; of the Ādityas 7, 66,

[98] R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim mysticism* (London, 1960), p. 59.
[99] A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 400.
[100] See *Epithets in the Ṛgveda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 75.
[101] Thus Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, I, p. 249.

6. The statement is sometimes accompanied by the imperative "give": 4, 32, 7 (Indra); 6, 19, 10; AV. 6, 79, 3 where "the divine fattener, the master of thousandfold prosperity" is implored to give those speaking a share in it; or by the affirmation of the god's liberality: ṚV. 4, 12, 3 *agnir īśe bṛhataḥ kṣatriyasyāgnir vājasya paramasya rāyaḥ / dadāti ratnaṃ vidhate*. Cf. also 8, 71, 13. When a god "is master of goods or desirable objects" or "disposes of" them, he is the one from whom his worshippers expect the fulfilment of their wishes: 3, 16, 1 *ayam agniḥ suvīryasyeśe mahaḥ saubhagasya / rāya īśe svapatyasya gomata īśe vṛtrahathānām*; the god who is the (or a) master of happiness, cattle and the overthrower of the opponents is quite naturally considered to grant the relative requests. It is indeed in the god's power to do so: 1, 91, 23. The god who is "master of solid wealth" (Indra) is therefore praised by the poets (4, 21, 4). Hence also 5, 58, 1 where the Maruts, who are in possession of longevity ('immortality': *amṛtam*) are the addressees of the eulogy. Cf. also 7, 32, 18; 8, 47, 4; 71, 8. The idea of "being master of" may also imply the connotation "to be entitled to, to have a right to" something: 2, 16, 6; 36, 1; 6, 41, 3; 8, 64, 3; 82, 7-9, where Indra is "lord of the Soma draught" which like the god himself is characterized (2, 16, 6) as "bull-like, manly, vigorous" (*vṛṣṇo madasya vṛṣabha tvam īśiṣe*). Cf. also 2, 24, 1.

The verb is also translatable by "to have power, to have hold (over)". A human being is subject in ṚV. 10, 33, 8 "if I had power over the immortals or over the mortal beings ..." (*yad īśīyāmṛtānām*). Those places in which the verb is used in connection with human beings who are feared because of their malevolence and of the nefarious hold which they are supposed to acquire over men: in ṚV. 1, 23, 9; 7, 94, 7 and 10, 25, 7 it is the malicious man who wishes ill (*duḥśaṃsa-*) who might have hold over those speaking (or those on whose behalf the poet is speaking), in 1, 36, 16 and 8, 23, 15 the deceiver (*ripu-*), in 2, 23, 10 the *duḥśaṃsa-* and cunning injurer (*abhidipsu-*), in 2, 42, 3 a thief (cf. 6, 28, 7); in 6, 71, 3 and 75, 10 a man whose words are malicious; in 2, 7, 2 the enviousness of gods and men. No human *manyu-* ("zeal, wrath, fury") has on the other hand hold over the gods: 8, 71, 2 (cf. also 10, 185, 2), but *namas-* "adoration" has: 6, 51, 8. In a similar way sleep and talkativeness are among the powers which may overcome those speaking; 8, 18, 14; and the *pariṣūti-*[102] (9, 85, 8), i.e. the beleaguering or oppression which is aiming at the soma.

[102] H. Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 60, p. 693; Renou, *Ét. véd. et pāṇ.*, IX, p. 31 ("force-assiégeante"); 94 "ici (comme si souvent dans le ṚV.) élargi en emploi (nocif) indiscriminé". See also A. Debrunner, in *Die Sprache*, 1 (Wien 1949), p. 130 ff.

The word is further used in connection with the dominion or authority wielded by individual gods in their own province or department. Thus Soma is 9, 74, 3 said to reign over rain (*īśe yo vṛṣṭer itaḥ*): "Soma ist der Regenmacher im doppelten Sinn: er bringt den Regen des Himmels und er fliesst wie der Regen von der Seihe ab".[103] The god Savitar, the stimulator who represents the light of heaven in its dynamic and energetic aspects,[104] is lord of the *prasava-*, i.e. he wields the power which is typically his own, "the impulse" or "stimulation"; in the same stanza 5, 81, 5 he is said to rule the whole world. Agni is 8, 44, 18 as the lord of sunlight stated to have power over "the desirable gift or share": *īśiṣe vāryasya hi dātrasyāgne svarpatiḥ*.

When ṚV. 7, 101, 2 Parjanya, the god of rain is stated to have power over the whole animate world (*yo viśvasya jagato deva īśe*) the god does not override the authority of his colleagues because indeed the whole jagat is dependent on rainfall. Yet the phrase itself foreshadows the Jagadīśvara of the epics and other bodies of Hinduist literature: Mbh. 1, 3, 149 (157 cr. ed.) *namo 'stu tasmai jagadīśvarāya ... puraṃdarāya*, where the compound denotes Indra; Rām. 3, 53, 60 where it is an epithet of Śiva. Addressing all the gods the poet of ṚV. 10, 63, 8 describes them as the lords of the universe: *ya īśire bhuvanasya pracetaso viśvasya sthātur jagataś ca mantavaḥ* "who, attentive, have power over the whole world, taking care of all that is movable and immovable" the gods do not usurp any function which is not theirs, because collectively they, indeed, hold sway over the whole world. In later times *bhuvaneśvara-* "lord of the world" is however an epithet of the great gods, e.g. of Śiva Mbh. 14, 8, 27.

It is therefore not surprising to read (ṚV. 7, 37, 7) that the goddess of death and destruction has power everywhere: *abhi yaṃ devī nirṛtiś cid īśe*. This grammatically and phenomenally absolute use of the verb (for 1, 170, 5 see above) may be regarded as one of the roots from which the prominent post-Vedic meaning of *īśvara-* has sprung. For Nirṛti see also 10, 36, 2, and for an absolute use of the verb 5, 87, 3 *na yeṣām irī sadhastha īṣṭe*.

The contextual uses of the forms of the verb *īś-* in the Atharvavedasaṃhitā are not devoid of interest. In 2, 28, 3 the person addressed is said to be lord or master over earthly cattle (*tvam īśiṣe paśūnām*); in 2, 34, 1 it is the lord of cattle (*paśupatiḥ*) who fulfils this function; in 11, 4, 23 and 24 breath (*prāṇa-*) is said to be "lord of this that has every kind of birth".

[103] Geldner, *Der Rig-veda übersetzt*, III, p. 69.
[104] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 94 f.

The verb is also translatable by "to be master of": 4, 11, 5 *yasya neśe yajñapatiḥ* "of whom (the draught-ox) the lord of worship is not master". It may alternate with *vaśin-* "who has authority, rules": 6, 86, 2, where the ocean is master (*īśe*) of the stream, the moon of the asterisms. The verb is quite naturally also used in connection with a non-specific and more general rulership and it is these contexts which may be considered to contain the germ of the important semantic development. Thus it reads in ṚV. 10, 121, 3 which corresponds to AV. 4, 2, 1 *yaḥ prāṇato nimiṣato mahitvaika id rājā jagato babhūva / ya īśe asya dvipadaś catuṣpadaḥ* ... "(the great unknown god), he who by his greatness became sole king of the breathing, winking, movable, (living, animal) creation, who is lord of these bipeds and quadrupeds ...". This "Schöpfungslied" which brings the unknown "Urgott" who is the creator of the universe to the fore – according to the final stanza which may be a later addition this great god is Prajāpati – considers him, though avoiding, or ignorant of, the term (*jagad*)-*īśvara-*, the sole lord of the whole animate creation. Yet this great unknown deity was certainly not the first to be characterized by so universal a dominion. We find the prelude in hymns addressed to Indra, who, while in ṚV. 10, 89, 10 said to be the lord of heaven and earth, of waters and mountains, of the great and the wise, and 8, 68, 7 called the ruler of the races of men (*yaḥ ... īśe kṛṣṭīnām*), is in 2, 13, 6 addressed as the sole lord of all that exists (*viśvasyaika īśiṣe*): the well-known henotheistic extension of influence and competences attributed to important and much revered gods. As already observed the word *eka-* "sole" occurs also 8, 14, 1 where Indra is said to dispose of wealth, i.e. to be its sole disposer. The words ṚV. 1, 170, 5 *tvam īśiṣe vasupate vasūnām* may, as already observed, point in the same direction. The above phrase "master of bipeds and quadrupeds" occurs, moreover, also AV. 6, 28, 3 in connection with Yama, the lord of the deceased, 8, 2, 23 in connection with Death (*mṛtyu-*) and 13, 3, 24 in a hymn addressed to the Sun. Whereas the universal dominion of these deities can be easily derived from their particular functions, the statements that Bhava – i.e. Rudra in a special aspect – is master of heaven and earth (11, 2, 27 *bhavo divo bhava īśe pṛthivyāḥ*) and that Bhava and Śarva – another manifestation of the same divinity[105] – are masters of bipeds and quadrupeds (4, 28, 1 etc.) may perhaps point to a certain expansion of the influence and dominion of that god who seems to have represented "die als göttlich erfahrene Macht der

[105] Bhava and Śarva are sons, "Teilwesenheiten oder Doppelgänger, d.h. Vertreter derselben oder einer analogen Macht" (*Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 85) of this god. See also E. Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1922), passim.

unkultivierten und daher ungebändigten, eigenwilligen, unberechenbaren, gefährlichen und gefürchteten Natur".[106]

The brahmaṇas show us the verb *īś-* with a caseform signifying the object or 'department' ruled by a god: ŚB. 1, 7, 3, 1 *yo 'yaṃ devaḥ paśūn īṣṭe*; similarly 1, 7, 4, 3 and elsewhere (Rudra); 1, 8, 3, 12 Vāyu is said to rule over rain; 9, 1, 2, 16 (Agni over "the making of cows"); 13, 3, 8, 2 (Pūṣan over cattle); 2, 3, 4, 8 (Prajāpati). Tvaṣṭṛ who fashioned the couples of animals (ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 7) is said to rule over living forms (5, 4, 5, 8); also TB. 1, 4, 7, 1 *tvaṣṭā vai rūpāṇām īśe*; *ya eva rūpāṇām īśe so 'smin paśūn vīryaṃ yacchati*. Savitar, the god of instigations, is AiB. 1, 16, 4 and 30, 3 said to control or govern them: *savitā vai prasavānām īśe*. In ŚB. 2, 4, 1, 4 and 5 Agni being implored to protect (*pā-*) offspring and cattle is said to "bear sway" (*īś-*) over them; I would not prefer Eggeling's translation: "... is the guardian of". It is an essential function of lordship to protect own's subjects.[107] In later times the Īśvara is often implored for help, protection etc.; see e.g. BhagG. 11, 25; 42; 44; 45. The Fathers are the lords (or tutelary deities: *īśate*) of houses (2, 4, 2, 24). Agni and Viṣṇu being the *dīkṣāpālau* "guardians of consecration" are stated to rule over it (AiB. 1, 4). The verb is however also used in connection with gods who 'preside over' a ceremony (ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 5). The goddess Ambikā *bhagasya īṣṭe* (ŚB. 2, 6, 2, 13) "is the dispenser of happiness" (Eggeling). That ruling means, or may mean, granting appears also from ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 3 where Yama, who "rules over the settling on this earth" grants a settlement on this earth (see 13, 8, 2, 4). Cf. also 2, 4, 2, 24; 13, 8, 4, 8. Special mention may be made of TĀ. 3, 11, 6 *indro rājā jagato ya īśe* (*svāmī bhavati*, comm.): Indra qualified as a (or the) king is said to bear sway over the world;[108] of ṚVKh. 1, 50, 2; TB. 3, 7, 6, 22 addressing the sun: *udyann adya vi no bhaja pitā putrebhyo yathā dīrghāyutvasya heśiṣe tasya no dehi sūrya*; of SāmaMB. 1, 8, 6 *gopoṣaṇam asi gopoṣasyeśiṣe* (*īśvaro 'si*, comm.) *gopoṣaṇāya tvā* (sc. *gṛhītavān*): the power who manifests in the increase of cowherds presides over it and is worshipped in order to obtain it; compare 2, 4, 13 where the Īśāna (Maheśvara, comm.) is implored to grant *īśān* (*aiśavibhūtīḥ* "manifestations of supreme power", comm.); of JaimB. 3, 94 "the one who drives a chariot is lord of it (*ratha-syeśe*)" implying that guiding, driving, directing etc. are a form of lord-

[106] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 89.
[107] See "Ancient Indian kingship from the religious point of view", in *Numen* 3 (Leiden, 1956), p. 37 ff.
[108] For AitareyaĀraṇyaka, 2,1,2 see A. B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (Oxford, 1909), p. 202 f.

ship. Passing mention may also be made of JUB. 1, 15, 3 where the sense is "to be competent" (+ a subordinate *yat* clause); of 2, 3, 1, 3 *kiyato ... īśe* "how great is his power?"; of JaimB. 3, 203: the one who is lord of something is able to show it to others. In ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 3; 4, 3, 15 a king is subject of this verb; 5, 1, 5, 14 "a prince while being one, bears sway over many": *ekaḥ san bahūnām iṣṭe*. The verb may also express the sense of "to lord it over": ŚB. 1, 7, 1, 7; 2, 3, 4, 37. Cf. also JUB. 3, 2, 5, 4; 6; 8. TĀ. 10, 1, 2 *na tasyeśe kaścana tasya nāma mahad yaśaḥ*; it may be observed that these words applying (MahānU. 20) to Prajāpati form part of a series of statements describing him as the transcendent and immanent Unique Principle.[109] That is to say: he himself is the Īśvara. It is interesting to remark that *anīśvara-* is according to commentators (e.g. Medhātithi, on Manu 6, 72) "depending upon another".

Let us now turn to the upaniṣads. The golden puruṣa seen in the sun, which in 3, 19, 1 is expressly identified with brahman, is in ChU. 1, 6, 8 said to rule (*īṣṭe*) the worlds which are beyond the sun and the desires of the gods and the being which with reference to the human body is seen in the eye is according to 1, 7, 6 the one who rules (*īṣṭe*) the worlds on this side of the sun and the desires of men. "Manche Stelle, die von der Verehrung (der Sonne) handelt, läszt einen fast theistischen Klang vernehmen".[110] The sun is also ŚB. 6, 1, 3, 17 said "to bear sway over this all" (*asya sarvasyeṣṭe*) and hence to be called Īśāna "the Lord".[111] It may be remembered that another figure which tended to assume a 'monotheistic' position, Indra, is – without being called an Īśvara, it is true – the object of speculations in BĀU. 4, 2; TaittU. 1, 4, 1.

In some of the upaniṣads which to all appearance date back to an earlier period than the Bhagavadgītā the verb *īś-* is significantly used to express the supreme ruling of a Lord who is characterized as the One, the Supreme Being emanating and withdrawing the world, the goal of "meditation", the ultimate cause of bondage and liberation: Śvet. 1, 10 *amṛtākṣaraṃ haraḥ kṣarātmānāv īśāte deva ekaḥ* "Hara (Śiva, the Lord) is immortal and imperishable; over both the perishable and the soul the one God rules"; the text continues "by directing one's inward eye-heart-and-mind

[109] "personnification mythologique du mystérieux principe de toutes choses que l'Upaniṣad évoque en utilisant le pronom neutre *tad* ("cela", "ce mystère") ou en le désignant comme brahman" (J. Varenne, *La MahāNārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, II, Paris, 1960, p. 33).
[110] D. Lauenstein, *Das Erwachen der Gottesmystik in Indien* (München, 1943), p. 47. For the tendency to monotheism on the basis of a sun religion see e.g. also Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 369.
[111] For the high religious importance of the sun see e.g. ṚV. 1,50; BĀU. 5,15; KauṣU. 2,7.

to Him (*tasyābhidhyānād*) so as to come into contact with Him ...[112] there is complete cessation from all the phenomenal existence". There is no denying that here one of the most salient features in the character of the post-Vedic Īśvara is indicated with all distinctness desirable. Knowing Him, his nature and his functions leads to 'immortality': Śvet. 3, 1 *yo eko jālavān īśata īśanībhiḥ sarvān lokān īśata īśanībhiḥ / ya evaika udbhave sambhave ca ya etad vidur amṛtās te bhavanti*; 2 *eko hi rudro ... ya imān lokān īśata īśanībhiḥ / pratyaṅ janān tiṣṭhati saṃcukocāntakāle saṃsṛjya viśvā bhuvanāni goptā*: the Lord is one, he rules all these worlds which he emanates and withdraws, being a protector who turns towards creatures. He who controls (*īśate*) knowledge (*vidyā*, i.e. knowledge of the One) and ignorance (of the One) is distinct from both *vidyā* which is 'immortal' and *avidyā* which is perishable; both *vidyā* and *avidyā* are placed hidden in the imperishable, infinite, supreme that is Brahman[113] (ibid. 5, 1): it seems clear that here Brahman, the highest principle, though conceived as impersonal is said to rule knowledge and ignorance. In 4, 13 the overlord of the gods (*devānām adhipaḥ*) is said to be the lord of two-footed and four-footed beings here: it is clear that *ya īśe* + gen. is only a verbal expression for the nominal equivalent of the above translation. In 6, 17 the noun *īśa-* and the verb *īś-* are used in the same context: "... the immortal, who appears as the Lord (*īśasaṃsthaḥ*[114]), the knower, the omnipresent, the guardian of this world" is said to rule this world for ever; in st. 16 the Supreme is described as the maker and the knower of all, self-caused, the cause of the liberation (*mokṣa-*) from worldly existence (*saṃsāra-*), of the bondage consisting in the continued sojourn (in the world).

It has been observed[115] that in Hinduism the Supreme Being – which is on quite a different plane from the devas – is no longer above the world of myth, as in the Veda. Whether he is known as Śiva or as Viṣṇu – which may also mean Rāma or Kṛṣṇa – he now plays a part in mythology, though on an exalted level. "This may perhaps suggest that we are approaching a conception of God rather than gods; and when we find that from the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad onwards the Īśvara or Bhagavat is spoken

[112] "The way by which the soul is awakened to the divine core of his being is abhidhyāna, an intense contemplation of the Saviour God" (Radhakrishnan, *o.c.*, p. 715).
[113] Thus the traditional text *brahmapare*; for the reading *brahmapure* see O. v. Böhtlingk, *Ber. kön. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 49 (1897), p. 131 ff.; R. Hauschild, *Die Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 28; *brahmapure* also A. Silburn, *o.c.*, p. 68.
[114] This expression has been variously translated: "existing as the lord" (e.g. R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads*, Oxford, 1934, p. 410), "ruht im Herrn" (Hauschild, *o.c.*, p. 37); "ayant son achèvement en le Seigneur" (Silburn, *o.c.*, p. 74).
[115] L. Renou, *Religions of Ancient India* (London, 1953), p. 68.

of as a being demonstrably beyond all contingency and variation, this impression is strengthened". The obvious paradox, God and at the same time an exalted mythological figure – the conceptions of God varying from the sublime to the sensuous, from the most lofty to the most ludicrous[116] –, finds its explanation in the fact that the Supreme Being, who, to speak with Śaṅkara, may be conceived of as with or without qualities, may manifest in different forms, and that on the other hand the personifying and myth forming power of popular imagination could not refrain from investing even abstractions with figurative anthropomorphism. Yet here also it is worth while to consider the correctness of the implication that the distinction between the hypothesis of a Supreme Being who is above myth and God who plays a part in mythology coincides with the distinction between 'Vedism' and 'Hinduism'. It may rather be contended that the Īśvara idea developed slowly and gradually in those circles which though polytheist in belief and mental attitude tended to what has conveniently been called henotheism and may perhaps be more exactly described as monolatry. Several gods, Indra, Agni, the Sun, were occasionally and in mythological contexts given the epithet *īśāna-* and the in many respects exalted figure of Prajāpati who in ṚV. 10, 121 and elsewhere is clearly the Supreme God, the creator, who has existed alone in the beginning (ŚB. 2, 2, 4, 1) and in whose place the upaniṣads put the impersonal brahman, is the principal character of a myth which tells of his being enamoured of his own daughter Uṣas (Dawn).[117] While those circles which tended to analytical distinctions of aspects and partial manifestations of divine power succeeded in imparting to the participle *īśāna-* the character of a proper name, applying it to a manifestation of Rudra-Śiva, the Īśvara idea rose, for the time being, to a culminating point of abstraction in the ŚvetāśvataraUpaniṣad.[118] This important work, marking an advance in thought, made an important attempt at harmonizing in a great synthesis, but not without imagery, popular belief (e.g. 3, 13), reminiscences of older texts, rites and mythical thought, the main themes and theories connected with the divine essence underlying the phenomenal world: ātman, brahman, puruṣa, Prajāpati.[119] Teaching a personal god, creator, judge and preserver of the universe it attributed to him, not only such 'mythological' names borrowed from

[116] T. M. P. Mahadevan, *The philosophy of Advaita* (London, 1938), p. 189.
[117] AiB. 3,33; ŚB. 1,7,4; PB. 8,2,10. See also *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas* (Paris, 1898), p. 20 f.
[118] Kumarappa, *o.c.*, p. 46.
[119] See e.g. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I (London, 1927 (1948)), p. 510 ff.; A. Silburn, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1948), p. 7 ff.

popular worship as Hara, Rudra, Śiva (1, 10; 3, 2; 4; 4, 12) and attributes such as the mountaineer's arrow (3, 6), but also designations like *deva-* (4, 16; 6, 11), *viśvādhipa-* "lord of all" (4, 15), *īśa-* (3, 7[120]), *maheśvara-* (4, 10).

Thus the Īśvara idea, however exalted and apt to assume the character of a sublime abstraction, was not free from ambiguity, because it kept combining with the traditional and popular deva conception: cf. e.g. ŚvetU. 4, 11 *tam īśānaṃ varadaṃ devam īḍyam* "the Lord, the bestower of blessing, the adorable god", and similarly in the Īśvaragītā which may have been composed in one of the last centuries of the first millennium after Christ,[121] 4, 7 *dhyāyanti yogino devaṃ bhūtādhipatim īśvaram*.[122] Identifying himself with some great, but as to their essence and origin mythological gods (Viṣṇu, Śiva), the Supreme Being is Mbh. 13, 149, 29 B. called "the first son of the world" (*jagadādija-*) and is 9, 33, 14 cr. ed. said to revere together with Indra Brahmā as the lord (*īśa-*) of the gods (*deva-*). Passages describing, or images representing, the Highest Person (*puruṣottama-*) as wearing the attributes of a mythological god remain extremely frequent.

The idea of an omnific, omnipresent, eternal, supreme God,[123] who is "the wielder of māyā" (ŚvetU. 4, 10), the Lord of all and above all gods (*devās*) and at the same time is all-embracing totality, always free (*sadaiva muktaḥ*) and always the Lord (*sadaiva īśvaraḥ*), who on the other hand is the sustainer of the moral order, the Antaryāmin or "Inner-controller" and the object of worship, the God of religion,[124] that is, the God who is understood by those who are religiously conscious, this idea is indeed characteristic of Hinduism. To Īśvara, the "dynamic divine", is assigned not merely the functions of 'creation', sustenance, 'destruction' and other cosmic functions, but also that of revealing the Truth, of revealing (as a mediator) the Absolute which cannot declare itself as such.[125] The High God does not only occupy minds and hearts of the educated, also in popular Hinduism there is a rather widespread belief in one supreme God, called Bhagavān, Īśvara or Parameśvara.[126]

[120] See above.
[121] P. E. Dumont, *L'Īśvaragītā* (Baltimore-Paris, 1933), p. 6.
[122] Cf. also ibid. 1,2 *īśvareśvaro devaḥ*.
[123] Cf. e.g. Ch. Sharma, *A critical survey of Indian philosophy* (London, 1960), p. 280; M. Hiriyanna, *The essentials of Indian philosophy* (London, [3]1956), passim.
[124] See e.g. also M. Sircar, *Hindu mysticism* (London, 1934); Jos. Abs, *Indiens Religion, der Sanātana-Dharma* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1923), p. 31; 164.
[125] For a comparison between the Vedānta conception of Īśvara and Buddha T. V. R. Murti, *The central philosophy of Buddhism* (London, 1955), p. 287 ff.
[126] L. S. S. O'Malley, *Popular Hinduism* (Cambridge, 1925), p. 20.

Whereas the older upaniṣads spoke of the Lord to show His great majesty, power and glory as the upholder and controller of all, the Bhagavadgītā, welding various elements of upaniṣadic doctrines together in the conception of a super-personal God, assumes the mystic consciousness of an intimate personal relation with Him, not only as the majestic Super-person, but also as a friend and teacher with whom one could associate oneself for acquiring the light of wisdom. In the confessions based on the Gītā the Īśvara is "the dearest of the dear and the nearest of the near".[127] However, in the upaniṣads and the Gītā the relationship between brahman and Īśvara is anything but clear, but in the non-dualistic Vedānta it is, by the efforts of many generations of thinkers, made perfectly plain, as it was already clear to the author of the MāṇḍukyaUpaniṣad, that the Lord is only the first emanation from the Absolute brahman, or that the Absolute of mystical consciousness, the brahman which is the integral Totality (*sarvam*, MāṇḍU. 2) is the god of religion, the *sarveśvaraḥ* (6), the beginning and the end of beings.

For the philosophers Īśvara – a non-sectarian designation chosen to obviate sectarian quarrels[128] over the name of the Supreme Deity – is the Absolute in reference to the creative order, and this reference makes him distinct from the Absolute, since he always implies a reference to the totality, or, in other words, Īśvara is brahman, the ultimate reality, seen "through the veil, or under the limitations, of māyā".[129] According to Rāmānuja, for instance, the Īśvara is both the efficient and the material cause of the universe, both conscious souls – which are His "modes" (*prakāra-*) – and unconscious matter qualifying Him, the process of evolution and dissolution taking place in matter supervised by Him. That is to say, the changes take place in the Lord as *prakāra-*, whereas God as *prakārin-* remains changeless.[130]

For the Yogin God the Person, Īśvara, represents the actual culmination which man's personality has to attain. It is the pattern of the perfect fruition of individuality, of self-existent wholeness. Until a man is well on the way to realization, the concept of a Personal God should not be displaced, and cannot be displaced without peril,[131] because he is "a

[127] S. N. Dasgupta, *Indian idealism* (Cambridge, 1933), p. 60 f.; O. Strauss, *Indische Philosophie* (München, 1925), p. 123 etc.

[128] Which cannot be discussed here. See e.g. P.N. Srinivasachari, *The philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita* (Adyar, 1946), passim. See also n. 150.

[129] See e.g. also T. M. P. Mahadevan, *The philosophy of Advaita* (London, 1938), p. 179; V. P. Upadhyaya, *Lights on Vedānta* (Varanasi (Benares), 1959), p. 113 ff.

[130] See e.g. K. D. Bharadwaj, *The philosophy of Rāmānuja* (New Delhi, 1958), p. 41.

[131] P. D. Mehta, *Early Indian religious thought* (London, 1956), p. 384.

bigger and better puruṣa who helps on other puruṣas to liberation".[132] In Patañjali's Yoga system the "Lord" assumes the character of the powerful one who can grant liberation to whomsoever he will. "God in the classical Yoga is nothing more than a *deus ex machina* invented for the purpose of explaining how the individual puruṣas ever became involved in prakṛti".[133] Although "doubtless borrowed from one of the current theistic systems" and although his pre-excellence and omnipotence are admitted, the Īśvara is introduced for no other purpose than to help the soul towards isolation. For the modern Ārya Samāj (1875) "Īśvara is existent, intelligent, and blissful (Vedānta); formless, omnipotent, just, merciful, unborn, endless, unchangeable, beginningless, unequalled, the support of all, the master of all, omnipresent, immanent, unaging, immortal, fearless, eternal and holy, and the maker of all".[134]

Yet, it must be remembered that the idea of an omnipotent Īśvara who is the ruler of the world was also denied. With the Jainas, the Buddhists and the Mīmāṃsā school of thought this denial is mainly due to the conviction that all an Īśvara could do is really determined by karma, the after-effects of the actions of living beings which excite the force inherent in unconscious matter and operating with physical necessity.[135] It was the Sāṃkhya school which produced a systematic philosophy to do away with the hypothesis of an Īśvara as the ruler of the universe.

It should finally be emphasized that concepts like the one under discussion do not cease growing and developing. When Vedism had definitively given way to Hinduism the Īśvara idea did not become a static and invariable element of religious life and philosophical thought. But also before the 'times of the Bhagavadgītā' it had in religious and *weltanschauliches* thought a history. There is, as far as I am able to see, no room for the contention that the concept was, so to say in a prefabricated form, transferred, in the period of the Gītā or of Manu, from another province of Culture.[136]

In order to enable the reader to form an idea, however superficial, of

[132] R. C. Zaehner, *Mysticism, sacred and profane* (Oxford, 1957), p. 127. See Patañjali, *Yogasūtras*, 1,23 ff.

[133] Zaehner, *l.c.*

[134] For another modern discussion of the brahman and īśvara concepts see also Shri Aurobindo, The life divine, II, ch. 2, Calcutta 1940 = La vie divine (II), ch. 30, Paris 1956.

[135] For details see e.g. S. N. Dasgupta, *Yoga philosophy in relation to other systems of Indian thought* (Calcutta, 1930) p. 237 ff.

[136] I cannot agree with Shastri, *o.c.*, p. 494 in regarding the political sense of *īśvara-* (e.g. Manu 4,153; 9,278) as older.

some main points in which the above Īśvara conception as developing in Vedic times and the ideas entertained by many peoples with regard to a high god[137] – a comparison which is not on all fours! – are similar or different, some quotations and brief observations may, by way of addendum, be subjoined here.

"Die charakteristischen Merkmale des höchsten Wesens bei den verschiedenen Völkern in Amerika, Afrika, Australien und im südöstlichen Asien, wo es bisher nachgewiesen ist, bestehen in seiner Uranfänglichkeit und Weltenferne, so dasz er sich fast gar nicht um die Menschen kümmert. Er genieszt ganz im Gegensatz zu den übrigen Göttern fast gar keinen Kult, wird selten direkt angerufen und nur in Erzählungen und Gesängen, öfters mit Verehrung für seine Reinheit, Gerechtigkeit und Grösze und mit Dankbarkeit für seine Güte genannt. Die Welt- und meistens auch die Menschenschöpfung wird auf den höchsten Gott zurückgeführt, aber ohne dasz man einen Mythus erzählt, wie es dabei zugegangen ist. Sehr häufig hat er den Menschen den Kult verliehen ... und es gehen die Sitten – und dazu gehören auch öfters hohe ethische Gebote – auf ihn zurück. Bei manchen Stämmen wird ihm der Tod des Menschen zugeschrieben .... Ein Wohnsitz wird ihm oft nicht zugewiesen .... Vielfach wohnt er aber im Himmel ...".[138] What is of special importance is that in the Supreme Being the conceptions of the whole or totality and of universal order and harmony prevail over the notion of, and interest in, particular phenomena, provinces of nature, and aspects of mundane life which are the domains and spheres of action of the gods. Whereas the latter are the object of a cult which is indispensable to maintain life and well-being, the institution of rites and customs, the establishment of religion and social life by the ancestors or the 'first man' is often believed to have been inspired by a Highest Being, conceived as the embodiment of universal order, as the synthesis of all power and the harmony of the whole.[139] "Ihm wird zugeschrieben, dasz er den Menschen den Kult und die magischen oder übernatürlichen Fähigkeiten gegeben habe, wodurch sie in den Stand gesetzt werden, die vielen einzelnen Mächte, die in der Welt vorhanden sind, zu ihrem Besten zu lenken".[140] "(Er) verlangt auch, dasz die Menschen (diesen Kult) einhalten und ihre Verpflichtungen gegenüber den niederen Göttern erfüllen".[141] "Es ist ganz falsch, dagegen einzuwenden, dasz der Mensch sich erst dann einen höchsten Gott vorzustellen vermochte, nachdem er die Macht eines groszen Häuptlings in seiner eigenen sozialen Gemeinschaft kennen gelernt hatte. Die Persönlichkeit eines solchen höchsten Wesens wird nämlich gar nicht in menschlichem Sinne vorgestellt".[142] "(Er) ist ein selbständiges Gebilde und kann daher höchstens mit der Idee des ersten Menschen zusammenfallen.[143] Die höchste Gottheit steht in ihrer unbestimmten Persönlichkeit dem Machtbegriff nicht sehr fern, den wir in verschiedenen Abarten als Zusammenfassung der einzelnen auszerordentlichen und übernatürlichen Mächte in den Ausdrücken Mana der Polynesier und Melanesier, dem Orenda der Irokesen... gelernt haben.[144] Für einen bloszen Urheber der Welt und der Menschen, für einen Schöpfer, hätte man sich viel leichter ein fest umrissenes persönliches Wesen vorgestellt .... Erst durch das naheliegende Hinzukommen der Frage nach der Schöpfung wurde daher wahrscheinlich die Persönlichkeit fester umrissen,[145] .... Der Gott beruht auf keinem logischen Nachdenken und Grübeln ..., sondern entspringt der mystischen Erleuchtung, dasz die ... magischen Masznahmen gegenüber den übernatürlichen[146] Mächten ebenso wirksam seien, wie diese tatsächlich existieren". "Die Annäherung der höchsten Götter an den Kult hat eine zweifache Bedeutung. Sie büszen einerseits an ihrer unbeschränkten Macht ein, da sie selbst ein besonderes Glied des Weltgeschehens werden .... Es ist dabei gar nicht nötig, an eine Entwicklung vom weltenfernen unbestimmten höchsten Wesen zu dieser beschränkteren Auffassung ... zu denken".[147] That is to say, creative faith may have long combined the hypothesis of a principle of synthetical universal order with a particular idea of divinity or divine power of the deva variety. "Man musz sich dabei gegenwärtig halten, dasz ein solcher Gott, obwohl er für die ganze Welt und für alle Menschen tätig ist, doch dem betreffenden Stamme als sein besonderer Gott erscheint, der sie in erster Linie begünstigt und bei der Weltschöpfung gewissermaszen in den Mittelpunkt der Welt gestellt hat .... Das Wichtigste an allen solchen 'Naturgöttern' ist ..., ob sie ... mehr oder weniger verantwortlich für alles Geschehen sind .... Höhere Göttergestalten der Art, denen allen eine Fürsorge fürs Ganze trotz ihrer schil-

137 See e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), ch. XVIII and XX, 3; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 456 ff.
138 Preuss, *o.c.* p. 40.
139 Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 41 f.; 44 f.
140 Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 43.

141 Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 47.
142 Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 43.
143 Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 46 f. Compare ŚB. 6,6,1,19 "Manu, indeed, is Prajāpati".
144 Compare however my *Notes on Brahman* (Utrecht, 1950).
145 Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 45.
146 I would avoid these terms.
147 Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 50.

lernden Verbindung mit ... Naturdingen zugeschrieben ... wird, können daher mit gleicher Inbrunst als einzige, höchste Gottheit verehrt werden, als ob sie wirklich im Moment als einzig empfunden werden".[148]

In reading the above characterization we remember that the reality of God, as taught for instance by the author of the ŚvetāśvataraUpaniṣad, cannot be proved by logic and reasoning but should be realized by faith and 'Versenkung' (ŚvetU. 1, 2; 6, 13). God, the master of nature and soul, the lord of lords, the cause of bondage and release, the self-born and the eternal one among all that exists, is invisible and is seated in the hearts of men (4, 20; 6, 7; 13; 16). This God or highest reality is given names such as Hara, Rudra, Śiva (1, 10; 3, 4 and 7; 4, 12), as well as the attributes of the impersonal brahman, the basic 'power' and most fundamental 'concept', of the reality of which the author is fully aware and which he beliefs to exist, free from change and imperturbable, above the changing world (5, 13; 6, 5). And although this upaniṣad repeatedly mentions Prajāpati "the Lord of creatures" – who is also Death, the one God above all the gods, who as "the thirty-fourth" transcends and encompasses the thirty-three of them, who representing Totality is the highest categories such as the year or time and sacrifice or ritual, these worlds and the immortal one, who is the defined and the undefined and the inspirer of religion, and the one who presents a firm foundation, whose 'dismemberment' means the creation of the universe,[149] and whose counterpart is the ritual – it borrows the ancient principle which, while being co-extensive with the universe in its entirety, penetrates it completely, from the Ṛgvedic puruṣa idea (3, 12ff.), i.e. the idea of the cosmic man who is all this world, what has been and shall be (ṚV. 10, 90, 2). The transference of the qualities and attributes of the impersonal Supreme to the god whom the author proclaims his chosen Lord or Īśvara leads him to the ambiguous conception of the personal Lord as the 'composite brahman' (1, 7ff.), which meeting the demands of the religious needs of the masses, might be conceived as good and kind (3, 5), as the friend and refuge of all (3, 17) and the giver of all objects desired (4, 11). What were the implications and connotations which the term *īśvara-* had in the course of centuries preceding the ŚvetāśvataraUpaniṣad come to convey may appear from the above pages. They contributed much to lend to the figure of Rudra-Śiva, the heir of Prajāpati, Puruṣa and Brahman conceptions – and as such the One who emanates and withdraws the worlds (SvetU. 3, 2) – the character of a real Lord who far from being an abstraction made a strong

[148] Preuss, *o.c.*, p. 51.
[149] For references see e.g. Eggeling, *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, V, p. 556 ff.

appeal to the feelings and imagination of his devotees: he is vested with absolute superiority and sovereignty – especially over the living beings – and with the power of protecting and of granting requests and felicity; he is believed to be capable of doing and averting harm and evil, to be able to penetrate into all parts of the universe, which he is also said to support, to create or produce anything; he is closely associated with the idea of 'immortality'; the gods derive their existence from him and he is identical with the individual soul, of which he is the lord, and he comes to be considered the goal of those who seek final emancipation: one becomes freed from sorrow when one succeeds in seeing Him.[150]

[150] Additional note (cf. n. 128). See also G. Chemparathy, *Aufkommen und Entwicklung der Lehre von einem Höchsten Wesen in Nyāya und Vaiśeṣika*, Thesis (Vienna, 1963); G. Oberhammer, "Das Problem des Gottesbeweises in der indischen Philosophie", *Numen* (Leiden, 1965), p. 1 ff.

VI. MĀYĀ

Another term of outstanding importance is *māyā-*, the so-called 'power of illusion' which in philosophical thought is regarded as the source of the visible universe, as the principle which would have us believe this world to be real, whereas the only reality is the eternal and imperishable brahman, the power which conceals the real and projects the unreal.[1] In perusing the translations and explanations proposed to give the modern western student an idea of the meaning of this very difficult term it strikes us that not rarely a distinction is made between Vedic and post-Vedic or younger usage. Thus the authors of the Petrograd dictionary[2] translate it by "Kunst, ausserordentliches Vermögen, Wunderkraft (diese Bedeutungen nur in der älteren Sprache); Kunstgriff, List, Anschlag, Trug, Gaukelei; ein künstliches Gebilde, Trugbild, Blendwerk, Täuschung"; they were followed by Monier-Williams:[3] "art, wisdom, extraordinary or supernatural power (only in the earlier language); illusion, unreality, deception, fraud, trick, sorcery, witchcraft, magic; illusory image ...; (in philosophy) 'Illusion', regarded as the source of the visible world".

However, other authors who were convinced of the unity of the Indian culture and the homogeneousness of its tradition denied any difference between earlier and later meanings of the term. "Auch bei dem Wort *māyā* musz die Mauer, welche künstlich zwischen Veda und späterem Sanskrit errichtet worden ist, niedergerissen werden .... Auch māyā bedeutet im ältesten Veda nie etwas anderes als später, es ist jede Art von

[1] For a full discussion of the relevant details, bibliography etc. see "The original sense and the etymology of Skt. *māyā*" in my *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 119-194, and "Māyā", in *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie*, 14 (Louvain, 1952), p. 3-62 (in Dutch, with a summary in English). Cf. also F. Edgerton, in Language 36 (1960), p. 122; M. Mayrhofer, in Orient. Lit. Zeit. 1961, 524 ff. I could not consult T. Elizarenkova, "O značenii vediskogo māyā", *Kratkie soobščenija Inst. narodov Azii* 57 (1961), p. 31 ff.

[2] O. Böhtlingk and H. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, V (Petrograd, 1868), 732.

[3] M. Monier-Williams, *Dictionary*, s.v.

Täuschung".[4] (Such often repeated translations as "power of illusion", "Zaubermacht", "occult power" etc. have no doubt contributed much to the widespread assumption that *māyā* originally was something like "unreality, trick, illusion"[5]).

It is however as incorrect to over-emphasize the points at which the culture of the classical period of Hinduism and that of the 'Veda' resemble each other and to ascribe, without sound reasons, features characteristic of the former to Vedism as to lay undue stress on those points on which both phases of Indian culture differ. It is equally wrong to base an explication of the 'original'[6] meaning on an aprioristically adopted etymology as to follow for instance Deussen[7] who, while discarding the early occurrences of the term which superficially do not (or do not completely) suit the meaning conveyed or believed to be conveyed by those of later documents, views both earlier and later passages in the same light, 'hineininterpretierend', after the example of the 'orthodox' Vedāntins, the fully developed theories about the rôle of māyā of the heyday of Vedānta philosophy into the early upaniṣads. (Statements such as e.g. "*māyā* denotes in the first place the power of a god or demon to produce illusory effects, to change form, and to appear under deceiving marks"[8] have likewise established a false impression of what the term māyā, in the Veda as well as in later philosophical thought, really stood for). The word *māyā-* is, moreover, an example of a religious term which has not disappeared after the Vedic period or has arisen in the 'Hinduist' phase of the Indian culture; nor has it "so changed in meaning that it is hardly recognizable"[9].

In the following pages an attempt will be made to show, on the one hand that both views pronounced by many of our predecessors, viz. that according to which Vedism and Hinduism attached different values to the term *māyā-*, and the 'Vedāntist theory' according to which the sense of "deceptive appearance, unreality, illusion, magic" is also to be attributed

[4] K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I (Stuttgart, 1889), p. 143.

[5] Cf. e.g. A. Bertholet, *Wörterbuch der Religionen* (Stuttgart, 1952), p. 302: "Zauberkraft, Zauberstücke, Blendwerke, Illusion".

[6] It may be observed that 'original' in discussions like the above is a technical term of linguistics for "earliest known, knowable or inferable; relating to the often more or less hypothetical basis or starting-point of our etymological and (or) semantic deductions or argumentations".

[7] P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, 1 (Leipzig, [4]1920), p. 63; 2, p. 40 etc.; 204 ff.

[8] J. Campbell, in H. Zimmer, *Philosophers of India* (New York, 1951), p. 19, n. 11.

[9] That is to say, it is an exception to Renou's rule, that with Hinduism "a new terminology comes into being" (L. Renou, *Religions of ancient India*, London, 1953, p. 47).

to the relevant passages of the earlier Indian literature,[10] are equally inadequate, and on the other hand, that this term while expressing fundamentally the same sense from the earliest texts to the later periods of Hinduism was in the course of time applied in different connections, used in various religious, philosophical and profane contexts, attributed to different owners, bearers or wielders, that its sense and range of application was deepened, extended and specialized and that it was one of those terms of outstanding *weltanschauliches* interest which were continually discussed and explicitly or implicitly redefined by philosophers and religious leaders. Many scholars have, however, too onesidedly emphasized certain aspects and connotations of the māyā concept, losing sight of two facts: first, that it does not always refer to illusions, fascination, pseudo-reality or reality of an artificial or misleading character, and in the second place, that it is often used, in various contexts, without any bearing upon the great problem of the 'reality' of the phenomenal world as compared with brahman.

It would appear to me that we had better adopt – of course, on the basis of a thorough philological examination of all relevant texts – a 'central' or 'fundamental' meaning which underlies all uses of the term not only in Vedic texts but also in the literature of the Hindu period, whether it is Vedāntic or pre- or non-Vedāntic in character. This meaning may be paraphrased somewhat as follows: "incomprehensible wisdom[11] and power enabling its possessor, or being able itself, to create, devise, contrive, effect, or do something".[12] This creative wisdom-and-power may in certain contexts adopt "den Charakter grossartiger, in den Wundern

[10] Hence such translations as *māyā-* "(power of) illusion" (Edgerton), "Zaubermacht, Weltentrug" (von Glasenapp), "occult power" (Macdonell), "deception, cunning" (Radhakrishnan). For references see *Four studies*, p. 121. The correctness of Hillebrandt's view (A. Hillebrandt, "Māyā", in *Wiener Zs. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenl.*, 13 (1899), p. 316, n. 3) may be seriously questioned.

[11] It may be remembered that 'wisdom' is in ancient times, as a rule of a decidedly practical nature.

[12] Some years after completing my study on Māyā in 'Four studies' (see n. 1) and after writing the present chapter I chanced upon a little book, *The doctrine of Māyā in the philosophy of the Vedānta* by Prabhu Dutt Shāstri (Ph. D. of the University of Kiel) (London, 1911), who appears to have concurred with me in stating (p. 14) that in the Ṛgveda *māyā-* means "a wondrous (he adds: or supernatural, a word which I would like to avoid) power, an extraordinary skill", adding that the element he calls 'supernatural' is more strongly emphasized in the AV. where it means "magic" and hence "illusion". Cf. also p. 10 f. "... not 'physical' power but simply wonderful and extraordinary 'will-power'". Summing up, he says on p. 30 f.: *māyā-* in the ṚV. means "supernatural power, mysterious will-power", the idea of mystery or wonder being always present, "and it is this very element that in its developed form gives the sense of "illusion" or "appearance". In other details I cannot however completely agree with this author.

des Weltalls herrlich sich manifestierender Macht",[13] that is: "phenomenal realization, display of a (wonderful) creative ability" in some texts "(the power determining) the world's inexplicable existence",[14] in other connections that of "das ausserordentliche Können und vorzüglich die besonderen Künste, welche über das Regelmässige und Natürliche hinausgreifen".[15]

Entering into some particulars it may be observed that the 'contradiction' so often inherent in translations ("Kunst" beside "Kunstgriff, List",[16] "deception, cunning, but also a world-sustaining power"[17]) may be explained away by pointing to the ambivalent character of 'power concepts' such as the one under discussion. If power is put into practice by those beings who are active for man's interests etc. it is good and useful, if it is wielded by enemies and malignant beings, it is considered evil, deceitful and pernicious. If therefore the Maruts by bringing rain are benefactors of mankind they are *su-māya-* "of good *māyā*", i.e. "of excellent devices, wisdom or power to effect something", if malicious beings move through the air they were *durmāyu-*, i.e. they "used bad arts" (cf. ṚV. 3, 30, 15),[18] or they are characterized by "ruses, artifices, cunning etc.":[19] thus in 5, 2, 9 where Agni is stated to combat the evil powers and to prevail over their godless and malignant designs; their māyā is of course, from the point of view of their opponents, the poets and worshippers of the gods, an evil power. Sometimes the gods combat the evil beings "par leur propres armes",[20] that is to say: they oppose their own māyā against their adversaries (cf. e.g. 1, 11, 7), but that is not to say that Indra in re-establishing the cosmic order resorts to 'tricks'. When counteracting the nefarious schemes of his opponents by his own creative and beneficent devices the god produces sun, sky and dawn he cannot of course be said to use 'Blendwerke' or 'Truglisten'. The activity indicated by the term is, as already intimated, not rarely beneficent; thus 5, 63, 3 where Mitra and Varuṇa are said to cause the sky to rain[21] by their māyā "incomprehen-

[13] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1923), p. 159. My above definition has been somewhat misreported by J. C. Wright, in *B.S.O.A.S.* 25 (London, 1962), p. 415.

[14] Cf. S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I (London, 1923), p. 34; II (London, 1948), p. 565, n.

[15] P. von Bradke, in *Zs. d. deutsch. morgenl. Ges.*, 48 (1894), p. 499.

[16] Petr. Dict., V, 732

[17] Radhakrishnan, *o.c.*, II, p. 565, n.

[18] For many wrong translations see *Four Studies*, p. 127 ff.

[19] For words for "skill" or "ability" assuming the sense of "artifice, trick", see *Four studies*, p. 139 f.

[20] A. Bergaigne, *Religion védique*, III (Paris, 1883), p. 82.

[21] For other interpretations, *Four studies*, p. 130.

sible ability (to contrive important processes of this character)". See also 5, 85, 5 and 6 where Varuṇa measures and fixes the earth and makes the rivers debouch into the ocean. Thus the term is often employed in connection with the marvels of nature (see e.g. also 5, 63, 4), for instance also with the appearance of daylight and the foundation of the world. Those possessed of māyā, e.g. gods, could moreover attain results which are beyond the power of ordinary men. Although then māyā may from the human point of view be 'Zaubermacht', it is in fact always the same incomprehensible ability. However, the surprising and incredible may easily be taken to be unreal or impossible, that is to say: not in accordance with what is from a certain point of view called or regarded as reality.[22]

Sometimes the word is already in the Ṛgveda used so as to suggest the conception of a special ability, ascribed to a god, to project himself into externality, to assume an outward appearance or to appear in, or as, the phenomenal world (3, 53, 8; 6, 47, 18 where Indra's habit of becoming every form is said to be due to his faculty called māyā). Since in the Veda manifestations of 'Daseinsmächte' or power-concepts may be indicated by the names of the powers themselves it is not surprising to find places where "outward appearance", or "form" seems to be an admissible translation (6, 58, 1; 3, 53, 8).[23] Nor is it surprising that these texts could be quoted in order to demonstrate that all and everything is a self-revelation or a manifestation of its one and only divine essence.

From an important passage in the Atharvaveda (8, 10, 22)[24] it appears that the asuras who originally were a peculiar class of gods were – as also appears from the frequent relation of one of the prominent members of this group, Varuṇa, to māyā – perhaps more than others characterized by the possession of this particular power. The asuras were indeed also associated with other ideas representing aspects of special intellectual qualities and activities. But it is in my opinion not correct to say that this power assumed its 'bad sense' before those who wielded it had become regarded as demons.[25] Nor should we subscribe to the view expressed by some scholars[26] that māyā when translatable by "magical power" originally was the special property of this class of divine beings. In the Atharvaveda the association between asuras and māyā has not yet completely assumed the character of a union of powers antagonistic to the interests of men and the devas who champion their cause. Thus the term *asuramāyā-* may be translated (cf. 3, 9, 4) by "power to achieve wonderful deeds inherent to lordship".[27] But the more the asuras were believed to be 'powers of darkness' the more māyā – though essentially coming within the above definition – was by the authors of the brāhmaṇas viewed in a special light.

The 'mystic' text AV. 10, 8, 34 seems to furnish us with a starting-point for the 'special' sense of the term under consideration in later Indian philosophy. Making an attempt to elucidate the relation between the One that is the All and creatures, whether gods or men, the poet resorts to two images: the creatures rest and originate in the concealed 'centre' of the universe which also is represented as a lotus flower, the roots of which remain hidden in the waters, whereas its stalks spread in the visible world. But if, the poet observes, we would like to ask whence this situation has arisen, the answer must be: māyā.

The brāhmaṇas contain likewise many instances of the use of māyā to denote a power to create and achieve the marvellous, although quite understandably the associations and applications of the term may, and must, give rise to considerably different translations. That in part of the relevant passages the translation must be "ruse, artifice, trick, strategem" is again conditioned by the contexts themselves (cf. e.g. PB. 13, 6, 9). Elsewhere however māyā enables mighty beings – among whom are men – to do what ordinary human beings cannot bring about (AiB. 8, 23, 1 ff.; TB. 3, 12, 6, 1 etc.). Māyā may, moreover, be inherent in the all-powerful rites (TB. 3, 10, 8, 2). It is not strange that it is also in these texts often associated with the asuras and other enemies of gods and men. "When Vṛtra has lost his māyā Indra slew him, for the sacrifice was his māyā" (TS. 6, 5, 1, 1 f.).[28] But even when it is in the possession of asuras it may be variously applied or used with a view to different aims. In JB. 3, 168 ff. a story is told of two asuras who were so rich in māyā that they were able to cook rice on 'non-fire': here māyā obviously has a 'neutral' or general meaning. From other places it appears that the gods though equalling their enemies in intelligence often suffered from their cunning devices, a translation of māyā which may be adopted in passages such as PB. 19, 19, 1.

[22] This is not to say that translations such as "Blendwerke, Zauberkünste" (Geldner) should always be adopted.
[23] It must be conceded that this point could have been dealt with at greater length in *Four Studies*, (cf. G. Buddruss, in Oriens 16, p. 369). But one sometimes forgets to repeat oneself (see e.g. *Notes on brahman*, Utrecht 1950, *passim*).
[24] For a discussion of which see *Four studies*, p. 155 f.
[25] Otherwise: A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 156.
[26] Cf. B. K. Ghosh, in R. C. Majumdar-A. D. Pusalker, *The history and culture of the Indian people*, I (London, 1951), p. 380.
[27] See also V. H. Rajwade, *Proc. 1st Orient. Conference* (Poona, 1920), p. IX ff. For other details see *Four studies*, p. 158.
[28] For particulars see *Four studies*, p. 161 ff.

Māyā is therefore also in the brāhmaṇas, even when it belongs to asuras, and whatever its special applications, not essentially different from what is covered by the above definition. There is no occasion onesidedly to emphasize the sense of "magic", still less to adopt that of "le pouvoir de lier et de délier" which is not directly attested by textual evidence.[29]

Nor is the use of the terms *māyā-* and *māyin-* in the Śvetāśvatara-Upaniṣad – which was to develop into the well-known philosophical concept of the Hindu age – essentially different from that found in the oldest Vedic texts. A being – no doubt the Personal God who here is described as the *māyin-* – in possession of an unconceivable power of performing marvellous deeds creates, transforms, causes the phenomenal world – in a manner analogous to the activities of the ancient bearers of māyā – to emanate or to appear so that ordinary people become puzzled and bewildered (4, 10 *māyāṃ tu prakṛtiṃ viddhi, māyinaṃ tu maheśvaram* "know then that nature is creation, and that the great Lord is the creator"). This māyā of the Supreme Being is in 4, 1 indicated by the term *śaktiyoga-* "methodic application of his power"; in later texts *śakti-* is the Lord's creative power, Īśvara (the Lord) and his Śakti – mythologically represented as his spouse – are the parents of the universe; only united with her God has power to manifest.[30] Later upaniṣads express the same view: māyā is, the Vaiṣṇava Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya maintains, no other than the creative power of Nṛsiṃha, i.e. Viṣṇu. Such uses of the term as BhagG. 4, 6 "though (I am) unborn, and imperishable ... I come into (empiric) being through my māyā",[31] and 7, 25 "I am not revealed to everyone, being veiled by my *yogamāyā-* ("creative power", somewhat onesidedly, Radhakrishnan) are essentially identical: in this world men do not know the true nature of the Lord which is concealed behind the outward appearances produced by his marvellous creative power.

In contradistinction to the opinions advanced by other scholars[32] I would defend the thesis that the ŚvetāśvataraUpaniṣad – which chronologically comes after the Bṛhadāraṇyaka, but before the Bhagavadgītā – represents a stage of development in Indian thought, in which the germs which had come up in the preceding period and from which the various philosophical views or metaphysical doctrines of the generations to come were to develop, had already reached the first stage of growth without differentiating in any considerable degree. The conceptual differentiation between the foundation of the universe, the soul, the material world and the essence of all things existent had not yet made so great progress as five or six centuries later when the streams of Sāṃkhya and Vedānta thought had found their own beds.[33] Thus the māyā concept of the ŚvetāśvataraUpaniṣad is on the one hand a continuation of the māyā idea which was common to the mythologizing trends of thought of the preceding period, but is, it is true, applied to the material universe, the prakṛti in its entirety. "The Vedic texts, the sacrifices, the rituals, the observances, the past, the future and what the Vedas declare, all this the *māyin-* (i.e. the Īśvara, see above) sends forth out of this (brahma); in this the other (i.e. the individual soul) is confined by māyā" (4, 9). However, this māyā is on the other hand no formula to express the unreality of the world. It only expresses the impossibility of man's understanding its character and the power of its creator.

It is in my opinion not correct to speak of different significations[34] of terms such as māyā. The complex of ideas and connotations expressed by the word māyā has an aspect on the side of the *māyin-* (the wielder), viz. his power, and an aspect on the side of the spectator, viz. the incomprehensibility of this power. Further there is the power itself, the process of wielding it and the result, all of them covered by one and the same term. We need not follow Śaṅkara and Deussen[35] in explaining the above texts in an absolutely monistic sense. From an elaborate comparison in MaitrU. (4, 2)[36] it moreover appears that that which is characterized as *māyāmaya-* "existing in, or of, māyā" is of the same character as a false appearance (*mithyādarśanam*) shown by a dream, or as something that is without substance (*asāra-*) like the core of a banana tree; "like an actor it changes its guise in an instant; like a mural painting, it enchants while it deceives". Dream, banana 'stem', stage-play and mural painting: they are not unreal, but they are not what they seem or pretend to be; they represent reality, but the performer, the actor,

[29] L. Silburn, *Instant et cause* (Paris, 1955), p. 21 ff.

[30] See e.g. the texts quoted by S. Radhakrishnan, *The principal Upanishads* (London, 1953), p. 734.

[31] See further on and compare also S. Schayer, in *Zs. für Buddhismus*, 3, p. 341.

[32] R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads* (Oxford, 1934), p. 8; Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 513; M. Falk, "Il mito psicologico nell' India antica", *R. Acc. naz. dei Lincei*, 336 (Rome, 1939), p. 434 (146); A. Silburn, *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1948), p. 20.

[33] For a detailed exposition of my views on this point see *Tijdschrift voor Philosophie*, 14, p. 19 f.

[34] Thus for instance Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, I, p. 513.

[35] P. Deussen, *o.c.*, I, 2, p. 39 f.

[36] Now see also J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad* ('s-Gravenhage, 1962), p. 103 and 130.

the 'man who knows' is aware that they are not the true or ultimate reality.

Nor does the Bhagavadgītā – the crowning of the preceding period and one of the main bases of the philosophy and theology of all the following centuries – question the reality of the world either. The term *māyā-* was well known to its author: 18, 61 "The Lord (*īśvaraḥ*) dwells in the heart of all beings, and by his māyā spins them round who are set on a machine" (Śaṅkara is perhaps right in suggesting the simile of wooden marionettes; one is however reminded of the potter's wheel[37] or the Indian water-mill). Here I would decidedly prefer a translation such as "power" (Radhakrishnan) or "Wunderkraft" (Garbe) to "delusive power" (Hill). Māyā is again God's autonomous and inscrutable omnipotence which enables him to make his influence felt in things phenomenal, but the image is no doubt borrowed from daily life, in which māyā could be used in connection with certain incomprehensible techniques. Elsewhere the 'activity' of the Īśvara by which he causes the phenomenal world to emanate from his own self without however being bound or stained by karman, is attributed to his māyā: 4, 6 "Although I am unborn and imperishable in essence ..., yet by an act of my will with reference to my own nature[38] I come into existence by means of my own (incomprehensible) creative power" (... *prakṛtiṃ svām adhiṣṭhāya sambhavāmy ātmamāyayā*). Here the time-honoured ability of superhuman beings to produce phenomena in an incomprehensible way is, in continuation of the train of thought adopted by the authors of the older upaniṣads, characteristic of the sole Omnipotent God. That is to say: the answer to the question as to how phenomenal reality which forms part of God's nature can exist, since God is unmanifested and unchangeable, and how God can assume the visible form of an individual avatāra, is: God's māyā. Men, however, blind and deluded, do not see through the phenomena and do not understand God's nature, because (7, 14) "it is difficult to cross beyond My divine māyā which manifests itself in the material world". These words imply that that which becomes manifest through the māyā of the *māyin-* is also called māyā. From 7, 14b and 15 it moreover appears that, whereas the fools are bereft of knowledge by that māyā, those who take refuge in God alone are able to pass beyond it. God's creative power bewilders ordinary men and the plurality of the mundane phenomena produced by it prevents them from "seeing" the fundamental unity underlying and conditioning the world of appearances. Here, māyā obviously assumes the character of a veil which hides the real and eternal from men's sight and understanding: God, veiled by his *yogamāyā-*, is not revealed to all (7, 25).[39] It will on the other hand be difficult to maintain that these places teach the unreal, illusory and imaginary character of the world. Nor is there elsewhere in the Bhagavadgītā any suggestion that world and nature are in any sense held to be unreal:[40] the world is not an illusion, but a source of bewilderment and delusion.[41]

[37] Imagine an Indian potter who, having made little clay figurines of every kind of person, gives the wheel bearing one or some of them a spin.

[38] *prakṛtiṃ svām adhiṣṭhāya*, see E. Lamotte, *Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā* (Paris, 1929), p. 56 f.

The contextual use in other parts of the Mahābhārata is on the one hand not rarely in harmony with Vedic usage: the asuras and Vṛtra are still in the possession of this wonderful power and warriors are 9, 57, 5 cr. ed. said to make an appeal to the gods who subdue the asuras through the instrumentality of māyā. In the non-philosophical epic the word occurs to denote a creation of an illusory character: 18, 3, 34 Indra declares that the hell in which he had shown Yudhiṣṭhira's relatives is illusory (*na ca te bhrātaraḥ ... narakasthā ... / māyaiṣā devarājena mahendreṇa prayojitā*).[42] The process of birth and death to which every human being is subject is a māyā, unknowable for gods and men and a cause of bewilderment (Hariv. 4879 f. = 2, 32, 39 f. *prāpte kāle tu tat karma dṛśyate sarvadehinām // eṣā hy antarhitā māyā durvijñeyā surair api / yathāyaṃ muhyate loko hy atra karmaiva kāraṇam*). Elsewhere however the use of the term is not much different from that attested by the Bhagavadgītā. "God is he by whom this idea (of visible God) was created" (Mbh. 12, 326, 43 *māyā hy eṣā mayā sṛṣṭā yan māṃ paśyasi*); that is according to Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary: "multiplicity of me who (really) am one-and-without-parts" (*niṣkalasya mama vaiśvarūpyam eva*). In Mbh. 14, 51, 9 cr. ed. Viṣṇu is addressed as follows: "fire proceeds from thine 'energy' (*tejas*), heaven and earth are thy māyā". This idea is elaborated in 12, 290, 57: "the world is like foam covered by hundreds of Viṣṇu's māyās, it is like a painted wall (remember MaitrU. 4, 2), not more solid than reed, worthless". Viṣṇu produces his disguises (*chadmarūpāṇi*) in which he appears as a child or herdsman killing demons and riding his great bird, by means of māyā (Hariv. 5879); he covers and

[39] See above. E. W. Hopkins, *The great epic of India* (New York, 1902), p. 139 rightly drew attention to the parallel situation in the Rāmāyaṇa, where in the description of Viṣṇu being born as Rāma the term *chadman-* "cover, disguise" is used as the equivalent of *māyā-* (Gorr. 6, 11, 32).

[40] F. Edgerton, *The Bhagavad-gītā* (Cambridge Mass., 1944), p. 51.

[41] P. D. Devanandan, *The concept of māyā* (London, 1950), p. 74 f.

[42] Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa deludes his enemies by making them think that the sun has set when it has not (7, a. 121, preferring the term *yoga-*).

camouflages his own nature by (a) māyā in the form of a cowherd (3168). That is, by through his māyā causing himself to become visible and accessible to man he conceals his true nature. That the 'profane' and non-philosophical connotations of the term are apt to slip into the images adopted in illustration of these thoughts appears from 3, 31, 21ff. Here Draupadī argues that the god she reveres has deluded her husband's mind and that he in deluding men generally (*mohayitvā*, st. 31) shows the power of his māyā (*māyāprabhāva-*) which deludes men by his own māyā (*ātmamāyā*, the same term as BhagG. 4, 6), making them destroy each other as blind instruments of his will.[43] "Man proposes but God disposes" (3, 31, 33) by means of a deceptive covering (*chadma kṛtvā*, st. 35), "playing with men as children play with toys". Thereupon her husband blames her for speaking so of the Lord, through whose grace the faithful become immortal, "because these things are divine mysteries" (*devaguhyāni*), "since the deities are full of mysterious creative power" (*gūḍhamāyā hi devatāḥ*, 32, 34).

From the same passage we see that notwithstanding the use of terms such as *bhagavat-*, *īśvara-*, *prajāpati-* popular ideas of the activity of divinities and the nature of their creative power are not rarely running through the author's brain. That which has been created and therefore lacks permanency, which has emanated or is a product of the mind or will of a powerful being and cannot therefore be considered absolutely real and true can be defined as māyā. In criticizing the doctrine of salvation without Vedic rites an objector is (12, 261, 16ff.) represented as maintaining that "this doctrine has been propagated by idle scholars who are destitute of their specific eminence; it is based on ignorance of the Veda and is a falsehood under the guise of truth ..." "Not by despising the Veda, not by what is false or the product of autonomous[44] creative power (which as such is not permanent and not absolutely true and real) does a man obtain the great" (*na vedānām paribhavān na śāṭhyena na māyayā mahat prāpnoti puruṣaḥ*). He finds brahman in brahman (i.e. he finds the eternal through and in what is real-and-eternal, i.e. the Veda: *brahmaṇi brahma vindati*, ibid. st. 18). Hence the complementary tenets, first that one must be free of all 'ignorance' or 'delusion' (*avidyā*) to be brahman and truly 'immortal', because only 'knowledge' (*jñāna-*) ends not, for "knowledge is brahman" (14, 47, 1 etc.), and in the second place that God – according

[43] Cf. e.g. st. 21 *dhātaiva khalu bhūtānāṃ sukhaduḥkhe priyāpriye | dadhāti ... || yathā dārumayī yoṣā ... samāhitā | īrayaty aṅgam aṅgāni tathā ... imāḥ prajāḥ ... || śakunis tantubaddho vā niyato 'yam anīśvaraḥ | īśvarasya vaśe tiṣṭhan* etc.

[44] Cf. M. Falk, *Nāma-rūpa and dharma-rūpa* (Calcutta, 1943), p. 6.

to some commentaries[45] – creates the world "through avidyā or ignorance" (12, 224, 33 cr. ed.).

It is interesting to quote in addition to these epic passages the Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīya upaniṣad which while superimposing four dhyāna-stages on the three stages of normal life and distinguishing the material *rūpa-* which is real in the waking stage, the unsensuous *manomaya-rūpa-* produced in dream, and the potential but immanifest *rūpa-* of dreamless sleep, states these three to be, in contradistinction to the higher 'forms' or 'bodies', only *māyā*, that is name-and-form (*nāmarūpa-*); they owe their *nāmarūpa-* or māyā existence to the inherence in them[46] of the higher bodies, the highest (seventh) of which is transcendent.[47] It is worth recalling some interesting statements made by the author (ch. 9): "the existence of duality can by no means be proven, only the Ātman without a second is capable of demonstration. Through māyā indeed there seems to be something other (than the One), but the Ātman (the One) is the highest and he is the All (totality). ... The form of māyā is the torpid (non-conscious), that which consists in delusion, ... and although it manifests various things and is always vanishing, it is regarded as the Ātman by the stupid .... Māyā causes many places (stands)-of-manifestation which are not distinct from itself (are not beyond her sphere) ... to be perceptible, creating the appearance of jīvas (individual souls) and īśvara ...".[48]

It is clear that in the epic texts which have been composed before the period of the darśanas or great philosophic 'schools' māyā essentially is

[45] See Sh. K. Belvalkar, *The Śāntiparvan*, III (Poona, 1954), p. 1254 (*avidyayā guṇatrayamayyā prakṛtītyādivācyayā; avidyayeti mahattattvasyāpi kāraṇam uktam*).

[46] This doctrine has been fully discussed by Falk, *Il mito psicologico*, p. 234 ff., who rightly emphasizes that "tutta la realtà contingente, compresa l'unitaria condizione 'seminale' del sonno profondo, è 'essenziata di māyā'. Māyā non è dunque altro che la coscienza, quella stessa entità in cui la dottrina delle Up. Praśna e Maitri aveva ravvisato la negazione, l''ombra' della Luce ātmica. L'ātman dal sapore di coscienza è quindi l'ātman investito di māyā. ... Māyā è quell'aspetto dell'ātman che non è vero ātman ... La realtà di māyā in realtà *non è*, è mera negazione della Luce ātmica, è tenebra (*tamas*) che, limitando quella Luce, fa apparire l'ātman in una varietà di aspetti mediante vari gradi di oscuramento, 'pur non essendo in sè altro che māyā e avidyā'.

[47] One may consult also the (not irreproachable) translation by P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 797 ff.

[48] Some definitions of *avidyā-* are (Patañjali, YS. 2, 5) "the recognition of the permanent, the pure, happiness and a self in what is impermanent, impure, sorrow and not-self"; "the power which causes the 'asat' ('non-reality') to appear" (Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha; Śaṅkara); "*avidyā-*, while clouding the true nature of brahman, causes the expansion of the plurality of phenomenal world composed of gods, men, animals, etc. etc." (Rāmānuja, passim).

always and everywhere the same concept, the translational variants being determined by context and situation. In the train of thought of those who consider brahman or the Īśvara to be the only absolute reality and man's 'ignorance' or limited understanding of this truth the sole cause of his inability to know brahman's or God's nature and to understand its, or his, autonomous creative and transformative 'activity', this function of the Highest, i.e. his māyā, must mean that ordinary men are in a sense deceived like the public of a juggler, that they attribute to its 'products', i.e. the phenomenal world, a degree of 'reality' (eternity, permanence) which it does not really possess. Thus māyā as far as it denotes the products of the 'creative power' of the Highest, must be considered to be conditioned by avidyā, i.e. "ignorance" of God's true nature.[49] The existence of the world, a product of God's māyā, is determined by the avidyā, or: the world as such exists through and in dependance on the avidyā. That is however not to imply that the world is a nonexistent illusion. The same view is at a later date pronounced by Gauḍapāda (± 700 A.D.) – the famous exponent of the Vedānta and predecessor of Śaṅkara –, in whose work the untranslatable term indicates the nature or power of the Lord, the inexplicability of the relation between the world and its 'soul', and the apparent dream-like character of the world.[50] It really depends on the aspect emphasized or the point of view taken by the observer, whether māyā as inherent in Brahman is – ontologically speaking – the answer to the question as to the origin of the phenomenal world, or may – on the psychological plane – be considered a name of the avidyā on the part of the man who is imprisoned within the sublunary phenomena. This is not to say that the word is by Gauḍapāda "not used with any strictness"; it only means that our vocabulary does not contain an equivalent.

Before subjoining some remarks on the use of the term in the works of other Vedānta philosophers it will be expedient to cast a glance on the relevant ancient Buddhist texts which on the one hand continue the māyā speculations of the preceding period and on the other constitute an important link with the elaborations of the concept in later times. Its

[49] Cf. also Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 461.

[50] See also H. von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens* (Halle S., 1940), p. 87: "Die Individuen und die Auszenwelt sind nicht letzte metaphysische Potenzen wie die dharmas, sondern sind durch die Kooperation derselben bedingt. Sie sind aber gleichwohl real. Die zahlreichen Stellen im Pāḷi-Kanon, aus welchen man herauszulesen glaubte, dasz der Buddha schon einen erkenntnistheoretischen Idealismus gelehrt habe, besagen alle nichts anderes, als dasz das Einzelwesen und die von ihm erlebte Welt durch das Zusammenwirken von dharmas hervorgebracht werden".

occurrence in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna texts does not mean that Buddha preached a cognitive idealism, assuming a fundamental and consistent distinction between reality and that what is illusory or absolutely imaginary.[51] If the skandhas, i.e. the complexes of the dharmas or substratum of the impermanent phenomena,[52] are said to be māyā or a fata morgana, or to be like the stem of a banana, it is their transitoriness and relative insignificance, their second-rate reality which is emphasized. Anything phenomenal is "hurrying off like a mountain-stream, transitory like a dew-drop, short-lived like lightning or bubbles" (Lalitav. p. 292), "a mere phantasmagoria, a magician's kaleidoscopic show" (Aśvaghoṣa, Saund. 5, 45). Māra, Death, the Evil one and the Tempter, the representative of the saṃsāra, is according to the tradition like the image of the moon in a sheet of water. The very contexts, images and similes[53] show that māyā refers to a reality of 'little metaphysical dignity', not to an illusory phantasm. The relation between reality and phenomenal existence – which is, though not unreal, unstable and transient – is identical with that between a landscape and a painting.[54] According to the Hīnayānist Lokottaravādins[55] the historical Buddha is – like Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavadgītā – a temporary manifestation of an eternal really ultra-phenomenal Buddha who, by means of his māyā, his wonderful and incomprehensible creative power, projects himself into this world.[56] On this foundation the doctrine of dharmakāyā developed, this term expressing the idea of totality which at the same time is the basic or ultimate principle of all substrata of the phenomena, i.e. the timeless, impersonal last ground of all things, absolute reality, but at the same time the totality of all specific qualities proper to the idea of Buddha and, from the point of view of

[51] See e.g. H. von Glasenapp, "Zur Geschichte der buddhistischen Dharmatheorie", in *Z.D.M.G.* 92, p. 383 ff.; O. Rosenberg, *Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie* (Heidelberg, 1924); Th. Stcherbatsky, *The central conception of Buddhism* (London, 1923); E. Frauwallner, *Geschichte der indischen Philosophie*, I (Salzburg, 1953), p. 193 etc.

[52] *The Mahāvyutpatti* 169 (ed. J. P. Minajew, Bibl. Buddh. 13, p. 42) enumerates no less than 31 similar 'synonyms' of *māyā-*.

[53] Cf. e.g. M. Walleser, *Der ältere Vedanta* (Heidelberg, 1910), p. 39 ff.; S. Schayer, *Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der mahayanistischen Erlösungslehren* (München, 1921), p. 42 ff.

[54] J. Gonda, *Inleiding tot het Indische denken* (Antwerpen, 1948), p. 101.

[55] In this connection the name of his mother, Māyā, is of special interest (see e.g. H. Beckh, Buddhismus, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1916, p. 84). The Buddhists themselves were already at an early date convinced of the miraculous character of Buddha's conception and birth but this is not to imply (see L. de la Vallée-Poussin, *Le dogme et la philosophie du Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1930, p. 186 f.) that Māyā was and remained a virgin.

[56] See E. Conze, *Buddhism* (Oxford, 1951 (1960)), p. 172; the same, *Buddhist thought in India* (London, 1962), p. 224 f.

final emancipation – the goal of the Master's followers and the pivot on which all these philosophical doctrines hinge –, Nirvāṇa.

Giving way to the inclination to 'relativism' which was already characteristic of the Master himself, it was especially the Mādhyamikas who emphasized the insignificance and unsubstantiality of the world and the illusive character of all 'products' of māyā. The similes to which they resorted (dream, mirage etc.) do not postulate the actual non-existence of things, but only deny their ultimate reality and assert their deceptiveness; they do not deny but define their reality. "An illusion appears to be real, and it is a tangible and visual fact; but the deception lies in that it is mistaken for what it is not".[57] To the great exponent of this school, Nāgārjuna (2nd cent. A.D. ?), also the entities on which the phenomena are dependent, the so-called dharmas,[58] are themselves products of māyā. Thus he prepared the way for the idealistic Yogācāras or Vijñānavādins who, founding their ontology on the psychology of yoga,[59] held the view that only "mere consciousness" (*vijñāna-*) exists. Any pretended 'reality' outside this reality is to be regarded as dependent on a wrong interpretation of our inner experiences. Whereas to Nāgārjuna separate dharmas seemed 'illusory' because logically impossible, to the Yogācārins they are so because they are merely ideas or representations. "For them the external world is really mind itself, and 'illusion' consists in regarding the objectivation of one's own mind as a world independent of that mind which is really its source".[60] No more reality in the true sense of the word may be attributed to the *parikalpita-*,[61] i.e. the constructions of our imaginative faculty than to a rope which in the dark is mistaken for a snake. But this simile is – e.g. in Sthiramati's (6th cent.) commentary – mentioned in the same breath with the statement that 'a māyā' can assume the form of a man or of other things. This 'māyā' is void (*śūnya-*), non-substantial. In the same way the "wrong or constructive ideation"

[57] Cf. e.g. von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen*, p. 66-92 ("Daseinsfaktoren"); Silburn, *Instant et cause*, p. 171 ("Le dhamma est le terme générique qui désigne tout ce qui existe: l'expérience authentique du Buddha (le dhamma) aussi bien que les expériences sur lesquelles elle porte (les dhamma) ...") M. und W. Geiger, *Pāli dhamma* (München, 1920).
[58] See e.g. H. von Glasenapp, *Die Philosophie der Inder* (Stuttgart, 1949), p. 346 ff. More exactly *vijñāna-* is the ability of having conscious ideas and impressions.
[59] Conze, *Buddhist thought*, p. 225.
[60] The term *parikalpa-* and its relatives which generally are translatable by "surmise, assumption, hypothesis" are regularly used with the implication of "falsity or unreliability". (For references: F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary*, II, New Haven, 1953, p. 320 f. For some translations of *parikalpita-* see also D. L. Friedmann, *Sthiramati Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā*, Thesis (Leiden, 1937), p. 93.
[61] Now see also Conze, *Buddhist thought*, passim (Index, p. 299).

(*abhūtaparikalpa-*) appearing in the "aspect of subject and object" – which does not exist in itself – is called non-substantial. In the process by which reality is transformed into the aspect of wrong ideation māyā plays an important rôle. It is the factor or power producing the differentiation of the homogeneous consciousness which results in the pseudo-existence of the phenomenal world. From the point of view of those who strive after final emancipation māyā is therefore the power or factor determining the saṃsāra which really consists in 'wrong ideation'. Thus māyā is the factor determining the *duḥkha-*, the Buddhist 'ill',[62] the commotion, turmoil, unrest or disturbance of everything conditioned.

Just as, however, in the Veda māyā may be overcome by māyā,[63] it manifests itself also in those entities and phenomena which prepare emancipation.[64] Even the extreme 'illusionist' theory of those who promulgated the doctrine of the three kāyas does not cut off the māyā concept from that of the preceding generations. The Mahāyāna teaches that what the Mādhyamikas describe as Buddha's "visible physical body" (*rūpakāya-*) and the Yogācārins as his "transformation body" (*nirmāṇakāya-*), is unreal and fictitious[65] just as the world and worldly existence and liberation; from the point of view of the highest reality these are no more than a spectacle. Buddha's work of redemption done for the good of innumerable multitudes of living beings is compared to the activity of an illusionist who causes large crowds of men to appear and to disappear,[66] although Buddha's māyā is expressly stated to surpass the illusionist's skill more than a billion times. In assuming the existence of a reality underlying the phenomena of this world this philosophy is on the side of the Vedānta school of thought.

Turning now to this Hindu darśana it must to begin with be remarked

[62] See also Asaṅga, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 11, 27-29 (transl. by S. Lévi, Paris 1907-11).
[63] For a more detailed discussion of this point see Falk, Mito psicologico, p. 398 f. ("Fintanto che non è consaputa o 'penetrata' (*nir-vidh-*), *māyā-* foggia il vincolo o il velo dell' individuazione; penetrata, essa schiude l'accesso alla libertà. Il passaggio del vincolamento alla libertà è una inversione dell' indirizzo dell' essere ...; l'asceta che ha adottato l'indirizzo della *nivṛtti-*, ha operato un rivolgimento del proprio essere in forza del quale è ormai 'libero, autonomo'"). For *nivṛtti-* (abstaining from wordly activity) see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 281.
[64] To the historical Buddha little significance is attached because he is no more than a phantom body. As a metaphysical principle he was however identified with the absolute Dharma and to this aspect corresponds his dharmabody (see also Conze, *Buddhist thought*, p. 94; 232).
[65] Cf. M. Walleser, "Die Vollkommenheit der Erkenntnis", in *Quellen der Religionsgeschichte*, VI, Göttingen 1914, p. 46.
[66] Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 83.

that the Vedāntasūtras – which are, beside the upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, its "sources or starting-points" – speak of māyā in connection with the creative activity of the man who dreams (3, 2, 3 *māyāmātraṃ tu kārtsnyenānabhivyaktasvarūpatvāt*). Devanandan[67] is no doubt right in observing that the use of the term agrees with that of the Śvetāśvatara upaniṣad and the Bhagavadgītā. Māyā as conceived by the author of the sūtras, Bādarāyaṇa, possesses, to quote Masson-Oursel,[68] reality, because it is "oeuvre divine": "L'avidyā de Bādarāyaṇa implique non seulement l'absence de connaissance, mais une sorte de réalité cosmique. Ici reparaît la vieille notion de la fantasmagorie de Mitra ou de Varuṇa, identique à celle de Kṛṣṇa, ou encore à celle du nirmāṇakāya". Gauḍapāda, the first systematic expounder of the non-dualist school of thought, though utilizing the considerations and conclusions of Buddhist philosophy and borrowing their images and terminology,[69] was much set on presenting his doctrine as being in harmony with the so-called orthodox tradition.[70] Hence the outward form of his work, the first chapter of which is a sort of mnemonic résumé of the Māṇḍūkya upaniṣad, and its contexts: the doctrine of the identity of brahman and ātman, the māyā theory, the inapplicability of causation to ultimate reality, jñāna as the direct means of attaining to final liberation (mokṣa). Moreover, the very choice of the Māṇḍūkya as a starting-point is not without significance, because this upaniṣad expounds the view that the dreaming state is one of the four states of the ātman-brahman. There is, Gauḍapāda holds, in principle no difference between waking and dreaming (2, 4). All that exists is "not really so" – hence the title of the second chapter Vaitathya "the not being so". The thoughts expressed in the Śvetāśvatara- and the MaitrīUpaniṣads as well as in the Mahābhārata – compare e.g. 12, 326, 42f. cr. ed. "if I (Viṣṇu) would, I could disappear immediately; only as a māyā I have produced from myself that which you see of me" – are in this text made under the influence of Buddhist thought the basis of a cognitive idealism. The world and all its phenomena are considered to be such as it represents that it is by men who are spiritually speaking not awake. The term under consideration occurs in a frequency of places: 2, 12, Ātman (the divine

[67] See e.g. E. Lesimple, *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad et Kārikā de Gauḍapāda* (Paris, 1944), p. 4 ff.; Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 87 ff.

[68] P. Masson-Oursel, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la philosophie indienne* (Paris, 1923), p. 198.

[69] "Naturally he was familiar with Buddhistic doctrines, which he accepted when they were not in conflict with his own Advaita" (Radhakrishnan, *Indian philosophy*, II, p. 453).

[70] Cf. also 4, 58 ff.

Self) which alone possesses a conscious knowledge of the phenomenal distinctions directs his creative-and-disposing ability (*kalpayati*) to himself by means of his own māyā. The simile of the snake and the rope is used to show that if reality is perceived as such all false notions about its nature have disappeared. If we believe the ātman to assume phenomenal existence as breath or something else, this misapprehension is due to the māyā of the deity. All entities in this world are like dreams emitted by the ātman's māyā (3, 10). Duality is nothing else but māyā (1, 17). It is only through māyā that that which exists comes into being; it is not right to hold that it really does so (3, 27). That which does not exist cannot come into existence, whether actually or through māyā. The són of a barren woman is neither born actually nor through māyā (3, 28).[71] The objects observed by us in this world are like the elephants produced by a juggler, which are seen by the spectators, and they behave like elephants (4, 44). All that is subject to birth and decay does not really exist (cf. 4, 68 ff.), that is to say, cannot be regarded as reality in the proper sense of the term.

In contradistinction to those scholars[72] who are of the opinion that Gauḍapāda attributes different meanings to the term under consideration ("magic; the nature and power of the Īśvara; the apparent dream-like nature of sense-experience; and to indicate that any connection at all between the world and the Ultimate cannot be rationally sustained") I would maintain that this apparent plurality of meanings finds its explication in the untranslatability of this term. One may also say that a concept like māyā has many 'facets'. It is inherent in brahman and as such the 'cause' of the phenomenal world; it is at the same time the ignorance on the part of the observer. Empirical knowledge which in fact is pseudo-knowledge makes us believe that beings are born and things come into existence (cf. 4, 47). The same thought may also be expressed as follows: māyā is the mystery of this changing and deceptive world: how can it rest on the true and eternal One? It is the hypothesis or formula stating that the diversity of phenomenal reality is neither identical with brahman nor a thing by itself: 2, 34 *na pṛthaṅ nāpṛthak kiṃcid iti tattvavido viduḥ* "it is neither separate nor non-separate". Devanandan[73] is probably right in saying that it is the negative aspect of the formula of māyā that fascinates the mind of Gauḍapāda who exerts himself to demonstrate the

[71] Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 87; Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 461.

[72] Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 88.

[73] See also O. Lacombe, *L'absolu selon le Védânta* (Paris, 1937), p. 17. and H. von Glasenapp, *Vedanta und Buddhismus* (Mainz, 1950).

above character of all phenomenal reality rather than the absolute reality of brahman. However, in contradistinction to the Buddhists he clings to the brahmanical tradition according to which brahman – not the Buddhist *śūnya-* "the non-substantial void" – is the ultimate cause and foundation of the world. In doing so he enabled the Vedāntins who were to come after him to define the māyā concept more exactly: being beginningless and positive in character, it is – according to Śaṅkara's definition[74] – neither being (existing) nor non-being (non-existing).

According to Śaṅkara's definition brahman is the only reality, the world is 'pseudo' (*brahma satyaṃ jagan mithyā*[75]). The first member of this proposition is emphasized and any term suggesting non-reality, emptiness, or illusory nature (*śūnyatā-*, *tucchatva-*) of the world is carefully avoided. Moreover, this formula is valid only in respect of the absolute truth or reality which can only be understood by the "higher knowledge". This *parā vidyā* is not only essentially different from the "lower knowledge" (*aparā vidyā*), they are mutually exclusive. For all practical purposes the world may however be regarded as real. Śaṅkara is a realist as far as our experience goes. But the man who considers a phenomenal manifestation to be the 'world-soul' itself, the author of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad (1, 4) argued, does not really know. This ignorance which causes the individual to see and perceive something which from the level of the parā vidyā does not exist, something which therefore has no more than a pseudo-existence, which, moreover, prevents him from seeing his true nature, this ignorance which hides the truth and causes untruth to appear, is in Śaṅkara's system, where it occupies a central position, māyā. Māyā being in itself indefinable and inexplicable manifests itself only in its effects. It is the postulate needed to form an idea of the otherwise inexplicable existence of the world, i.e. of the apparent existence of diversity, although only the One exists. It is a formula stating the limitedness of our human comprehension. "The word māyā registers our finiteness and points to a gap in our knowledge".[76] The answer to the question as to how the finite rises from out of the infinite, is an incomprehensible mystery, māyā. "La réalité du monde – pour autant qu'il en a, et du point de vue provisoire de celui qui aspire à la dépasser, mais doit pour ce faire la reconnaître – c'est donc la présence infiniment proche et fulgurante de l'être, mais incommuniquée et sans épanchement

[74] *anādir bhāvarūpā* (see Lacombe, *o.c.*, p. 66) *sadasadanirvacanīyā*.
[75] The adverb *mithyā* expresses such ideas as "invertedly, contrarily, improperly, falsely, deceitfully, only apparently, not in reality, sham".
[76] Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy*, II, p. 569.

réel, devinée seulement par transparence derrière la voile de Māyā".[77]

Here again māyā is both the effect, the result, the world and the subjective delusion. As brahman and the individual ātman are identical, so māyā and avidyā are the same.[78] Avidyā is not a psychosis, but the natural habit of the human mind to perceive plurality instead of the unity which is the only reality.[79] It is also possible to subscribe to the definition given by Lacombe[80] – "Du point de vue de l'être, Māyā est cette capacité ambiguë de recevoir l'abondance ontologique en la dispersant. Du point de vue de la pensée, il faut constater pareillement qu'elle n'est ni différente d'elle ni identique à elle, c'est-à-dire que tantôt elle s'ouvre à son illumination, se perd en sa lumière, et tantôt lui fait obstacle, se dressant devant elle en objet" –, adding that māyā is, from the latter point of view often called avidyā because it bars the way to the true "knowledge" (vidyā). But just as māyā is always "consonance et dissonance par rapport à l'être", so it also preserves always a certain affinity with the pure intelligence which is brahman's. Enlightened by a flash of the pure Spirit the "error" desires to become similar, but its ambiguous nature, preventing it from attaining that object, has it (superfluously) ascribe attributes to brahman which the One does not really possess: the so-called *adhyāsa-* ("surimposition", Lacombe). Thus the avidyā is the cause of the pseudo-existence of names and forms, of birth, death and sufferings, of the lack of metaphysical validity of the universe. If however the "error" was non-existent, like the son of a barren woman, it could not effect this result. Nor could it – and this point is of course in this 'doctrine of salvation' of prime importance – allow the true knowledge or enlightenment, that is the intuitive realization of the truth, to get hold of itself and eventually to destroy its pseudo-reality.

As already observed the creative power of the Supreme Being was in the ŚvetāśvataraUpaniṣad called *śaktiyoga-*. The Śakti concept and Śakti-worship having come, in Śaṅkara's times, to the fore, it is not

[77] Lacombe, *o.c.*, p. 68.
[78] It is not easy exactly to realize the 'relations' between māyā and avidyā as understood by Indian philosophers and modern students of the history of Indian philosophy: other formulations are, e.g., "Māyā is the whole of which the many avidyās, associated with the individual selves, are parts or phases" (M. Hiriyanna, *The essentials of Indian philosophy*, London, 1949, p. 163); "Māyā besteht in dem Nicht-wissen" (H. von Glasenapp, Die Philosophie der Inder, p. 191); avidyā: ignorance caused by the operation of māyā" (Th. Bernard, *Philosophical foundations of India*, London, 1945, p. 131).
[79] "Avidyā is not a private profession of this or that individual mind; it is common to all minds, being the cosmic principle of finiteness" (S. Radhakrishnan, *The Hindu view of life*, London, 1948[7], p. 65).
[80] Lacombe, *o.c.*, p. 121 f.

surprising that māyā, as far as it is the 'cause' of the 'pseudo-existence' of the world, was identified with Īśvara's śakti, that is to say with the hypostasized creative power or energy of the qualified and differentiated brahman viewed as the Highest Person or God. Whereas brahman is "pure light by itself", God is "light in darkness", brahman 'appearing' through the power of māyā in the phenomenal universe. Developing this śakti idea, Śaṅkara compares it to heat in fire, that is to say, it is God's inherent energy, by means of which he transforms the potential into actuality. In consequence of the Lord's conjunction with māyā the creation of the universe is even unavoidable.[81] Śakti may also be regarded as identical with the names and forms which in their non-evolved form are in Īśvara and when evolved constitute the world. From this point of view māyā may be identified with prakṛti,[82] i.e. "nature".[83] Māyā is substantially Īśvara in multiple names and forms (cf. ṚV. 3, 53, 8 etc.). "Name and form, the inventions of error, are neither definable as being (brahman), nor as distinct from it; they are the germs of the whole expansion of the universe, traditionally (in śruti and smṛti) called māyā, śakti or prakṛti of the omniscient Lord".[84] Thus māyā may serve to indicate empiric reality, the individual jīvas (incarnated souls) and nature (prakṛti). As however from the higher point of view Īśvara does not exist and any difference between creator and creation is a fallacy, how is the transformation to be explained? The answer is: brahman manifests itself as name and form without undergoing any real change or transformation and without being touched or polluted by the association with māyā (vivarta doctrine).

Summarizing the above exposition we may say that in Śaṅkara's Vedānta the stuff of world-objects as well as mind, the senses and all their activities, functionings and the like are but modifications due to māyā, which while being indescribable (*anirvācya-*) in itself, is always related to pure being and consciousness as its underlying principle, hiding this from our view in its forms as material objects and being made self-conscious by the illuminating flash of the underlying principle of pure consciousness in its forms as ideas or intellectual states.[85] Māyā,

[81] Cf. also *ŚaṅkaraBhāṣya* 2,2,2 f.
[82] See Hiriyanna, *o.c.*, p. 160 f.
[83] prakṛti: equivalent assez exact de Nature avec ses deux faces de natura naturans et natura naturata, Lacombe, *o.c.*, p. 54.
[84] See *ŚaṅkaraBhāṣya*, translated by G. Thibaut, in Sacred Books of the East, 34, Oxford 1890, p. 328 f. It should be borne in mind that here prakṛti is neither real nor absolutely independent, as it is in the Sāṃkhya system.
[85] Cf. also S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, II (Cambridge, 1932), p. 35.

undefinable and inexplicable, neither being nor non-being, hiding reality and projecting a pseudo-reality, is the postulate needed to account for the phenomenon called universe, for the (pseudo-)existence of the universe, although it is only the One which exists. For all practical purposes the world may however be considered as really existing. In explaining his difficult doctrine Śaṅkara also resorts to similes, inter alia to the activities of the illusionist[86] (see e.g. Brahmas. Bh. 2, 1, 28). But these analogies with dreams or jugglery should be taken only as illustrative examples to make the māyā conception popularly intelligible.

It is however difficult wholly to reconcile all passages in Śaṅkara's work exhibiting the term *māyā*.[87] Hence also the difference of opinion which finds expression in the works of his adherents. Whereas Sureśvara (VIIIth cent. ?),[88] giving up any attempt to explain the world, considers māyā to be no more than a veil covering the One and the instrument or means by which this appears as plurality, Vācaspati Miśra (IXth cent.), conceiving brahman "jointly with his avidyā" to be the material cause of the world, holds it to be co-existent with brahman and an accessary producing the pseudo-reality of the universe. Sarvajñātma Muni (IXth cent.) on the other hand,[89] averse from the doctrine that māyā has the same degree of co-operation in the production of the world-appearance as brahman, declares the latter to be the real material cause of the world through the instrumentality of māyā; for brahman which is absolutely changeless cannot by itself be the cause of the universe, so that, when it is spoken of as cause, this can only be in a modified sense, through the instrumentality of māyā.[90] "This creation is like a dream, visible only in the state of avidyā". The cause of the phantasmagoria of sky, earth etc. is māyā which depends on the Lord and is the general cause of all objects. God's māyā, which is the mother of all internal and external things, is the power which binds and like the net of a fisherman catches hold of the ignorant beings and also retires owing to the will of the Lord. Prakāśānanda (± 1600) however preached the extreme view: there is no kind of objectivity that can be attributed to the world which is without causa-

[86] "As the magician is not affected by the māyā which he has himself created, since it is unreal, so also the Supreme is not affected by the māyā of saṃsāra". See *Śaṅkara-Bhāṣya*, transl., S.B.E. 34, p. 138.
[87] P. Hacker, "Eigentümlichkeiten der Lehre und Terminologie Śaṅkaras", in *Z.D.M.G.* 100 (1950), p. 273 ff.; Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 108 ff.
[88] See P. Hacker, "Untersuchungen über Texte des frühen Advaitavāda", I *Die Schüler Śaṅkaras* (Wiesbaden, 1950), p. 10 ff.
[89] See S. N. Sharma, *The teachings of Sarvajñātmā Muni*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1954).
[90] See also Dasgupta, *o.c.*, II, p. 11 and Hacker, *Untersuchungen über Texte des frühen Advaitavāda* (see above).

tion or creation; māyā is absolutely non-existent; all becoming is an hallucination.[91]

Let us now focus our attention on those important schools of thought which mainly for religious reasons dissented from Śaṅkara's doctrine, and which while rejecting both ritual formalism and onesided philosophical theories, were inspired by the belief in a personal God who enters into relations with his adorers. The theory that God as well as the world – in which they believed to be able to obtain salvation – and their own mundane existence are no more than pseudo-reality was unacceptable to them. Emphasizing the importance of the feminine element in the process of creation and associating oneself on the one hand with the popular belief in a 'Great Goddess'[92] and on the other with ancient philosophical traditions concerning the One becoming male and female (BĀU. 1, 4), the Śivaite Śāktists[93] argued that Śakti – mythologically speaking his consort – without whom God is unable to do anything is essentially identical with the Lord, like glow and fire. This means, on the mythological plane, that the universe owes its existence to the union of Īśvara and Śakti. Philosophically speaking we may consider the Lord (Śiva) to represent the One in its static, Śakti in its cinetic-dynamic aspect, reality consisting of both aspects. Rejecting Śaṅkara's solution of the riddle of the relation between the One and the world the Śāktists regard the universe, which is a projection of Śakti, as 'really deriving' from brahman.[94] According to this school of thought Brahman as Śakti has two inseparable[95] aspects, the spiritual represented by *cit*[96]*-śakti-* and the material represented by *māyā-śakti-*. At the same time however māyā-śakti is that aspect of cit in which and through which it manifests itself. Or to express myself otherwise: the eternal and unchangeable reality, which is at the same time cit, forms through its śakti all phenomena, māyā-śakti producing the forms in which the eternal is, as cit-śakti, present. If māyā, the mother of the universe, should be destroyed, the entire universe would

[91] Cf. also Dasgupta, *o.c.*, II, p. 224.

[92] Now see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 274 and 322; II (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 37, 40 etc.

[93] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 39 ff.

[94] It is however conceded that this answer does not mean a complete solution of the problem. See e.g. J. Woodroffe (pseud. Arthur Avalon), *Shakti and Shākta* (London, 1929³), p. 277: "It is however better to hold both the reality of the Brahman and the world leaving it to spiritual experience to synthesize them, than to neglect one at the cost of the other".

[95] Like the wind and the air in which it blows.

[96] The usual translation "consciousness" may easily be misunderstood. Brahman as *cit* – which by itself is not particular, nor conditioned and concrete – is "the infinite substratum of all that is commonly understood by "consciousness"" (Woodroffe, *o.c.*, p. 241).

be annihilated. In holding that according to their own interpretation of the Advaita-doctrine cit, without ceasing to be what it is, veils or envelops itself – māyā-śakti being its ability to do so –, whereas in their opinion Śaṅkara regards māyā as a principle beside the One, these Śāktists are convinced to have found the correct interpretation of the basic truth: this all is brahman. Last, but not least: God who veils his true being is also able and willing to unveil himself for those who adore him and try to know him. He performs this act of grace (*anugraha-*) likewise through his māyā-śakti. Hence the identification of māyā with God's anugraha on the one hand and with this knowledge (*vidyā*) which means deliverance on the other.

Like the other great schools of religious and philosophical thought Viṣṇuism is no unity or homogeneous system.[97] Let it suffice here to draw attention to the doctrine expounded, according to the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā,[98] by the Viṣṇuite Pāñcarātrins. The Lord, Viṣṇu, periodically produces, in sport, names and forms, and after these, prakṛti (the hypostasized synthesis of all objects and phenomena), which is called māyā and with which he begins to amuse himself. Māyā however possesses a śakti, an energy for each soul and provokes, in the souls, the desire to enjoy her. In doing so she is the cause of the avidyā on the part of the incarnated souls, i.e. of their ignorance of their own nature and the Highest Soul, which induces them to identify themselves with their phenomenal existence. Prakṛti is also called Lakṣmī, i.e. Viṣṇu's consort and vidyā the "knowledge leading to a supranormal goal" and māyā-śakti.[99] "Thus the Māyā-Śakti, called also simply Śakti, further Bhagavat-Śakti ("the Lord's Śakti") ... or simply Vidyā, is ... the non-spiritual energy which comes into existence, by the side of the Puruṣa, as the primitive form of the 'matter' or 'nature' (prakṛti) ..." Other Viṣṇuites, e.g. the author of the BhāgavataPurāṇa 3, 25, assert that the Highest Being, which initially was alone, through his will or desire, i.e. his śakti – being and non-being in nature –, also called māyā, conceived many ideas. As a female deity Māyā is impregnated by him, and thus the work of creation begins.

Although their religious convictions prevented most Viṣṇuites from subscribing to Śaṅkara's conclusions,[100] the authority of the basic scrip-

[97] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 115 ff.

[98] See F. O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā* (Adyar-Madras, 1916), p. 62 ff.

[99] For details see Schrader, *o.c.*, p. 62 ff.

[100] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, esp. p. 131 ff.

tures was also in their view an incontestable fact. What they needed was a re-interpretation of the scriptures of the same high level of intellectual excellence which did full justice to their religious belief and feelings.

It was Rāmānuja (± 1050-1137)[101] who, while taking this task upon himself, succeeded in creating a work of enduring value, which proved a worthy counterpart of Śaṅkara's great achievement. Basing himself on the conviction that Brahman in the first place is God, he defends the thesis that the world and the incarnated souls are real.[102] Considering brahman and the universe a unity like soul and body and rejecting the doctrine of the world's pseudo-reality he attacks Śaṅkara's māyā theory, which, he holds, is neither based upon the scriptures nor logically tenable.[103] In his view the souls and the universe have real existence as far as they are brahman's body; without him or separate from him they are nothing.[104] Basing his criticism not always upon that interpretation of his adversary's terminology which Śaṅkara himself would have accepted as his own he attempts to refute the latter's thesis that avidyā and māyā are two distinct conceptions, the former being supposed to be that which deludes one's self, the latter that by which others are deluded.[105]

According to this great exponent of Viṣṇuite thought māyā symbolizes the wonderful, the mysterious in God's creation and creative power. All that can be called māyā is from the human point of view a marvel and a mystery. Dreams and visions are marvellous because they can be perceived by nobody except the dreamer or the person who receives the vision. God is the only one who can work such miracles.[106] God's

[101] Cf. e.g. J. A. B. van Buitenen, *Rāmānuja's Vedārthasaṃgraha* (Poona 1956); V. S. Ghate, *The Vedānta* (Poona, 1926); A. Hohenberger, *Rāmānuja* (Bonn, 1960).

[102] For a résumé see Hohenberger, *o.c.*, p. 37 ff.

[103] For the complete argumentation see G. Thibaut's translation, "The Vedāntasūtras with the commentary of Rāmānuja", *Sacred Books of the East*, 48 (Oxford, 1904), p. 105; a long résumé was given by Dasgupta, *A history of Indian philosophy*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 304-346; esp. p. 334 ff.

[104] See also V. A. Sukthankar, "Teachings of Vedānta according to Rāmānuja", in *W.Z.K.M.* 22 (1908), p. 287 ff.

[105] If it is supposed that māyā, supported by brahman, manifests its various forms to others as well as deludes them, it is hard to distinguish it from the conception of avidyā. If avidyā is restricted to denote the agent which causes false perceptions, then māyā may also be called avidyā, for it also causes the false world-appearance to be perceived. If it is supposed that the difference between avidyā and māyā is that the former, by producing illusory experiences, hurts the real interests of the perceiving selves, yet brahman which (the Lord, who) perceives these illusory selves and their experiences does so through the agency of māyā which does not injure his interest (Dasgupta, *o.c.*, III, p. 335). Etc.

[106] Cf. O. Lacombe, *La doctrine morale et métaphysique de Rāmānuja* (Paris, 1938), p. 119 ff.

creative power is not only an art and, although absolutely righteous, a play, but also māyā, i.e. the achievement of phenomena which are beyond human understanding. The whole empirical reality, which forms part of his holy substance, arises from this marvellous ability. A wonder it is that God, although the world is his body, is not affected by its imperfections. This miraculous power of the Lord has a counterpart, viz. his grace, which far from being granted arbitrarily serves his infallible justice. It is important to notice that Rāmānuja in discussing the problem of the true nature of māyā refers to the ancient texts. When these speak of weapons of asuras, produced by their māyā, they cannot be said to lack reality. Here also māyā is that which effects wonderful results. And ŚvetU. 4, 9 is quoted in substantiation of his statements: "this text shows that prakṛti, nature, called māyā, produces manifold creations; the Highest Person is called *māyin-* because he possesses that māyā-power". In identifying the multiform changeable world – which for that very reason is incomprehensible, because it is based on the changeless One – with māyā Rāmānuja concurs with other schools of thought mentioned in the above pages. The prakṛti underlying the world, being māyā, is brahman's prakāra; that is to say, it is ontologically speaking part of the universal whole, dependent on brahman without being separate from it.

It may not be out of place here to insert a few lines on the relation between Rāmānuja's oeuvre and the early texts in order to give an idea of the philosopher's 'traditionalism'. The authoritative character of "verbal testimony" (*śabda-*) is indeed a fundamental assumption within the pales of 'orthodox' Indian philosophy. Rāmānuja was not content with the statement that the Veda is an infallible approach to the knowledge of the Eternal Brahman. His is an unremitting zeal to show that his own interpretation of the Vedānta and his doctrine of salvation is in perfect agreement with the ancient sacred texts. How great his familiarity with this literature was appears from the very large number of quotations. In his ŚrīBhāṣya, i.e. the great commentary on the VedāntaSūtras, this number is no less than 4265.[107] The ChāndogyaU. is referred to 691 times, the Bṛhadāraṇyaka 414 times, the Śvetāśvatara 144 times, the Bhagavadgītā 132 times, the ViṣṇuPurāṇa 161 times.[108] With regard to Rāmānuja's evaluation of the smṛti (Mahābhārata, Manu, ViṣṇuPurāṇa etc.) it may suffice to quote Vedārthasaṃgraha 133 where the Rāmāyaṇa is stated to have been composed and handed down in order to support the Veda and his commentary on BrahmaSūtra 2, 1, 1 "... those

[107] See the edition by Pt. V. Sh. Abhyankar, Bombay, 1914.

[108] See also Hohenberger, *o.c.*, p. 20 f.

people whose knowledge of scriptural revelation falls short stand in need of corroboration of the objects (dealt with in the Veda); many smṛtis, promulgated by perfectly trustworthy personalities in harmony with the contexts of the śruti, serve to corroborate them ...".

Another point of interest is that Rāmānuja – and in this he is not alone –, though teaching that the only means of attaining final release (*mokṣa-*) or "deathlessness" (*amṛtatva-*) is the knowledge of – i.e. the complete identification with[109] – the Supreme Person, considers a thorough knowledge of the traditional dharma and an unremitting performance of rites and religious works a necessity, not only before the origination of 'knowledge', but even after it is originated. Sacrifices and similar works purify the mind and cause the realisation of brahman to take place with ever-increasing vividness. This difference of views between Rāmānuja and Śaṅkara is due to their different conceptions regarding saṃsāra and mokṣa. According to the former saṃsāra, the soul's state of bondage, is an actual implication in a really existing world.

After Rāmānuja's times the controversy continued. Whereas Śaṅkara's followers preferred to use the term *māyā* especially when the dynamic and creative aspect of the empirical reality came to the fore and to reserve avidyā for the epistemological aspect, among the Rāmānujīyas and other theists no unanimity could be reached. Sometimes a metaphysical sense is considered to be of greater importance, then again the moral or psychological aspects are emphasized. According to Madhva (XIIIth cent.), for instance, māyā is the ignorance which produces pseudo-knowledge and especially evokes the erroneous idea of "I" and "mine".[110] Rejecting Śaṅkara's māyā doctrine this authority enunciated a theory of realistic dualism. Another philosopher, Jñāneśvara (last decades of the XIIIth century) returned to the old image of the world-tree or tree of existence – which occurs already Kaṭha-upan. 6, 1 – "the (root of that tree) indeed is the pure, it is brahman, it is called immortal; in it all the worlds rest ..."[111] –, the aśvattha which has its roots upwards in absolute existence and grows downwards. The mysterious power which makes this "tree" possible is what he calls māyā. Because properly speaking the tree of existence has neither come into being, nor does it exist – the world being

[109] The 'knowledge' which leads to mokṣa has two elements, viz. the possession of the right knowledge of the nature of brahman, and the ability always to realize meditatively the immediate presence of brahman.

[110] H. von Glasenapp, *Madhva's Philosophie des Vishnu-Glaubens* (Bonn-Leipzig, 1923), p. 77.

[111] This same simile of the world as an eternal fig-tree growing out of bráhman is further elaborated in BhG. 15, 1 ff.

like a mirage which appears but does not exist – māyā signifies to him 'non-existence'.

Other definitions and descriptions are e.g. that given by Caitanya's followers: Māyā, the cause of man's bondage, causes the creation, sustenance and dissolution of the phenomenal world, and consists of an aspect of God's extraneous power in the form of the material prakṛti the evolution of which it causes. Māyā being no illusion, the resulting phenomenal world is relatively real. One may also say that through this māyā-śakti the Bhagavat limits himself to his partial manifestations. As śakti cannot stand by itself and must inhere in a body, the Bhagavat, being the substratum of māyā-śakti is also its displayer. As to the ultimate question of the reason or necessity of this display of energy on the part of the Lord, the answer is that it is an aspect of his inscrutable divine sport (*līlā-*).[112]

That in recent times – in which Hinduism is going through a process of unprecedented change and reconstruction – leading philosophers have not lost sight of the importance of the māyā concept may appear from the works of Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan.[113] Whereas brahman is, in his opinion, not a metaphysical abstraction, but living dynamic, spiritual reality, the source and foundation of the endless varied forms of the empirical universe, the term māyā denotes the phenomenal character of the empirical self and the world answering to it. "Māyā does not mean that the empirical world with the selves in it is an illusion, for the whole effort of the cosmos is directed to and sustained by the one supreme self, which though distinct from everything is implicated in everything". "The view which regards the multiplicity as ultimate is deceptive (māyā), for it causes the desire to live separate and independent lives". "The doctrine of māyā tells us that we fall away from our authentic being if we are lost in the world of empirical objects and earthly desires, turning our back on the reality, which gives them value". "When the Hindu thinkers ask us to free ourselves from māyā, they are asking us to shake off our bondage to the unreal values which are dominating us".

[112] See S.K.De, *Early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1942), p. 276 ff. etc. – "The perfection of God overflows into the world. The world is the outflow of the surplus energies of God, the supreme artist. Līlā or sport brings out the rationality, the freedom and the joyous exercise of spontaneity involved in the art of creation" (Radhakrishnan, Hindu view of life, p. 69).

[113] See especially S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern religions and Western thought* (Oxford, [2]1940), p. 27 f.; 31; 47 f.; 84 ff. etc. A synopsis of his views was given by Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 198 ff. who provides his readers also with a comprehensive summary of the opinions of some other modern Indian authors.

"So far as the unlettered peasant is concerned", Devanandan[114] observes, "his religious creed, though by no means definitely formulated, certainly includes the two axiomatic beliefs of karma and māyā. By the former, he understands that practically everything in life is predetermined .... The events which occur in a man's life though they are due to the decree of karma are actual. One suffers them. But in a spirit of detachment, for they are all māyā. They cannot have lasting significance to the individual who can see through their falsity in relation to the eternal substance". The doctrine of māyā is by the average Hindu accepted as an attitude towards life rather than a theory of the world: "nothing in life is dependable, and whatever overtakes us in this world, whether good or ill, cannot be explained with reference to a purposive mind behind the world process". This bafflement is due to our ignorance of the exact nature of the karmic process. This ignorance is an acknowledgment of man's inborn inability to fathom the mystery.[115]

It is indeed true that the māyā theory after having been made the object of various criticism within and outside the fold of Vedānta found again new supporters in modern times. The old ideas of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara were further elaborated. In all parts of India there are many scholars and philosophers who feel themselves particularly attached to the Vedānta lines of thought, of which the ancient doctrine of māyā is the foundation-stone. What is of no less importance: the māyā conception has been a great comfort to many people who were confused and perplexed by the vicissitudes of earthly life.

Thus the age-long history of the māyā concept shows us that this most important idea has passed through various stages of development, that it has fascinated generation after generation of Indians, that it has been considered and carefully examined from every point of view possible, that philosophers and theologians of various schools and denominations felt irresistibly attracted to fathom its character, to investigate with all subtleties of abstract thought its implications, to penetrate into its true meaning and that they in so doing emphasized different aspects, drew different conclusions, had an eye for different implications, did not always couch their thoughts in the same words. It cannot however be said that the idea itself has in the course of the last twenty-three centuries or so been essentially modified. What was at first intuitively understood and imperfectly formulated, elucidated by popular similes, or intimated by

114 Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 182 f.

115 This is not to imply, with Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 185 that "magic" (as mysterious power which blindfolds the individual) is the original sense of the term māyā.

means of mythological imagery, underwent, in later times, a process of intellectualization, of deepening and broadening; the very core of the concept, however, remained unaffected.

In a former publication[116] I made an attempt to show that of all etymologies proposed for the term under investigation the connection with the root *mā-* denoting such ideas as "creative thinking, devising" (I.E. *mē-*: cf. Gr. μῆτις "wisdom, skill, craft" etc.[117]) is less questionable than other solutions of this vexed problem. Although I stick to my opinion that in discussing the use, meaning and function of such important concepts the etymology should occupy only a subordinate place, and I have no reason to re-open the discussion on this point, it may be useful to add some comment on the opinions expressed by Mr. Devanandan.[118] According to this Indian scholar "pre-Vedic māyā" is first, the same as the well-known idea of mana, and "a local variant of that primitive religious category", which in the various periods of Hindu literature acquired a most significant 'meaning-content', and in the second place, decidedly Dravidian rather than Aryan. The very word, he holds, points to the latter conclusion, the traditional Sanskrit derivation being "obviously forced". Ignoring however all that has been said on this topic in the West and in modern publications in general[119] he confines himself to attacking Sāyaṇa, whose judgment in matters etymological, to say the least of it, cannot be considered final. Although the commentator's usual explanation of *māyā-* as *prajñā-* "wisdom, intelligence, device, design" (according to Devanandan "magical power") is regarded as more acceptable than the connection with the root *mā-*, "it is", the Indian scholar continues, "more probable that the word *māyā-* is non-Aryan". As much of what Professor Edgerton – under whose direction Dr. Devanandan's study was undertaken – has called "the magical philosophy of the Upanishads" is conditioned by this concept of 'power', this Dravidian culture trait, must, Devanandan argues, be considered to have exercized a profound influence on later Vedic and Upaniṣadic thought. "The terminology", he adds not without a tinge of self-contradiction, "might be Aryan, but

116 *Four studies*, chapter IV.

117 See *Four studies*, p. 179 ff. Not exactly ("Bilden, Schaffen, ..." Mayrhofer, *o.c.*, 527). I must decidedly combat Burrow's opinion (*J.R.A.S.* 1960, p. 95) who attempts to derive *māyā* from an I. E. root *mā-* "to make": Lat. *māter* "mother", and *māteries* "material". For both words see A. Walde-J. B. Hofmann, *Lat. etym. Wörterbuch*, II, p. 49 ff. Sāyaṇa cited by my esteemed colleague (on ṚV. 1,160,2) is no authority on I. E. linguistics. For "measuring" and "making" see *Four studies*, p. 167 ff.

118 Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 213 ff., esp. 213; 215.

119 See *Four studies*, p. 119 ff.

the thought is the contribution of Dravidian culture.... Garbed in Aryan terminology, Dravidian animism is largely responsible for the Upaniṣadic desire to 'know' brahman ..., for "to know" is "to have power" (*śakti-*) over what is thus known ..." and śakti – to summarize Devanandan's argument – is a typically Dravidian concept: "The hypothesis that Śāktism is essentially Dravidian would be more reasonable, and its original germ of thought is possibly māyā".

Now the identification of the mana concept with one of the weltanschaulich important elements of the Vedic vocabulary, considering the latter to be no more than "a local variant of that (*sic*) primitive religious category" is, as I have argued at greater length in a former publication,[120] an inconsiderate undertaking of questionable profit. In so doing we run the risk of shedding Polynesian light on Indian concepts and of overlooking the distinctions between, e.g. the vague "supernatural power or influence which shows itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses", – all Melanesian religion consisting, in fact, "in getting this mana for one's self, or getting it used for one's benefit"[121] – on the one hand and the special power, skill, ability to achieve wonderful deeds expressed by the Vedic term māyā on the other. In so doing we risk mistaking an ancient Indian brahman for a Siberian shaman or an American Indian medicine-man or reinterpreting the Indian concepts in accordance with some modern theory on the mana idea in general. This is not to argue that mana and these ancient Indian 'power concepts' have nothing in common, nor to deny that the study of such concepts as mana and orenda in primitive cultures has no heuristic and illustrative value for research-workers in the field of Indian religion. It is only to emphasize that in rashly identifying mana with māyā, or with brahman[122] or with another Indian 'concept', we shall fail to distinguish the specific characteristics of the Indian idea, and to do justice to the undeniable fact that māyā, brahman etc. are important concepts among a large number of other concepts from which they cannot be detached, that they are or come to be invested with such a wealth of ideological implications and specified speculations that generalization in the light of so-called primitive standards of thinking would lead us to overlook the typical Indian superstructure and specialized sense of the Sanskrit terms.

[120] *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950), p. 16 ff.
[121] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 118, n. 1. For mana in general see e.g. G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), ch. I, p. 24 ff., etc.; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961).
[122] See *Notes on brahman*, l.c.

That is to say we should, starting from the insight that the ancient Indians like many other peoples were very well acquainted with the idea of (religious or sacred) power,[123] seriously attempt to find out what are the distinctive characteristics of those many ancient-Indian 'ideas', or rather 'power-substances', which each in its specific way represents an aspect of a very vague and general belief in 'Power'. This insight must be gained from a careful study of the Indian texts themselves, however true it may be that an investigator who is not acquainted with the power concept as a feature in the phenomenology of religion will never be successful.

I fail to see how "the fact that the local variant for mana in Dravidian culture (māyā) is still actually used for magic as well"[124] must be regarded as validly proving "the contention that mana and māyā have a common origin". Referring for the various contextual variants of the meaning expressed by the term māyā to my former publication[125] I only repeat my assertion that it is by no means an established fact that māyā 'originally' corresponded to our "magic". It is impossible to say which aspect of the in our eyes multiform concept was the oldest; it is even highly probable that this question itself is senseless and due to a misunderstanding. In any Indian culture, Dravidian or Vedic, the translation "magic" may in definite contexts and situations be the most plausible. Devanandan's observation that "to know" means "to have power over what is thus known" is of course true, but this insight or conviction is not limited to "Dravidian animism"; there is no reason for assuming that this widespread principle was foreign to the ancient Aryans or Indo-Europeans.[126] It seems, further, to be rather uncertain whether it is wise to refer, in this connection, to the term *śakti-* "power" which is, in Devanandan's book and other publications on Indian religion and philosophy, especially, and rightly, used in the sense of "(God's) creative power"[127] rather than "the

[123] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 17 f.; 26 ff. etc.; von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens*, passim.
[124] Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 216.
[125] *Four studies*, p. 139 ff.; 146 ff. etc.
[126] Compare e.g. van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, ch. 72; J. G. Fraser, *The golden bough*, I, abr. ed. (London, 1957), p. 342 ff.; Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 275 ff.; H. Oldenberg, *Vorwissenschaftliche Wissenschaft* (Göttingen, 1919), p. 103; J. Gonda, *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1959), p. 390 ff.; the same, *Epithets in the Ṛgveda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 32 ff.
[127] See e.g. the numerous definitions and quotations given by Bhīmācārya Jhalakīkar, *Nyāyakośa* (Poona, 1928), p. 851 ff., inter alia *śaktiḥ = kāraṇaniṣṭhaḥ kāryotpādanayogyo dharmaviśeṣaḥ, sa ca dharmaḥ pratibandhakābhāvādirūpakāraṇatvātmakaḥ, yathā vahnau dāhānukūlā śaktiḥ, ayaṃ bhāvaḥ, pratibandhakābhāvasya kāryamātraṃ prati kāraṇatvena dāhaṃ prati taduttejakābhāvaviśiṣṭamaṇiḥ pratibandhakaḥ tadabhāvaḥ kāraṇam iti kāryakāraṇabhāvovaśyaṃ svīkāryaḥ. tathā ca tādṛśakāraṇatvarūpaiva śaktiḥ iti* ... and *īśvaravatkāryeṇaiva śaktir apy anumīyate.*

hold or control over something or somebody known", an idea expressed, in Sanskrit, by other terms.[128]

In contradistinction to Devanandan[129] I would hesitate to deny that "the original Aryan naturism, which is certainly dominant in the earlier books of the Ṛgveda, could by itself have led to the magical-philosophy of the Atharva and the Brāhmaṇas". Leaving alone the exaggeration and unjustified onesidedness lying in the term 'naturism' and the probability that there have been other factors contributing to the development of the atharvanic and brāhmaṇa literature than the Ṛgveda, Devanandan's argument that "in the survival-values of early Aryan religion that we still find in modern Parseeism we find no corresponding development" is, I think, completely worthless. Why should modern Parseeism have developed in the same way as Hinduism? Are the earlier stages of Indian and Iranian religion, say Zoroastrianism and the 'philosophy' of the upaniṣads, identical? The great difference between modern Parseeism and Hinduism may also be due – and is no doubt due – to a large number of factors other than the influence of the Dravidian substratum on the development of the latter. It is true that the concept of śakti (in the sense of "divine creative power") is "a marked characteristic" of Dravidian cults, but does this fact imply that it must have been completely foreign to the Aryans before they had come into contact with the Dravidians, that "it was taken over into Aryan Vedism, and applied as an additional attribute to the Vedic gods of the Aryans"? Much more plausible is in my opinion the view implied in the above pages that Dravidian śakti ideas have in the course of time combined with ancient Aryan concepts of divine power and the mystery of the universe and "theories with regard to creation and the relation between the world and the Unseen". Had not, to mention only this, the author of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad 1, 4, 3 while dealing with the origin of the world set forth the 'theory' that in the beginning Brahman splits himself into two halves, one male and one female, and that together these two bring forth all that is in the world? Is there any sound reason why this idea could not have entered a non-Dravidian head? Nay, why shall we not rather refer to the Puruṣa-Virāj concept expressed in ṚV. 10, 90? More plausible is also the view that the māyā idea being known to the Vedic Aryans and applied to the wonderful creative or transformative ability of parochial gods, was in the course of time, as soon as the range of the religious and philosophical interests of the Aryans widened and deepened and their religious thought

[128] e.g. *vaśa-*; e.g. AV. 9,10,24 etc.

[129] Devanandan, *o.c.*, p. 214.

came to be intensively occupied with the intricate relation between the One and the manifoldness of the world, transferred to the problem of the relation between the Unique Principle or Sole Creator and the product of its or his transformative or creative power, i.e. the universe, including the totality of the incarnated souls. How much Dravidian blood coursed through the veins of those who developed these more comprehensive theories will always remain an unsolved riddle, just as, I fear, the answer to the question whether in the times of the earliest upaniṣads the Dravidians had produced any consistent theory on the relation between God and world and the mystery of creation which could have exerted a decisive influence on those philosophers who left us the Sanskrit texts of the brāhmaṇas, upaniṣads and of the philosophic portions of the ensuing literature. We should not forget that, if the substratum contributed more or less vague, more or less popular and unsystematic ideas about these highly difficult problems, it, it is true, may have exerted a stimulating or fecundating influence on the minds of those who – at the moment that the ancient Indian speculations on God and the world passed from a mythological stage to a more or less philosophical one –, expressing themselves in the Sanskrit language, conceived the theories, but it has been the latter whose activity was decisive in creating the typically Hindu view of God, soul and universe.

When finally Dr. Devanandan expresses the view that: "it is difficult to conceive of this crude 'mysticism' which is characteristic of the early upanishads and the brāhmaṇas as a natural development from the early Ṛgvedic ritualistic cult, where the whole religion centred in the ritual. The extraneous influence of the Dravidian māyā concept is partly responsible for this deviation", I for one must confess that things are not so difficult and hopeless as is the opinion of the Indian scholar. Early Vedic religion is, if we examine it more closely, more than mere ritualism, and there are more links between this 'ritualism' and the leading ideas of the upaniṣads and post-Vedic literature than some authorities are inclined to assume.

VII. 'GIFTS'

Some years ago Professor Renou[1] emphasized the remarkable change in religious terminology which, he says, "is almost completely transformed between the Veda and the Epic or the Purāṇas". "The old terms", he adds, "have disappeared or have so changed in meaning that they are hardly recognizable; a new terminology comes into being". I am afraid I cannot subscribe to this statement in its generality, or rather, I expect it to lead to misunderstandings on the part of those readers who do not realize that there are many exceptions. It is true that in cases such as (Vedic) *yajña-* and (Hindu) *pūjā-*, (Vedic) Rudra and (Hindu) Śiva – because, as appears from the subsequent remarks made by the French savant, names of gods are also, and justly, regarded as belonging to religious terminology – there is a striking difference between the older and the later period. One might of course also refer to the importance of the term *ṛta-* in the oldest texts, and to the prominence of *dharma-* – which is no synonym –, in Hinduism, to the absence of the term *saṃsāra-* in the Veda proper, and to many other terms.

However there is on the other hand, as far as I am able to see, no denying that old terms have not disappeared or have not so changed in application that they have come to refer to completely different concepts. There is moreover room for the contention that here also matters are much more complex than the brief formulations of our handbooks cannot but suggest. As a counterpoise to these generalizations which obscure the historical facts and blur out the vivid colours of the picture of Indian religious life in whatever period of its development I would consider it useful to point out the existence of many terms of religious import which, though showing some diversity of character or of historical development, have existed from Vedic times and have continued to exist far into the Hindu period or even to the present day. Whereas it is, in part of the cases and to a certain extent, no doubt true that where continuity has been

[1] L. Renou, *Religions of ancient India* (London, 1953), p. 47.

suggested, "the differences are really far more striking than the similarities", it is my conviction that the differences have, on the other hand, not rarely been exaggerated or thrown into undue relief. Or perhaps we should rather say, that a systematical examination of the similarities has not always been carried out, that their very occurrence has been left in the dark. It is clear that such an examination is not only a question of historical semantics. It is first and foremost an important contribution to the history of Indian thought and to the history of growth and development of the *humanitas indica*.[2]

It cannot, to begin with, be part of my task here to reopen the discussion on that term of outstanding importance, *bráhman-*.[3] Suffice it to say that in another publication I criticized the evolutionistic constructions of those who arranged the meanings of *bráhman-* and other *weltanschauliche* terms in such a manner that a definite historical development may be read off from the very arrangement. I made an attempt to show that this method runs the risk of putting too much stress on particular points of secondary importance and of regarding co-existent aspects as succeeding phases of development. It has moreover not rarely been too rashly assumed that a contextual "sense" prevailing in a collection of texts, which is as a whole, chronologically speaking, the most ancient source of knowledge of a given concept or tradition, must have been the "most original sense" of that word, which should therefore be adopted as the starting point of a chronological development. That is to say, in individual parts of the whole corpus of the Veda semantic aspects of a term may have been preferred which are either more 'original' than those shown by a comparative large number of rather homogeneous earliest texts, or are helpful in establishing the real semantic nucleus of the term of which the meaning predominating in the oldest documents is only an aspect or manifestation.

In this connection I emphasized the in my eyes indisputable fact that often the apparent 'polysemy' of many religious and *weltanschauliche* terms – *bráhman-* for instance impresses us ever since its earliest occur-

[2] See also the short discussion of the term *māyā* in chapter VI. Attention may in this connection be invited to the recent discussion of the term *śraddhā-* (usually translated by "faith") by H. W. Köhler, "Śraddha", Thesis Göttingen (un-published) 1948; P. Hacker, in Zs. f. Missionswiss. u. Religionswiss. 38 (1954), p. 51 ff.; the same, in *Wiener Zs. f. d. Kunde S. u. Ostasiens* 7 (1963), p. 151 ff. Without endorsing all opinions expressed by J. W. Hauer, *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1922) it may be maintained that already in ṚV. 1,5,3; 3,27,11 etc. *yoga-* is, in the ritual and religious sphere, used to denote the idea of "methodical effort".

[3] See my *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950) and my article "Ancient-Indian religious terminology", in *History of religions* 1 (Chicago, 1962), p. 243 ff., and esp. 267 ff.

rences in the Ṛgveda-saṃhitā as conveying different senses or different shades of meaning – is likely to be illusory, because our modern languages do not furnish us the means of rendering by one single word an 'idea' or 'concept' which is characteristic of the ancient Indian culture, or which, speaking more generally, is closely connected with lines of thought which are for centuries no longer ours. It is therefore in my opinion highly improbable that there has ever been a moment at which *bráhman-* only and exactly meant "formula" or "verse" or "sacred word". It is more probable that these 'meanings' are only aspects of a more general nuclear meaning which, in other contexts, brings out other aspects. That is, in the case of *bráhman-*, to say that its ritual meanings which come to the fore in many texts of the Ṛgveda represent only a facet of an idea which is more general than "sacred word" or "rite, ritual potency", which is even more comprehensive than these objects added together, and that these objects are designated by the same name, because they all participate in or partake of that important and central concept. This assumption is in harmony with the onesided character of the ancient documents themselves. Neither the Ṛgveda nor the other parts of Vedic literature give us a complete idea of the spiritual life of ancient India or a complete vocabulary of the language of its population in general. If we are agreed on these points this disposes of the necessity of constructing a direct and rectilinear connection between "formula" or "sacred word" and other 'meanings' which come to the fore in later times: "religious or spiritual knowledge" (which according to the dictionaries occurs in the Atharvaveda, the brāhmaṇas and later texts), "the self-existent, impersonal One, the fundamental essence and source from which all created beings and objects emanate" (Atharvaveda, ŚatBr. etc.), etc. If I am not mistaken, the old term *bráhman-* has not so changed in meaning that in later times it is hardly recognizable. There is on the contrary much to be said for the double thesis, first that *bráhman-*, being one of the more or less definite power-concepts, the more specific connotations of which may be understood in some context or other, may in a general way be defined as the 'idea' of "inherent firmness, imperishable solidity", as a "supporting or fundamental principle which is characterized by a power of supporting or strengthening and of expansion",[4] and in the second place that this nuclear meaning has ever since the earliest documents remained essentially the same.

In the Ṛgveda *bráhman-* repeatedly appears as a *vardhanam*, i.e. as something that causes to increase, that strengthens, animates and grants

[4] Cf. *Notes on brahman*, p. 58; 70 etc.

prosperity (cf. e.g. 2, 12, 14; 6, 23, 5; 8, 1, 3; 98 (87), 8).[5] In 1, 93, 6 Agni and Soma are said to be "augmented, increased, strengthened" by *bráhman-* which obviously stands for a force that causes to swell or increase or rather for something (the poet's eulogy) in which a power inheres which has this effect. Cf. also 1, 31, 18 *etenāgne brahmaṇā vāvṛdhasva*; 6, 17, 3; 38, 4. In 3, 53, 12 Viśvāmitra's *bráhman-* is stated to protect the people of the Bharatas. In AV. 12, 1, 29 the earth is stated to become strong or to increase by *bráhman-* (*brahmaṇā vāvṛdhānam*). In the first stanza of the same hymn the term occurs among the powers which sustain the earth. The combination of both stanzas shows us that *bráhman-*, bearing and sustaining the earth, enables her to be a firm seat for mankind and to bear refreshment and prosperity (see also 12, 1, 29 II).[6] According to ŚB. 3, 9, 1, 11 Prajāpati strengthened himself by means of *bráhman-*; in a similar way man can become strong through *bráhman-*. From places such as AV. 1, 23, 4 it appears that by means of *bráhman-* curative, i.e. restoring, maintaining, supporting processes were held to take place. In AV. 1, 32, 1 *mahad brahma vadiṣyati / na tat pṛthivyāṃ no divi yena prāṇanti vīrudhaḥ* "he will pronounce a great brahman; that (this pronoun refers to *brahma*) is not on earth nor in the sky by which the plants breathe".[7] The potency is also called an "inner bulwark or defence" against evil powers (ṚV. 6, 75, 19; AV. 1, 19, 4; 5, 8, 6). While ṚV. 1, 52, 7 *bráhman-* is said to fill Indra like the waves a piece of water, causing him to increase, and ŚB. 5, 3, 3, 5 it is said to be able to ripen wild rice, it is TB. 2, 8, 9, 6 – 7 considered the wood, the matter out of which heaven and earth are constructed; in AV. 9, 3, 19 a house is said to have been built by means of the same power. In AV. 10, 7 and 8 – which are an effort to formulate the ultimate foundation of creation – it is represented as the *skambha-* i.e. the "prop, support, fulcrum or pillar" serving as a frame or fulcrum of the universe in which earth, sky and atmosphere are placed and which sustains both heaven and earth. The norm under consideration is moreover in all periods of Indian literature frequently accompanied by adjectives expressing such ideas as "firm, immovable, imperishable" and considered a sustaining principle, a basis, support or firm and ultimate ground of existence.[8]

The inspired and correctly pronounced ritual word being an important

[5] See *Notes on brahman*, p. 40.

[6] See also H. Beckh, *Der Hymnus an die Erde* ... (Stuttgart, 1934), p. 48, who (p. 38) seems right in contending that 12,1,1 *bráhman-* is regarded as "eine das Leben der Erde 'tragende und ordnende' Macht".

[7] J. Charpentier, *Brahman* (Uppsala, 1932), p. 78.

[8] See *Notes on brahman*, p. 43 f.

means of strengthening and influencing the divine powers, a means also of maintaining the right order in the universe,[9] it is not strange that a word like *bráhman-* could so often be applied to verses, hymns and eulogies in which the power which it denotes manifested itself. Nor is it surprising that there existed a correlation to that group of men which could be collectively described as *brahma* (ṚV. 8, 35, 16) and the faculty of receiving that inspiration from which arose the hymns and words of the Veda. The term *brahmán-*, i.e. the bearer of *bráhman-*, the man in whom *bráhman-* assumes bodily form,[10] could be applied to all those who were distinguished by that special virtue or genius which is essential for the maintenance of the universe and the right course of things. That this nature and function of the brahman is more explicitly stated and described in later times, in which reflection and *weltanschauliches* theory come more to the fore and a systematic discussion of religious beliefs and social customs occupies a more prominent place than in the hymns and short formulas of the oldest documents stands to reason. There is however no difficulty in harmonizing a considerable number of early references to his power, character and functions with the relevant passages of the smṛti (dharma-works, the great epic) in which he is said to possess supernormal power (ViṣṇuSmṛti 78, 10; 46), to sustain the world (19, 21), and to purify by his word (VāsDhŚ. 14, 24).[11] In the Ṛgveda the brahmán is the mighty figure who by the ritual word he pronounces and the ritual acts he performs is able to achieve supernormal and highly important objects (4, 50, 7-9; 7, 42, 1 *pra brahmāṇo aṅgiraso nakṣanta pra krandanur nabhanyasya vetu*; 103, 7 and 8; 8, 58, 1; 10, 52, 2; 9, 113, 6 generating bliss through soma; cf. 1, 10, 1[12]). He is moreover the seat *par excellence* of speech (1, 164, 35), the expert in the knowledge of ritual texts (2, 39, 1; 8, 17, 3) and of important facts, events, phenomena, or connections (1, 164, 45; 10, 85, 3; 16), and considered able to restore people to health (10, 97, 22). He is also without reserve believed to be able to work wonders: 5, 40, 8 (the brahman Atri having found the sun when it was hidden by a demon places it in the sky) – as is well known, purāṇas and other texts of the Hindu period introduced many stories of members of the first class who possessed miraculous power[13] –, to neutralize evil influences (10, 85, 35; cf. 4, 50, 8[14]), to allay meteorological phenomena (10, 77, 1), to strengthen the gods (5, 31, 4).

The claim that the brahmans are gods on the earth which is found in a considerable number and variety of texts (AV. 5, 11, 11; TS. 1, 7, 3, 1; MS. 1, 4, 6; ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 6 "verily, there are two kinds of gods; for, indeed, the gods are the gods, and the brahmans who have studied and teach sacred lore are the human gods"; and ibid. 7 "the brahmans have the power of placing the sacrificer who gratifies them with gifts, in the heavenly world") for which one may compare e.g. Mbh. 3, 182, 18 cr. ed.; 12, 56, 22 cr. ed.; 13, 33, 15f. C.; Manu 9, 317; 11, 84; Parāśara 6, 52f. "the brahmans have all the gods in them"[15] – in the majority of the purāṇas the members of the first class are called the visible gods on earth (cf. e.g. VarPur. 125, 169) and identified with Viṣṇu or another great god – is hardly expressed in the Ṛgveda.[16] In other respects also the brahmans came already during the Vedic period to be highly eulogized, to be considered superior beings who might claim many prerogatives (see e.g. ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1 "honour, gifts, freedom from oppression and security against capital punishment" – from texts such as ṚV. 10, 109, 4 (AV. 5, 17, 6) "fearful is the brahman's wife when led away" the inviolability of the person and property of a brahman can only be deduced –; the same ideas of their superiority and sacredness are enunciated and further emphasized by the dharma-works, the epics and the purāṇas). Many Vedic works already contain references to the civilities to be paid to them (e.g. TB. 1, 1, 10, 6; ŚB. 2, 4, 1, 10), to their exceptional legal position (ŚB. 13, 3, 5, 3 "a murder other than the slaying of a brahman is no murder"[17]) and to the importance attached to the purity of brahmanical birth (TS. 6, 6, 1, 4; VS. 7, 46; ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 19). The high demands made upon his conduct, the fair standard of excellence he was required to maintain – he was to be pure in speech (e.g. ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 24), to be kind and gentle (ibid. 2, 3, 2, 12) – is illustrated already in the AiB. 7, 27 by the story of Viśvantara whose excuse for excluding the Śyāparṇas from his retinue was their impure speech. Finally the importance of the study of the sacred texts is repeatedly insisted upon (e.g. ŚB. 1, 7, 2, 3; 11, 5, 7, 10). The brahmans are the

[9] See e.g. *The vision of the Vedic poets* ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 135 ff.
[10] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 5,1,1,11 e.a "the brahmán is the bráhman" (*brahma hi brāhmaṇaḥ*).
[11] For other references see *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford) vol. 50 Index, p. 116 ff.
[12] See also A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects*, II (Benares,[2] 1958), p. 78.
[13] R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs* (Dacca, 1940), p. 257 f.

[14] See my paper "Purohita", in "Studia indologica", *Festschrift-W. Kirfel* (Bonn, 1955), p. 107 ff.
[15] For other references see P.V.Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 134 ff.
[16] The places quoted by various authors (e.g. ṚV. 1,128,8 by H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), p. 206 and 9,96,6 by R. Roth, in the Petrograd Dict., III, 737 s.v. *deva* 3) do not exhibit this sense.
[17] For other references Macdonell and Keith, *o.c.*, II, p. 84.

gurus of all classes, and superior to all of them (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 1 5). Theirs are the special privileges of teaching, officiating as priests and accepting gifts made as a religious duty. And the smṛti texts which declare that they are to expound the duties of all other classes (e.g. Manu 7, 37; 10, 2) are in harmony with KS. 9, 16 and TB. 2, 2, 1, 3: "the brahman is the supervisor over men".

It is true that the extraordinary position, power, and significance of the brahmans was, in several respects, on the increase in the successive ages:[18] Parāśara 6, 53 "whatever words are spoken by brahmans are spoken by the gods"; Manu 1, 100 "whatever exists in the world is the property of the brahman; he deserves everything on account of his descent"; 9, 315 "when angered brahmans might create other worlds and deprive the deities of their position"; Mbh. 3, 278, 16 cr. ed. "the sun shines in heaven on account of the salutations made by the brahmans" (cf. ŚB. 2, 3, 1, 5 "the sun would not rise if the brahman did not make that offering"). In the purāṇas passages are almost innumerable in which a member of the first class is said to be all the gods, deserving the worship of all men, and believed to be the only depositary of Vedic learning. Their sanctity is emphasized in highly extravagant language; people are for instance directed to drink the water with which the holy feet of a brahman are washed (e.g. PadmaP. Bkh. 14, 12). "The later the purāṇa the greater the claim to their divinity".[19] There is however no room for the contention that the ideas concerning the brahmans and the grounds of their claims to superiority have essentially changed in the period between the oldest brāhmaṇas and those texts which are unanimously regarded as the foundations of Hinduism. Kane[20] is no doubt substantially right in saying that if the other classes of society had not themselves more or less shared these ideas, no amount of iteration on the part of the brahmans would have succeeded in inculcating them so firmly. It seems warranted to add that this conviction of the masses also had its pre-Hinduist beginnings.

Reverting for a moment to the term *bráhman-* it must be emphasized that conclusions such as the above can be arrived at without starting from etymological considerations, which as is well known are far from having resulted in unanimity. Whether the etymological association with *bṛh-*, *bṛṃhati* "to be or make firm, strong, solid; to expand, promote" which was always taken for granted by the Indian exegetes, rests on historical reality or is only an interesting case of 'popular etymology' – and even of

[18] For details see e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 135 ff.
[19] Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 259.
[20] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 136.

such an imposing *a posteriori* etymology that it has contributed to a certain change in the meaning of the term –, the conviction of the Indian experts that *bráhman-* derives from *bṛh-* may be considered a source of welcome information on the important question as to how either traditionally or in a definite period, the Indians themselves thought about the basic or central sense of a 'key word'. The etymologies, whether they are correct or belong to the popular type, which repeatedly occur in many texts may indeed be regarded as reflecting more or less fixed opinions of the authors and shedding a peculiar light on the ways of interpreting nature, life, and the spiritual world in the communities to which these authors belonged.[21]

It is now time to focus attention on a number of terms denoting ideas of considerable prominence which have however in the handbooks of Indian *Kulturgeschichte* as well as the publications on the influence of the substratum and the problems connected with the Aryan or non-Aryan continuity in Indian history remained in the background. Though not difficult of explanation, it is indeed a remarkable fact that in contradistinction to such ideas as karman, māyā, dharma, pūjā, which each represent highly important aspects of Hinduism, other culture features which are, for instance in daily life and in the trains of thought of the masses, of no mean interest, have as far as I remember as yet hardly given occasion for systematic investigations into their history or even for launching out into rash or spectacular theories of their origin and earliest development. It would for instance be intelligible if those scholars who take for granted that the Indo-European Aryans were an 'élite'[22] which as such hardly participated in more or less 'primitive' or popular beliefs, customs, festivities and social behaviour, would be strongly inclined to assume the non-Aryan origin of those many cultural phenomena which Hinduism – or, rather, part of those 'traditions' which together constitute Hinduism – has, to a greater or lesser extent, in common with many human communities living under comparable circumstances.

Yet, a word of warning would not be misplaced. The problem of how far the 'Aryans' constituted a culturally homogeneous community marked with many striking features by which they could in any 'province' of culture be easily distinguished from the peoples of the substratum is not only very intricate but also insoluble. Any attempt at pointing out more

[21] See also my article "The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas", *Lingua* 5 (Amsterdam 1955), p. 61 ff.
[22] A thesis which was, on the ground of the vocabulary which the ancient Indo-European languages have in common, defended for instance by the famous French savant A. Meillet.

than general outlines would be premature, any effort to represent mere possibilities as reasonable hypotheses, speculative. Since the expression of natural humanity, i.e. the 'generally human pattern of life',[23] irrespective of racial connections and geographical environments is as contrasted with the *Hochkulturen* in various respects fairly similar, it is far from easy to decide whether definite culture traits belonged, in olden times, to the substratum (i.e. to one of the ethnic communities which constituted that substratum) or to those immigrants who, whether they were strictly speaking Aryan or not, participated in similar beliefs and customs. It seems indeed reasonable to suppose that the culture of the 'Aryan invaders' in their entirety was not identical with the picture of cultural conditions which the data contained in the Ṛgveda enable us to give. It is true that this corpus as compared with the other old documents exhibits a comparatively larger element of what may be called true Aryan culture, it is none the less obvious that it is mainly representative of the aspirations and interests of the male half of mankind, and, besides, only of those male individuals which belonged to the leading groups of society. The interests, opinions and religious concepts of the warriors, the 'princes' and the possessors and those of their priests and eulogists are placed in strong relief, the beliefs and traditions, customs and observances of women, of those concerned with agriculture, commerce, arts and crafts, of the subordinates – whether these components of the population were or were not Aryan by descent or culture – are as a rule only seldom and passingly touched upon. There is however no reason for supposing the culture of these groups to have been in all respects widely different from that of the substratum peoples. These considerations may suffice to prevent us from nourishing too great hopes of reaching definite results in attempting to unravel the problem of the extent of the Aryan and non-Aryan contributions to a considerable number of Indian social and religious phenomena. They do not on the other hand exempt us from the duty to trace the history of these phenomena so completely as possible and to discover how far this history, as far as it can be understood from the texts and, if they exist, other sources, is characterized as a continuous development, and how far it at a given moment impresses us as being interrupted by the

[23] I now intentionally avoid the terms 'primitive' or 'semi-primitive' which are so often, though groundlessly, misunderstood. The above expression is an attempt to translate the Dutch *algemeen menselijk patroon* meant to denote those culture features and that way of life and view of things mundane and supermundane which are to a considerable extent common to, and characteristic of, all human communities and civilizations outside the typically Western culture and outside the sphere of its influence, playing however in many respects a fundamental rôle in the non-Western *Hochkulturen*.

intrusion of elements which are foreign to the 'Sanskrit tradition'[24] of the older texts or which cannot, or only with considerable difficulty, be interpreted as developments from the older textually known forms of the same cultural phenomena.

Let me add another word of warning and mention the history of possession in India as a case in point. There has recently been some controversial discussion about the question as to how far the influence or control exercised by 'ghosts', demons, spirits etc. over man and the attendant circumstances such as trembling of the body are a typical manifestation of non-Sanskritic religion or popular Hinduism. Harper[25] considered the modern occurrences among a high śūdra caste in Mysore a feature of popular belief as opposed to the epic and philosophic Sanskrit tradition. The practices of those young Nāyars of Kerala who being conspicuous by a frenzied dance are believed to be possessed by ghosts belong, in the view of Miss Gough,[26] likewise to a 'non-Sanskritic' cult. Mainly because some of the Mysore 'shamans' tremble on the whole of their body[27] and the same phenomenon is attested by the behaviour of possessed persons among the Kaḷḷar in Madras,[28] Professor Staal of Amsterdam[29] called the 'non-Sanskritic' character of these religious phenomena in question. Possession and trembling are, he holds, in fact part of the Sanskritic great tradition. However, the possibility that these South-Indian cases of possession have genetically or historically nothing to do with the shamans and ecstatic practicians in Vedic times[30] remains

[24] On this term now see the critical remarks made by J. F. Staal, "Sanskrit and sanskritization", in *The Journal of Asian studies* 22 (1963), p. 261 ff. It may be true that the term is not completely adequate and in some respects even misleading – but how many terms in the fields of philological and historical sciences are absolutely correct, adequate and unambiguous? –, that from a purely theoretical point of view it could better be replaced by another word – which is however no tfurnished by the author – and, moreover, that it answers to a different concept in the study of Indian languages – a fact in which it is far from being alone, because there exist many terms which different branches of science have in common while using them in different ways –, the author himself is perfectly right in stating that the term and the concept of 'Sanskritization', introduced by the Indian scholar Srinivas are fruitful, because they pave the way for the description and analysis of many phenomena and may help to deepen our insight into the history of Indian civilization.

[25] E. B. Harper, "Shamanism in South India", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 13 (1957), p. 267 ff. See also R. Rahmann, "Shamanistic and related phenomena in Northern and Middle India", *Anthropos* 54 (1959), p. 681 ff.

[26] Kathleen Gough, in M. Singer, *Traditional India: structure and change* (Philadelphia, 1959), p. 241 ff.

[27] Harper, *o.c.*, p. 270.

[28] L. Dumont, *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du sud* (La Haye, 1957), p. 351.

[29] Staal, in *The Journal of Asian studies* 22, p. 267.

[30] For whom see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 109.

an important difficulty which needs clarification before the question can be decided, whether or not popular Hinduism has borrowed the above practices from the literary tradition. This clarification will in any case require a thorough examination of large bodies of literature. The problem is not settled by a reference to "the verbal root *vip-* which in the Veda denotes 'trembling, quivering'", and to *vipra-* which meaning literally "the quivering one" and occurring also in classical Sanskrit and in later stages of Indo-Aryan – cf. e.g. Hindī *vipr*, *vipar*, *bipar* –, is "the trembling Vedic seer who is possessed by inspiring gods". In concluding that "this hero of Sanskritization may be part of a picture in no way essentially different from that presented by later phenomena of possession classified by anthropologists as 'non-Sanskritic'" Staal fails to notice that "trembling" does not necessarily point to shamanistic possession. Elsewhere[31] I have not only reviewed other explications of the term *vipra-*,[32] but also attempted to show that in the Veda the "trembling" expressed by *vip-*, *vipra-* really was "the excitement or exaltation of the religious and at the same time poetic inspiration, the vibrant and exalted speech of moved poets". The term *vipra-* may originally have denoted a moved, inspired, ecstatic and 'enthusiastic' seer as a bearer or pronouncer of the emotional and vibrating, metrical sacred words. In a later period the spontaneous arising of the themes and objects of the poets was called 'vibration'[33] and mantras were believed to exert their power primarily through their 'sound-vibrations', the 'image of the deity' appearing, according to tantristic belief, from these rhythmical vibrations of these texts.

One of the above culture traits is, to use the technical term of the dharmaśāstra, *dāna-*, i.e. the transfer of property according to śāstric rites so as to reach a receiver who is a fit recipient with the idea that the donor will derive from this act some 'metaphysical' or unseen spiritual result.[34] We should not be deceived by the usual translations of our dictionaries: "donation, gift, liberality", because the modern meanings attached to these words do not coincide with the sense of *dāna-* in traditional India. Gift-giving among us has become so exclusively a social ceremonial among friends and relatives and liberality so much associated with charity that we are apt to overlook their other aspects.[35] It must on the contrary

[31] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 36 ff.

[32] "die zitternde Erregung des Dichters" (Oldenberg); "die bewegte schwungvolle Rede (des Redners", Geldner, similarly Renou); *vip-*: "magic conjuration" (Thieme).

[33] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, chapter XV.

[34] For indigenous definitions see Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 842.

[35] It is not my intention to sketch, in the following pages, the history of Indian charity. For this subject see the short résumé by J. Filliozat, in *Annuaire du collège de France* 55

be remembered that among many peoples on a certain cultural level gifts often have a social, religious and economic function which is widely different from our attitude in respect to donations or to the exchange of presents.[36] It is in many cases the ceremonial setting which lends property and its transfer their social worth.[37] Although institutionalized gift-giving was an important technique of distributing and re-distributing wealth, the process of giving also meant to place oneself in relation to another person by means of an object which is a part of one's own self. The gift establishes, or is expressive of, a bond between the giver and the recipient. It somehow produces rich returns for the donor,[38] for instance because the power (a concept not rarely identical with wealth) and the prestige of a donor and the pride of the group to which he belongs often depended largely on his ability to maintain a reputation for generosity.[39]

It is clear that in studying the function of the 'gift' and of 'liberality' in ancient Indian life we will have to take this background into account

(Paris 1955), p. 229 ff., who is generally speaking right in prefacing his article with the following observation: "Les conceptions relatives à la charité ont été recherchées dans les principales traditions sociales ou spirituelles de l'Inde depuis les plus anciennes jusqu'à celles d'aujourd'hui, où nombre d'éléments anciens persistent ou même sont actuellement remis en honneur". Another remark is likewise worth quoting: "ṚV. X apparaît l'expression *iṣṭāpūrtá-*, qui deviendra dans la tradition ultérieure une terme technique désignant ce qui est donné en sacrifice (*iṣṭa-*) et ce qui est donné en libéralités (*pūrta-*). Ce sens convient déjà à cette première attestation de l'expression (ṚV. 10,14,8), attendu qu'il est dit que "par l'*iṣṭāpūrtá*" le fidèle mort doit renaître au ciel supérieur et qu'il vient d'être dit qu'il voit les deux rois Yama et Varuṇa (cf. st. 7), celui-ci déjà gardien du ṛta, celui-là destiné à être considéré dans la tradition ultérieure essentiellement comme le roi du dharma, équivalent du ṛta (?, J. G.). Le Ṛgveda tardif met donc déjà le maintien du Bon Ordre (*ṛta-*) en rapport non seulement avec les dons qui permettent les rites et assurent l'existence de la classe sacerdotale, mais encore avec les libéralités générales (?, J. G.), bonnes oeuvres, énumérées plus tard comme consistant en distributions de nourriture, creusements de puits et d'étangs, constructions de temples, aménagements de jardins, etc., qui sont effectivement, d'après les inscriptions, depuis celles d'Asoka ... oeuvre des rois soucieux du dharma". Some remarks on this subject were also made by V. Raghavan, *The Indian heritage* (Bangalore, 1956), passim.

[36] See e.g. M. Mauss, *Essai sur le don* (Paris, 1950), Engl. transl. *The gift* (London, 1954); J. Grimm, "Schenken und Geben", *Kleine Schriften*, II (1865), p. 174 ff.; G. van der Leeuw, *L'homme primitif et la religion* (Paris, 1940), p. 65 ff.; R. Bunzel, in F. Boas, *General anthropology* (Boston, 1938), p. 390 ff. (who justly emphasizes the differences between "gifts" among different so-called primitive communities).

[37] See also A. Goldenweiser, *Anthropology* (New York, 1946), p. 153 f.

[38] It is however not true, as has often been contended, that the acceptance of a gift invariably binds the recipient to return something of equal or greater value.

[39] See e.g. R. Firth, *Primitive economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1929), passim. Among North-West American Indians honour comes not from the possession of wealth but from giving it away. In New Guinea a man gains status in his group not by possessing an object but because he has once possessed it. See e.g. G. A. Reichard, in Boas, *o.c.*, p. 461.

rather than interpret the relevant facts in the light of modern social usages and economic conditions. Thus there are ample reasons for assuming that the Maori principle according to which wealth largely belongs to the chief who after accepting it proceeds to its redistribution, giving to each according to his rank and needs could have been understood by those Vedic Indians who expected their great god Indra to be, after his conquests and victories, a liberal bestower of goods and benefits.[40] See e.g. also ṚV. 4, 20, 10; 7, 27, 3 where the deity is explicitly said to be a bestower of those goods which he possesses plentifully.[41] Similar a king's power ought, according to a widespread belief,[42] to overflow, the consequence of this being that he should bestow gifts. In old Icelandic and Anglo-Saxon poetry such terms as "giver of treasures", "dispenser of gold" are synonyms of "king"[43] and Tacitus, in his Germania,[44] records that the Germans were "prodigal in their demands on the generosity of their chiefs; it is always 'give me that war-horse' or 'give me that bloody and victorious spear'". The Arabian like these old German rulers were expected to display their power by giving presents.

The character of a Vedic 'gift' may, moreover, also be illustrated by passages such as AiB. 6, 35: one should not accept a 'gift' rejected by the priests; if one does so it should be given to a hated rival, who will be ruined because that 'gift' is "pierced with heat";[45] KB. 25, 14: the man who after promising to give all, does not give all, prepares for himself a pitfall; he will come to ruin. There is, so to say, an inverse ratio between total destruction and the gift of all possessions. In TS. 6, 1, 6, 3 a gift of one's wealth is declared to be tapas. That that character was not lost in in later times may e.g. appear from Medhātithi's (IXth cent.) statement (on Manu 4, 5): the technical term *pratigraha-* ("acceptance") does in dharmaśāstra not apply to merely taking a thing. It is applicable only to a particular kind of acceptance, viz. "when a person accepts what is given by the donor with the idea that the latter will derive from that act some unseen spiritual result (*adṛṣṭa-* or *puṇya-*) and when in making the gift a Vedic mantra is recited". The merit of gifts depends, not upon its

[40] *Epithets in the Ṛgveda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), p. 42 ff.
[41] See my article "Gifts and giving in the Ṛgveda", *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, II (Hoshiarpur, 1964), p. 9 ff.
[42] I refer to G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), p. 117.
[43] A. J. Portengen, in *Revue Anthrop.* 35 (1925), p. 367.
[44] Tacitus, *Germ.* 14.
[45] For the destructive character of heat see also C. J. Blair, *Heat in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda* (New Haven Conn., 1961), p. 81 ff.

extent, but on the mental attitude of the giver and the way in which he acquired his wealth.[46] According to Devala, a donor should moreover be "free from incurable or disgusting diseases, be religious and charitably inclined, free from vices, pure and following a blameless profession for livelihood".[47] These requirements are not essentially different from what in many civilizations was necessary to be a priest or other 'holy man' (cf. also ĀpŚS. 10, 1, 1). The same authority informs us that like study and sacrifices 'gifts' lose their power by being proclaimed to others, by boasting about them or by repenting of having done them.[48] Similar inferences may be drawn from the statements in connection with those objects which were forbidden to be accepted as gifts. A brahman should for instance not accept weapons, poison and spirituous liquor (VasDhS. 13, 55). In case of contravention he incurs sin (Manu 11, 194).

Thus it becomes clear that the many eulogies of gifts found in the Ṛgveda are something more than tokens of the poets' gratitude for the presents received, that they are not only intended to flatter the rich patrons and to incite them to "new acts of liberality",[49] that they are not only explicable from the greed of poets and priests.[50] These dānastutis,[51] lit. "praise of liberality", 'hymns' or more often stanzas incorporated in a 'hymn', commemorating the liberality of princes or other wealthy sacrificers towards the priestly reciters employed by them, have already from early times attracted the attention of commentators. The term occurs in technical use as early as Bṛhaddevatā 6, 45 (in connection with ṚV. 8, 5,

[46] I refer to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 847.
[47] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 845.
[48] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 849.
[49] Compare the somewhat one-sided definition given in L. Renou et J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, I (Paris, 1947), p. 273: "Il y a des traces de *captatio benevolentiae*; notamment dans les *dānastuti-*, ces "louanges pour le don" par lesquelles en fin d'hymne un auteur remercie le prince pour les présents qu'il a obtenus et esquisse un panégyrique".
[50] As was for instance supposed by H. Oldenberg, *Die Literatur des alten Indien* (Stuttgart, 1903), p. 20: "Diese Poesie ... steht im Dienst des Standesinteresses, des persönlichen Interesses, des Honorars". See also B. K. Ghosh, in R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, *The history and culture of the Indian people*, I (London, 1951), p. 348: "It is in these *dānastutis* that Brahmanical greed appears in its worst aspect in the *Ṛgveda*".
[51] See especially M. Patel, *Die Dānastuti's des Rig-veda*, Thesis (Marburg, 1929) (containing a "Versuch, die D. im ṚV. zu bestimmen"; a chapter on the connections between the d. and the hyms in which they occur; a discussion on the historical element in the d.; a chapter on the poets of the d.; one on the dakṣiṇā of the d. and a discussion of the deities mentioned in the d.). This work was recently translated into English: *The Dānastutis of the Ṛg-veda*, translated by Dr. B. H. Kapadia (Vallabh Vidyanagar, 1961).

38f.), but it is the ṚV. Anukramaṇī which furnishes us with the important information that these texts are addressed to 'kings': *rājñāṃ ca dānastutayaḥ* (2, 23). According to the scholiasts the royal donor is moreover considered to act as *devatā*, i.e. as the divinity to which the stanza is addressed or which is mentioned in it. It is, the Bṛhaddevatā (1, 2) teaches, a necessity to know the divinity of every formula exactly, because "he who knows the divinities, understands the object of the formulas". I do not see reasonable grounds for doubting that this direction applies also to the dānastutis. Besides, the name of the royal donor must be mentioned in the dānastuti (comm. in connection with 4, 32, 19ff.). I need not dwell here on the literary and historical significance of these eulogies of gifts and donors.[52] It interests us more to learn[53] that among the presents mentioned in the dānastutis the most prominent are cows; reference is however also made to gifts of horses, camels, sheep, asses, chariots, girls (female servants), gold, food, clothes.

First and foremost, the very occurrence of these stanzas in the Vedic hymns makes it clear that they were considered essential and important, that the poets appreciated this occasion for praising, thanking and 'flattering' – as we would call it – their patrons and for recounting the rewards which they had obtained. Moreover, some particulars contained in these passages – which may be regarded as genuine parts of the text[54] – show that they were something more than a poetical and hyper-polite acknowledgement. They obviously are not mere *captationes benevolentiae* or exclusively meant to ask for more remuneration. High though the material worth of the presents might have been in the eyes of the poets, these dānas were no doubt not solely given in order to pay for services, but also to maintain a profitable alliance (cf. e.g. ṚV. 8, 79, 5; 10, 151, 2) which it would be unwise to reject, to establish a bond between donor and recipient, by which both of them profit and the former gets a hold on the latter, and not in the last place because they obviously were an indispensable part of the rites and ceremonies. In these dānastutis the generosity of the donors is emphasized to such a degree that they obviously were regarded as typical representatives of liberality. That is to say, the donors were evidently represented as conforming to a definite standard; they ought to be liberal. See e.g. ṚV. 6, 27, 8; 45, 32; 8, 19, 36; 46, 24; 70, 15. Although the relevant passages may on the one hand be considered

[52] Patel, *o.c.*, p. 19.
[53] Patel, *o.c.*, p. 61 ff.
[54] I refer to Patel, *o.c.*, chapter III and to my paper on gifts in the Ṛgveda (see above, n. 41).

specimina of the tendency to idealize, i.e. to represent important figures as the most excellent of their kind and to exaggerate the worth and importance of the gifts, there seems on the other hand to be room for the supposition that in the eyes of the poets the liberality of the donors was a natural quality: the patrons were conceived as liberal because they were wealthy and it behoves the rich to distribute their possessions to others. Another point of interest is the rich returns which the givers are, in the texts, said to produce for themselves. From ṚV. 1, 122, 10; 125, 4ff.; 3, 53, 7; 7, 32, 10; 8, 6, 48; 56, 1; 10, 62, 11; 117, 6 etc.; AV. 9, 5, 9 etc. it appears that the objects given to the poet who has rendered him a service are not lost to the donor, but on the contrary are a source of benefit and prosperity. Moreover, being a donor means honour and distinction (1, 13, 11; 122, 10; 5, 18, 5; 27, 1; 30, 12 etc.). It is therefore – as far as I am able to see – not only self-interest but also a true evaluation of the function of the donor and of the higher aspects of 'liberality' which led the poets to formulate the blessings which are an essential part of the dānastutis (e.g. 1, 19, 4; 122, 12; 4, 15, 9f.; 10, 62, 8; 11 etc.). The donors are, to wind up with, compared to, or even identified with gods (8, 2, 33; 21, 17f.; cf. 1, 122, 14; 5, 52, 15ff. etc.), who are also said to stimulate their royal or well-to-do worshippers into a display of generosity (e.g. ṚV. 7, 27, 3; AV. 3, 20, 5 etc.).

There are striking points of resemblance between human and divine donorship, both fitting in the same trend of thought. If appearances are not deceptive many passages exhibit a close connection between a god's character and the benefits which he bestows on his worshippers. The frequent preference for epithets which bring out definite aspects of his character[55] – power, wealth, victoriousness, superiority etc. – in stanzas extolling their liberality, and the emphasis laid, in special cases, on the identity of the divine donors and their gifts (see ṚV. 1, 163, 2f.; AV. 2, 17 and 18; 19, 42, 4) give full scope for the supposition, not only that giving is so to say an essential trait of their character or part of their function, but also that in many cases their donations are more or less characteristic of their nature. Agni, for instance, who is a principle of life, a mighty generative force, "the creator of all that flies, walks, stands, or moves" (ṚV. 10, 88, 4) is frequently entreated for progeny (2, 4, 8; 3, 24, 5; 6, 13, 6 etc.). It seems, moreover, to have been the poets' conviction that the gods when duly praised and worshipped, are able and willing to part with their peculiar power and to impart to those who praise them the

[55] See *Epithets in the Ṛgveda*.

qualities indicated by their own 'epithets' or the benefits and valuables of which they are the possessors and of which they have the disposal. See e.g. also ŚB. 11, 4, 3. Their ability and readiness to give is not rarely so natural and self-evident that they are said to be "irresistible" (4, 20, 7; 32, 8; 7, 32, 5; 8, 14, 4 etc., in connection with Indra). In distributing their favours they moreover fall back upon immense wealth, upon an abundance of possessions (4, 20, 10; 7, 27, 3; 28, 5). It is suggested that, also in their case, wealth, power and nobility oblige the possessor to be helpful and munificent. It is noble and honourable to be generous (1, 176, 4). Not rarely also the gods are expressly stated to have won their wealth, or to have acquired it by force (3, 13, 3; 7, 21, 7; 10, 84, 7 etc.). Just like kings and chiefs who distribute the booty and gifts acquired in their capacity of political heads[56] to their helpers and subordinates, the gods were obviously expected to redistribute the valuables which they had gained to their worshippers.

In this light we may also view the much discussed reciprocity, whatever its other aspects: the gifts are bestowed on those worshippers who have discharged their obligations to the deities, on those who press soma or compose ritual texts (see e.g. 4, 32, 8; 7, 20, 2; 29, 1 and many other places). It would be incorrect to regard this reciprocity as a mere matter of bartering with gods corresponding to that carried on with fellow-men. It is, also in the Veda, at least partly, or when seen from a definite angle, "an opening of a blessed source of gifts".[57] Both god and worshipper give and receive, both participate in the powerfulness of what may be called a circular process on which the maintenance of the world-order as well as the continuance of life depends. Hence also the importance of giving and reciprocating (cf. AV. 3, 20, 8). A refusal to give may indeed be regarded as a token of contempt (ṚV. 1, 170, 3), but to the man who sacrifices and gives, his gift will not be lost (6, 28, 2f.).[58] The old formula *do-ut-des* – cf. TaittS. 1, 8, 4, 1; ŚB. 2, 5, 3, 19 *dehi me dadāmi te* "give me, I give thee" – often quoted to indicate that man sacrifices to the gods in order to receive from them the valuable objects he wants to possess, should therefore[59] be replaced by *do-ut-possis-dare* "I give in order that thou mayest be able to give". That is to say, man adds to the god's power, that he may

[56] See also W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 56; 103.
[57] Van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation*, p. 353.
[58] See also Mauss, *o.c.*, p. 40.
[59] As seen by van der Leeuw, "Die Do ut des-Formel in der Opfertheorie", in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 20 (Berlin-Leipzig, 1920-21), p. 241 ff.

have power to reciprocate and that life and the life processes may not stagnate because of any lack of potency[60] (cf. e.g. ṚV. 10, 36).

It is therefore not surprising that dāna was already in the brāhmaṇas one of the four obligations to the gods on earth, viz. the brahmans, laid on their fellow-men. ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1 the four 'duties' (*dharmān*) imposed on or attaching to a brahman, viz. brahmanhood (brahmanical rank or character), the corresponding suitable conduct, fame-and-dignity (*yaśaḥ*) and the mental and spiritual development of mankind (*lokapaktim*) on the side of the former find their counterpart in worship or adoration (*arcā*), liberality (*dānam*), (granting) security against oppression (*ajyeyatā*) and security against capital punishment (*avadhyatā*) on the part of the latter.

Dāna was, moreover, likewise at a comparatively early date included among those effective activities which were apt to assume the character of power-substances (Daseinsmächte[61]). According to JB. 2, 278 the man who knows is able to find the way to heaven by liberality and religious exertions (austerity etc.): *dānena, śrameṇa*. BĀU. 6, 2, 16 enunciates a similar doctrine, speaking of those who by worship ("sacrifice"), by giving gifts (*dānena*) and by 'asceticism' (*tapasā*) reach other worlds. The particulars imparted by ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 6 and 4, 3, 4, 4 are instructive: there are two kinds of devas, viz. the gods and the (human) gods, i.e. the brahmans who master the Veda. Sacrifice is divided between these two, the oblations going to the gods and the dakṣiṇā[62] – which is a special form of gift – to the brahmans. Both kinds of gods, when gratified, place (the sacrificer) in a state of bliss. That is to say, oblations to the gods and the 'gift' to the brahmans who perform the rites are put on a par and cooperate in achieving the object pursued. The brahmans, the same BĀU. 4, 4, 22 teaches us, seek to know the great unborn Self by study of the Veda, worship (*yajñena*), gifts (*dānena*), asceticism, and fasting. In 5, 2, 3 the concept of dāna combines with *dama-* "self-control" and *dayā-* "compassion" so as to form an alliterative triad. Another triad occurs ChU. 2, 23, 1 *yajño 'dhyayanaṃ dānam* "worship, study and liberality". All these texts tend to show the importance and character of 'liberality' in ancient Indian thought.

[60] See also A. Bertholet, *Der Sinn des kultischen* Opfers (Berlin Academy, 1942); A. G. van Hamel, *IJslands Odinsgeloof* (Amsterdam Academy, 1926); F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 207 f.; B. Heimann, in *Annals Bhandarkar Oriental Res. Inst.* (Poona) 28, p. 29.
[61] See especially H. von Glasenapp, *Entwicklungsstufen des indischen Denkens* (Halle S., 1940), p. 9 ff.
[62] For this concept see also my remark in the periodical *Lingua* 5, p. 67 ff.

From authoritative dharma-works[63] it appears that *dāna-* "making 'gifts'" was considered the principal aspect of religious life in the present Kali age (see e.g. Manu 1, 86, the other aspects being 'asceticism', higher knowledge (*jñānam*) and worship) and that it was the special duty of householders.[64] How far this was an extension of the meaning of *dāna-* as compared with the customs of the earliest period, or how far the bias of the ancient poets in favour of royal donorship prevents us from knowing exactly what was going on in other milieus is difficult to decide. The only point which interests us here is that the state of affairs or the ideals reflected in the dharma-works and the Vedic conceptions of dāna, in spite of a different 'accent' are not mutually exclusive. We may even go further. The eulogy of the gift of food contained in ṚV. 10, 117 – compare especially st. 6 *mogham annaṃ vindate apracetāḥ satyam bravīmi vadha it sa tasya / nāryamaṇam puṣyati no sakhāyaṃ kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī*, from which it appears that the possessions of the man who does not give are his ruin and that "he who takes food alone eats nothing but sin" – is the basis of the later teaching of BhagG. 3, 13 *bhuñjate te tv aghaṃ pāpā ye pacanty ātmakāraṇāt* "those however are wicked and eat sin, who cook for their own sakes"; Manu 3, 118 *aghaṃ sa kevalaṃ bhuṅkte yaḥ pacaty ātmakāraṇāt*, ViDh. (= ViṣṇuSmṛti) 67, 43.[65] The smṛti-texts speak on the other hand of various and detailed promises of rewards for several kinds of gifts: VāsDhŚ. 29, 8 "the man who gives water will be amply stocked with all desired objects", 9 "the man who gives food will have good eyes and a good memory", etc. (see also ViṣṇuSmṛti 91f.). By

[63] For details see Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 837.

[64] For general information the following passages may be quoted from L. Renou, "Le destin du Véda dans l'Inde", in *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, VI (Paris, 1960), p. 12 ff.: "Pour qui se pose la question de la survie du Véda après l'ère védique, la première masse documentaire qui se présente est la smṛti (stricto sensu), c'est-à-dire le Dharmaśāstra: celui-ci proclame uniformément son adhésion au Véda; il ignore la diversité purāṇique et les tendances sectaires; enfin les traités versifiés qui se succèdent à partir de Manu chaussent les bottes, pour ainsi dire, des Dharmasūtra adhérant aux anciennes écoles .... Les compilations encyclopédiques qui se succèdent jusqu' à l'époque moderne conservent de vastes développements qui sont la mise en forme, avec ou sans adaptations, des données anciennes: telle est en premier lieu la section des saṃskāra ou rites privés, en second lieu celles du dāna, du prāyaścitta, du vrata, du śrāddha. Les citations purāṇiques, souvent d'inspiration védique, y abondent ... Les Purāṇa forment un autre conservatoire de la pensée védique. Moins extérieurement traditionnels que la Smṛti, ils partagent avec le Véda la description mythologique, la cosmogonie, eventuellement l'enseignement rituel ... La difficulté commence lorsqu'on tente de préciser le 'védisme' des pratiques décrites dans les Purāṇa: tantôt les rites anciens sont simplement juxtaposés, plus souvent ils sont mêlés à des combinaisons nouvelles, ou bien absorbés au point d'être méconnaissables".

[65] For an instance of application see ChU. 4,1,1.

giving food and artificial cows of sesamum, clarified butter etc. to brahmans, the giver overcomes (PadmaP., Skh. 31, 135f.) hunger and thirst which, consequently, cannot trouble him in heaven. One might recall here the Vedic promise: donors do not die etc., ṚV. 10, 107, a stanza to which we will have to return presently. Statements such as VarP. 100, 12f. according to which not only the man who makes gifts and the brahman who accepts them, but also the one who sees them and hears about them, become free from sins, even if he is a murderer of a cow or a brahman, belong, of course, to those well-known exaggerations of many authors of the Hindu period.

From the last chapter of the Mahābhārata as edited in the As. Soc. Beng. and Bombay texts (18, 6) it appears that it was highly meritorious to listen to the great epic, and that the listener had to offer gifts to the reader. An inserted stanza in chapter 5[66] runs as follows: *dānāni dadyād vividhāni prītaye paramātmane / yasya yasya phalaprāptau vāñchā syāt tad vidhūyate* and *yo gośataṃ kanakaśṛṅgamayaṃ dadāti viprāya vedaviduṣe subahuśrutāya / puṇyāṃ ca bhāratakathāṃ satataṃ śṛṇoti tulyaṃ phalaṃ bhavati tasya ca tasya caiva.* These gifts which being offered to a brahman who is very learned and is especially well-versed in the Veda guarantee equivalent rewards to the giver, are not different from the ancient dakṣiṇās. According to ṚV. 10, 107, 8 the bountiful donors will not die i.e. they reach 'immortality', nor are they harmed or do they come to naught, the dakṣiṇā putting them in possession of this whole world and also heaven.

Gifts presented to the deities, i.e. out of religious motives are indeed never wasted, but always produce the highest merit, special gifts being specially efficacious. Among these are mentioned the offer of a black milch-cow with a calf, the dedication of a pond and a garden, the construction of an avenue, and even the building of a city, and further the presentations of various articles for the use of temples and worship such as a horse, an elephant, a palanquin, pitchers, bells, stands or receptacles for incense, light, lamps, dress and ornaments, religious books, dancing girls and maid-servants etc. etc.[67]

The texts provide more evidence of the close relations between the older and later usages and prescriptions in connection with 'gifts'. For instance the authority on dharma, of uncertain date, Devala[68] enumerates

[66] See Mahābhārata 18, *Svargārohaṇaparvan*, crit. ed. by S. K. Belvalkar (Poona, 1959), p. 31.

[67] See e.g. also S. K. De, *Early history of the Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 484.

[68] See Kane, *o.c.*, I (Poona, 1930), p. 120 f.

six constituent elements (*aṅgāni*) of dāna, viz. donor, donee, śraddhā, the subject of gift which must have been acquired by the giver in a proper way, a proper time and a proper place. Now, these *aṅgāni* are in part also indicated in Manu 4, 226f. who is quite explicit in stating that sacrifices must be offered and donations for the general benefit performed "with faith" (*śraddhayā*). The dakṣiṇā of the Vedic ritual is however also closely connected with *śraddhā* "the mutual trust between the god and his devotees, or between the sacrificer and the priests, the faithful and trustful surrender to the Veda, the words of the guru and the reliance on the efficacy of the rites".[69] An interesting ceremony (the so-called Sātyadūtahavīṃsi[70]) takes, for instance, place when a king has been anointed: the dakṣiṇās are not accepted by the priests but passed on, as gifts, to the rival kings, who by accepting them make it clear that they are the friends or allies of the new king; according to MS. 4, 4, 9 "they place 'faith' in him" (*śrad asmai ... dadhati*). The antiquity of these ideas and beliefs did of course not prevent later authors from defining or explaining the śraddhā concept so as to serve their purposes. Devala for instance[71] defined it as follows: "when on seeing a needy person the giver feels pleasure and indicates it by a smiling face, when he shows honour and is free from a feeling of ill-will or irritation (to a suppliant), that is said to be śraddhā". "By making a gift of even a handful of vegetables with a heart full of śraddhā and bhakti and to a very worthy person, one may secure happiness in all respects".

In discussing the receipt of the dakṣiṇā TB. 2, 2, 5; ĀpŚS. 14, 11, 2f. make mention of the long formula to be pronounced by the recipient. In this formula one sentence is subject to variation in accordance with the object given. If, for instance, the dakṣiṇā consists of gold this sentence is "for Agni the gold"; if it is a garment, "for Soma the garment"; if a cow, "for Rudra the cow"; a horse, "for Varuṇa the horse"; an elephant, "for the Himavān the elephant" etc. There can be hardly any doubt that it is on this ancient correlation between different gifts and their 'presiding deities' that the doctrine of the ViṣṇudharmottaraPurāṇa[72] is based: the articles donated have presiding deities, e.g. gold Agni, cows Rudra etc.;

[69] For śraddhā see H. W. Köhler, "Śraddhā in der vedischen und altbuddhistischen Literatur", (type-written) thesis Göttingen, 1948, esp. p. 47 ff., and my *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 42 f. For the relations between śraddhā and the dakṣiṇā see also H. Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 50, p. 448 ff.; M. Bloomfield, in *Amer. J. of Phil.* 17, p. 412; J. C. Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 3 (The Hague, 1959), p. 243 f.

[70] J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 203 ff.

[71] Devala, quoted by Aparārka, p. 288; 290.

[72] I refer to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 855.

when no god is specially named Viṣṇu may be considered the presiding deity. Cf. also AgniPur. 209, 40ff. *bhūmir vai viṣṇudevatā // kanyā dāsas tathā dāsī prājāpatyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ / prājāpatyo gajaḥ proktas turago yamadaivataḥ*, etc.

An interesting subject to demonstrate the existence of uninterrupted traditions and elaborative practice is furnished by the verses lauding gifts and deprecating their resumption which occur in the epigraphical records.[73] They are at least in spirit the continuation of the dānastutis in which the Vedic priests praised their employers.[74] In the earliest copper-plate grants and inscriptions (early Vth cent. A.D.) stanzas about the merit of gifts and the sin of resumption do, it is true, not occur. In the oldest of those which contain them there are only one or two stanzas, but in later records their number increases, for instance to sixteen. In most of the inscriptions these laudatory and imprecatory passages are attributed to Vyāsa or Manu or to smṛti in general.[75] It is of course self-evident that the beneficiaries, from interested motives, did their utmost to prevent the successors of the donors or other people from confiscating the land donated. There can on the other hand be no reasonable ground for doubting that in so doing they could not unsuccessfully appeal to those numberless Indians who were traditionally apprehensive of the 'unseen' dangers which might arise from any interference with grants donated.[76] According to the dharma works a gift once completed is irrevocable. "What is promised should be given and what has been donated should not be taken back" (Yājñ. 2, 176 *deyaṃ pratiśrutaṃ caiva dattvā nāpaharet punaḥ*). Nārada declared that gifts for religious and spiritual purposes and presents made out of affection or gratitude, also the price of goods delivered, wages and money paid for a bride, are given irrevocably. Especially a gift, even a gift promised, to a brāhmaṇa was held to be beyond recall.[77] Whereas the ŚatapathaBrāhmaṇa 14, 1, 1, 32 states that the sacrificial priests must not, at least on the same day, make over the dakṣiṇā they have received to anyone else lest they should make over to that other person the *yaśaḥ* "renown, glory, dignity" which has come to

[73] See also H. Lüders, *Philologica indica* (Göttingen, 1940), p. 444.

[74] See above, p. 211.

[75] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 1271 ff. furnishes us with an appendix containing over 40 such stanzas, adding in footnotes the sources from which they were taken.

[76] In other civilizations also grants, legacies, foundations, landmarks etc. are often considered inviolable, not only from a juridical but also from a religious point of view. In milieus of ādivāsins (so-called primitives) the passing of money from one hand to another not rarely has the effect of sealing a contract. See e.g. M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India* (Oxford, 1952), p. 94 ff.

[77] The reader may for the sake of brevity be referred to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 886 f.

them – and thus shows that these gifts had a higher, "immaterial" value –, it seems to appear from the not completely clear text AV. 5, 11[78] that an attempt at demanding a given dakṣiṇā back gave serious offence. In st. 1, if correctly interpreted,[79] Varuṇa is expected to give back to Atharvan the cow which the latter has presented to him (*pṛśniṃ varuṇa dakṣiṇāṃ dadāvān punarmaghatvaṃ*[80] *manasācikitsīḥ*). From st. 7 "since thou verily, O Varuṇa, speakest many reproachful words with regard to re-bestowers, do not thou, I pray, belong[81] to such Paṇis;[82] let not people call thee ungenerous". "Der Atharvan (erinnert) den Gott daran, dasz er doch bei anderen dieselbe Unsitte des Wiederwegnehmens der Dakṣiṇā nicht billigt und es diesen also auch nicht gleichtun solle".[83] As already observed by Schmidt,[84] this is the only place to attest "die in der Hymne bekämpfte Sitte der Rückforderung der Dakṣiṇā".

In this connection a quotation from Lüders' explanation of the ancient Indian oath may not be out of place here:[85] "Zu dem Schwure beim Wasser gehört ferner auch noch eine andere Sitte, die sich in Indien und überall, wo indische Kultur hingedrungen ist, nachweisen läszt ...: die Ausgieszung von Wasser bei einer Schenkung. (When making a gift of anything one has to pour water on the hand of the recipient: ĀpDhS. 2, 4, 9, 8; cf. GautamaS. 5, 19).[86] Die Schenkung wird als ein Vertrag aufgefaszt. Von der Lüge bei der Schenkung ist in alten Formeln die Rede, die sich mit Sicherheit bis in die indoiranische Zeit hinauf verfolgen lassen".[87] In any case a donation required a ritual act, viz. the pouring out of water, which in the cases of oaths and contracts was evidently old and which may have been so in connection with 'gifts'.

78 For which now see H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vratá und Awestisch urvăta* (Hamburg, 1958), p. 50 ff.
79 See also W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṃhitā* (Cambridge Mass., 1905), p. 237.
80 Aufrecht's conjecture for *punarmagha tvam*.
81 See Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 238, note.
82 As is well known, the Paṇis were a group of demoniac beings, enemies of Indra and notorious for their stinginess with regard to sacrificial gifts.
83 Schmidt, *o.c.*, p. 51.
84 Schmidt, *o.c.*, p. 51. This author adds: "Das Lied bezieht sich vielleicht auf einen singulären Fall, in dem ein Opferherr diesen Miszbrauch beging und sich zur Rechtfertigung darauf berief, dasz die Dakṣiṇā nur ein Teil der Opferzeremonie sei und deshalb nur für die Dauer des Opfers selbst – bei dem Priester und Opferherr einen danach wieder aufgelösten Freundschaftsbund eingehen (W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, Paris, 1906-07, p. 391) – dem Priester gehöre, dann aber dem Opferherrn wieder zufalle".
85 H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951), p. 32.
86 See also Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 855 f.
87 Lüders, *Philologica indica*, p. 438 ff.

Among the other beliefs and practices in connection with 'gifts' from which it may appear that their 'archaic' character has been largely preserved in post-Vedic times is for instance the conviction, expressed by authorities on dharma,[88] that, if a gift is sent to a person, but is stolen or lost and never reaches the donee, the donor cannot reap the 'unseen reward' in such a case because there is no acceptance and so no complete dāna. This conviction is in perfect harmony with the belief in the automatical appearance of symptoms or results of sinful or meritorious deeds, the facts, deeds, committal or omission as such leading to definite effects, whatever the intention or grade of consciousness of the person who acts, commits an incorrect deed or is in default: "Das Vergehen an sich, selbst das unbewuszte oder unbeabsichtigte, erzeugte die Sündenbefleckung, die sich wie eine Krankheitsinfektion an den Täter oder an sein Schlachtopfer heften konnte".[89]

In numerous cases the authors of the purāṇas as they are known to us attempted to establish the varṇāśramadharma among women and members of the lower classes (śūdras) through the purāṇic rites and observances. In order to attain their end they popularized the way of life propagated in the smṛtis. Among the various means adopted for this purpose were also attempts to establish the authority of the Veda among the masses. Thus the Vedas were, together with other authoritative works (itihāsa, vedāṅga, dharmaśāstra, purāṇa etc.) declared to constitute the body of Viṣṇu (ViP. 1, 22, 81 ff.); in other milieus Śiva was identified with both the Veda and the rites (sacrifice: VāP. 30, 243 f.; 251). The main motive underlying many stories told in these texts being the propagation of the brahmanical way of life, the position of the 'Veda' should be raised in the opinion of the greater public. The daily study of the old texts was enjoined, stories of sages versed in them and descriptions of hermitages in which they were studied inserted, the Veda was recognized as the source of dharma, and as an authority for 'purāṇic' rites (cf. MatsP. 93, 3[90]). A high value was set on a combination of knowledge of both the Veda and the purāṇas. Gifts to, and feeding of, those brahmans who were versed in the Veda and who maintained a perpetual sacred fire were deemed very meritorious. Vratas, various rites of the pūjā variety, donations, dedications etc. were the channels through which the "dharma of the classes and stages of life" as well as the authority of the ancient

88 See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 842 f.
89 *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 39.
90 *sarvaśāstrāṇy anukramya saṃkṣipya granthavistaram / grahaśāntiṃ pravakṣyāmi purāṇaśruticoditām.*

texts were propagated. The penetration of purāṇic rites and ceremonies with Vedic rituals – details of which would be a highly interesting field of research[91] – was no doubt facilitated because many purāṇic vratas and rites have their parallels in Vedic ritual. Such components of a purāṇic rite as the selection of a proper date, the determination of a vow, bathing, appointment of a brahman as a priest, muttering (*japa-*), worship, fasting, offering oblations into the fire, feeding brahmans, making gifts, listening to tales could be amalgamated with the parallel Vedic performances.[92] The use of Vedic mantras was enjoined; thus baths during eclipses had to be accompanied by gifts of cows and Vedic mantras (MatsP. 67, esp. st. 17). As members of the other classes also performed sacerdotal and spiritual functions, the gifts were not the monopoly of the brahmans. It was moreover the endeavour of the authors to popularize donations. In imitation of the smṛti (see Manu 1, 86) it was taught that liberality is the main or typical way of leading a religious life in the present Kali age (KūrmaP. 1, 28, 17) and "that creatures have no other religious obligation on earth than offering gifts" (ibid. 2, 26, 56).[93]

Although there is no evidence to show that the 'piety' of making gifts was the object of a vigorous propaganda earlier than the time of the YājñavalkyaSmṛti (i.e. about 300 A.D.) there cannot be any doubt that in later Vedic times and afterwards the rules and customs in connection with 'gifts' have been gradually elaborated. Much is for instance taught in the smṛtis and later texts on the worthiness of the donee,[94] but the great variety and expensiveness of gifts mentioned in the purāṇas does

[91] See also the remarks made in chapter I.
[92] For instances see Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 104.
[93] H. Losch, *Rājadharma, Einsetzung und Aufgabenkreis des Königs im Lichte des Purāṇas* (Bonn, 1959), p. 114 f. whilst ascertaining the fact that according to the purāṇic authors "die Schenkung unter allen (politischen) Mitteln das beste (ist); durch eine richtig gegebene Schenkung gewinnt man beide Welten; es gibt niemanden, der nicht durch ein Geschenk gewonnen wird ..." and further that "Schenken den Menschen Heil verschafft, und das beste und höchste (ist)", expresses the opinion that "diese Ausführungen nichts enthalten, was die konkreteren Angaben, die wir dem Arthaśāstra verdanken, als bekannt erscheinen liesze". I am afraid I would formulate the next sentences somewhat differently: "Der sehr reale, irdische Zweck, der mit der Schenkung, von der das Arthaśāstra spricht, verfolgt werden soll, ist im Purāṇa, vielleicht der Dharmaśāstra-tradition entsprechend, einem transcendentalen Gewinn gewichen, der das Karman des Schenkenden günstig beeinfluszt. Der Zweck, der hier geheiligt werden soll, ist auf eine höhere Ebene gehoben". I would prefer to say that the opinions about donations and allied subjects have generally varied in different circles of society, 'orthodox' brahmans, whether they write dharmaśāstras or purāṇas, viewing them from a different angle and emphasizing other aspects than politicians.
[94] See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 111 ff.; 845 ff.

not seem to have been known to the ancients.[95] The many relevant places do not however conflict with the scarce and short ancient statements on the 'fitness' of the recipient, such as e.g. ŚB. 4, 3, 4, 15 "thus those cows of his are given to him who is fit to receive a dakṣiṇā and not to him who is unfit". The cow given to a wrong person who is not entitled to receive one, ruins the giver, as all his cows will go away after the wrongly given one (MS. 4, 2, 8; ĀpŚS. 13, 7, 13). Thus the worthiness of the receiver is introduced ŚB. 3, 5, 1, 19 and, at a later date, ĀpDhS. 2, 6, 15, 12 "one should distribute gifts at a proper time and place, on occasions of purificatory rites and when there is a worthy receiver" (*deśataḥ kālataḥ śaucataḥ samyakpratigṛhītṛta iti dānāni pratipādayati*). To the same effect are VasDh. 3, 8 (*śrotriyāya ca deyāni havyakavyāni nityaśaḥ / aśrotriyāya dattaṃ hi pitṝn naiti na devatāḥ*); 6, 30 (a long definition of a *pātra-* "worthy or competent person"); Manu 3, 98; 128; 132; 4, 31; gifts offered to a brahman who has not studied the Veda or who is deceitful or avaricious cause misery in the hereafter (Manu 4, 192 f.). Beside many texts of the same tenor there arise, in later times, also specifications such as Dakṣa (the author of a comparatively old smṛti text) 3, 17 f.:[96] "a gift made to one's parents, guru, friend, to a well conducted man, to one who has laid the donor under obligation, to the poor, the helpless, those endowed with special excellence, leads to rewards, while gifts made to rogues, to ... gamblers, deceitful persons etc. bring no fruit or merit".[97]

That there is, in substance, no considerable difference between the older and the later periods as far as the subject of gifts, their worth and appreciation are concerned may appear from a comparison of the references to, and enumerations of, the gifts in the Vedic dānastutis (cows, horses, chariots, girls etc.) on the one hand and the numerous and elaborate rules laid down about the objects which can be the subjects of gifts (i.e. about the so-called *deya-*) in post-Vedic texts. Says the Mahābhārata 13, 59, 7 *yad yad iṣṭatamaṃ loke yac cāsya dayitaṃ gṛhe / tad tad guṇavate deyaṃ tad evākṣayam icchatā* ("whatever is in this world most desirable and to what one is attached in one's house may be given away to a person endowed with good qualities by a donor who desires inexhaustible (merit) from it").[98] The same thought is expressed MārkP. 35, 52 f., MatsyaP. 72, 39 and elsewhere.

Kane's words "the gift of land has been eulogized as the most meritori-

[95] For particulars see Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 247 ff.
[96] See Kane, *o.c.*, I, p. 225 f.
[97] See e.g. also Bṛhad-Yama 3, 34 ff. and 4, 55 f., quoted by Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 846.
[98] Cf. also ViDhP. II, 92, 32 ff.

ous of all gifts from ancient times"[99] may lead to the misunderstanding that it is also mentioned in the early Veda. This is, however, not the case. Reference to land as a grant is made AiB. 8, 20, where it is stated that a king when anointed should make gifts of gold ("a thousand"), a field and quadrupeds to the brahmans, and ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 4 – "to whomsoever the ruler (*kṣatriya-*), with the approval of the clan (the third estate, *viś-*), grants a settlement, that (settlement) is properly given"[100] – without however any laudatory comment such as is e.g. found Mbh. 13, 62, 19 vulg. "whatever sin a man may commit when in straitened circumstances, he is purified therefrom by making a gift of only as much land as is equal to a cow's hide". The numerous laudations of these gifts and the many rules about them must therefore be regarded as an example of 'expansion', 'analogy' and elaboration, not as something essentially new. Another comparatively early passage is ChU. 4, 2, 2ff. where villages are with cows, a golden chain and a chariot with mules among the 'gifts' offered to Raikva in exchange for a definite doctrine. The term *agrahāra-* for "royal donation of land to brahmans; land or village thus given" – cf. also Mbh. 15, 2, 2 *brahmadeyāgraharān* – does not seem to occur, it is true, before the great epic.[101] It may however be considerably older, the compound *agraṇīti-* "the first offering" occurring ṚV. 2, 11, 14; *agrapeya-* "precedence in drinking" in the AiBr. etc. If such customs as giving agrahāras on the occasion of the marriages of brāhmaṇas[102] and other particular cases of donation of land go back to the Vedic period it is impossible to say. It is however a fact that a gift of land was eulogized as a highly meritorious one of all the donations already in VāsDhS. 29, 16 *yatkiṃcit kurute pāpaṃ puruṣo vṛttikarṣitaḥ / api gocarmamātreṇa bhūmidānena śudhyati.*

Previous authors are no doubt right in classifying the subject of gifts, like the duties of the āśramas, general customs and daily duties (the so-called *āhnika-*), rules of diet, questions of impurity and purification, baths and funeral rites, vows (*vrata-*), duties of women, different kinds of sins and penances and periodical observances under the general heading 'smṛti materials'. If Hazra's[103] chronological conclusions are right, the traditional purāṇas[104] began from about 200 A.D. to incorporate mainly

[99] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 858.
[100] See also Rau, *o.c.*, p. 16; 59. For the rôle played by the third estate, compare also ŚB. 2,4,3,6 "wherever the *kṣatra-* conquers, there the *viś-* is allowed to share".
[101] I refer to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 869.
[102] See e.g. Gupta Inscriptions, 42, p. 203.
[103] Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 174 ff.
[104] For the 'original' purāṇas see W. Kirfel, *Das Purāṇa pañcalakṣaṇa* (Bonn, 1927), p. IX ff.

those topics on rites and customs which formed or had already formed the subject-matter of Manu, Yājñavalkya and similar compilations. In the course of time, and particularly after about 500 A.D., new topics were added, such as gifts, initiation, sacrifices to, and pacifications of, the planets, consecration of images, pūjā, glorification of brahmans and of holy places etc.

This development, i.e. this process of amplification, expansion and elaboration seems to have been, in the main, a fairly gradual one. The same observation may be made in connection with some particulars. The typical Hindu tendency to 'casuistry' and to establishing correlations between, for instance, various meritorious deeds and definite results is, *in nuce*, already observable in the Dakṣiṇā-sūkta in the Ṛgveda (10, 107): those who give a horse will be near the sun, those who will give gold, will be 'immortal' (*amṛtatvam*), those who give clothes make their life longer.[105] In later times gifts of food, clarified butter etc., offered to brahmans, save a person from hunger and thirst which will not even trouble him in heaven (PadmaP. Sṛṣṭikh. 31, 124).

Hence also the laudations of gifts. They are (e.g. VarP. 50, 16) said to produce immense good and merit, pleasing God (KūrmaP. II, 26, 8) and purifying whatever sins the donor may have committed (MatsP. 90, 11; 206, 16).[106] The donor will be wealthy, healthy and happily married and after death reach without difficulty the Viṣṇu or Brahman-world (MatsP. 206, 30), where he will enjoy heavenly bliss. "The objects given to brahmans become treasures in the next world, and there is no end of the fruits produced by the seed-like gifts sown in the land-like brahmans and cultivated with the ploughs in the forms of the Vedas" (ViDhP. 2, 32, 2f.). Thus the purāṇas contain many long passages about the "religious act of making gifts" (e.g. MatsP. a. 53; 82-92; 205-206; 274-289; KūrmaP. II, a. 26; VarāhaP. a. 99-112;[107] PadmaP. Bhūmikh. 39 and 40; BrahmavP. 2, 9). There are stories of kings who earned merit by giving lavish

[105] For the relation between the horse and the sun see *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 147, between gold and immortality e.g. TS. 5,2,7,2; M. Eliade, *Forgerons et alchimistes* (Paris, 1956), passim. The connection between clothes and longevity is no doubt founded on the widespread belief that there exists a 'magic sympathy' between a person and his clothes, so that whatever is done to the clothes will be felt by the man himself; moreover it is, in India and elsewhere, a well-known custom to procure oneself and to put on new clothes at those moments when nature and vegetation renew themselves, so that in harmony with these man also undergoes a 'renovation' (see e.g. B. Bonnerjea, *L'ethnologie du Bengale*, Thesis, Paris, 1927, p. 84).
[106] Even the man who hears about gifts is said to become free from sin!
[107] The spurious chapters 99, 54-112, 62 on gifts cannot be dated later than about 110 A.D. (Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 104; for further chronological suppositions: *ibidem*, p. 174 ff.).

sacrificial gifts. Here also the amplifications, the fullness of detail and the popular wording[108] of the later authors should not lead us astray. Already in ṚV. 10, 107, it is in connection with the dakṣiṇā stated that this 'gift' leads to highly desired results such as rain and sunshine (st. 4); besides, the man who gives a dakṣiṇā will be the first of those invited; as a chief of his community he has precedence (st. 5). (The) dakṣiṇā "gives" (*dadāti*) a horse, a cow, food, gold and silver, and the man who knows makes it a shelter (st. 7). The condemnation of miserly habits and deceitful ceremony in donation by the authors of purāṇas (e.g. MatsP. 277, 17; VarP. 109, 5 *vittaśāṭhyaṃ visarjayet*; 110, 5 *vittaśāṭhyaṃ na kārayet* etc.) finds its counterpart in the same sūkta: ṚV. 10, 107, 3 *daivī pūrtir dakṣiṇā devayajyā na kavāribhyo nahi te pṛṇanti / athā naraḥ prayatadakṣiṇāso 'vadyabhiyā bahavaḥ pṛṇanti*, from which it appears that "many lords who accord their sacrificial priest a dakṣiṇā do so because they are afraid of blame". The 'niggards' are indeed repeatedly mentioned and passages imprecating evil upon them not absent: ṚV. 1, 125, 7; 147, 4; 4, 51, 3. These passages are essentially in harmony with the horrible pictures of the tortures which will be inflicted on these sinners according to the purāṇic authorities (BrahmaP. a. 215). It is difficult to decide to which degree the detriment to the interests of the brahmans[109] and a genuine respect for age-long religious observances contributed to the formulation as well as the attempts at observing these injunctions.

Elaboration of an ancient principle and development of time-honoured ideas have no doubt also led to the long list of qualities required in a worthy recipient. Whereas the Vedic tradition asks people to present gifts to pure brahmans who have studied the Veda (ĀpDhS. 2, 6, 15, 11 f.), the purāṇas say that the receivers should not only be versed in the śruti, but also of high descent, well-disciplined, maintaining the sacred fire, of good conduct, practising penance, observing a vow, wanting food, poor and burdened with a family (cf. e.g. MatsP. 72, 35; 97, 15 etc.).[110]

Another distinction made in the purāṇas may likewise serve to illustrate the tendency to extend and develop ancient customs and traditional practices while clinging to what was thought to be essential. Whereas in the Ṛgveda cows, horses, and incidentally also other animals (asses, camels, dogs, sheep) were offered as dakṣiṇā, and in addition to these, chariots, gold, bulls, young women, clothes and food the AgniPurāṇa

[108] For particulars see e.g. Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 250 ff.
[109] Instances: Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 252 f.
[110] See also Hazra, *o.c.*, p. 253 f.

provides us (209, 23 f.) with an enumeration of the so-called *mahādānas* – the term occurs already Mbh. 15, 5, 15; 19, 15 cr. ed. –, viz. gold, horses, sesame, elephants, maids, chariots, land, a house, a bride, and a dark-brown cow. It is clear that the divergences between these enumerations are mainly due to the different geographical and cultural circumstances of later times.[111] In the course of time the list was not only extended to sixteen items, but also radically modified, such gifts as the *tulāpuruṣa-* (the weight of a person in gold or silver which is then distributed among brahmans), a *kāmadhenu-* ("cow of plenty"), and a *kalpavṛkṣa-* ("wishing tree") being introduced. However, in the guise of beautiful names the traditional cows, horses, gold and chariots retained their places. It may be observed that golden ornaments and clothes were in Hinduism among the usual dakṣiṇā-'gifts'.[112] In presenting them ṚV. 7, 35 was recited (i.e. the śānti hymn, for averting evil). That these 'great donations' require considerable expenses is self-evident.

That there were also groups which had their doubts about the use of gifts, which rejected vratas and sacrifices, which did not care much for the Veda or the rules of castes and other duties established by the brahmans can be left out of account here. It is however worth emphasizing that the tantras which exhibit serious differences from the Vedic tradition, – they made provisions applicable to all people, allowing even women to act, under certain conditions,[113] as spiritual preceptors – taught that their non-Vedic rituals did not require gifts to be presented to brahmans.

Some words may finally be said on a well-known modern movement to show that the ancient traditions have not been broken off. When India had, in 1947, obtained independence Gandhi founded the Sarvodaya samāj "the society for general prosperity" which was intended to realize the old ideals of satya "truth" and ahiṃsā and to put an end to any discrimination on account of caste or religion. His spiritual successor, Vinoba Bhave,[114] concentrated, after 1951, the attention and energy of this society mainly on the great social problem of the landless agricultural labourers. While propagating the idea of *bhūdān(a)-*, i.e. the voluntary cession of a part[115] of the landed property by the owners in favour of the

[111] For the importance of sesame see J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich-Leipzig, 1937), III, p. 319 f.
[112] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 871.
[113] A. Avalon, *Principles of Tantra* (London, 1914), I, LXIX f.
[114] See the bibliographical note in *Die Religionen Indiens*, II (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 326, n. 69.
[115] The normal quota is one sixth, which is, in ancient sources, often mentioned as usual in taxation, see e.g. Manu 7, 131 f.; Kauṭ. AŚ. 12,30,39, and B. Prasad, in *Majumdar and Pusalker*, II (Bombay², 1953), p. 328 f.

landless labourers, he emphasizes that he is not in the first place pursuing social and philanthropic objects, but first and foremost religious ideals. The man who gives land to the destitute works out his own salvation, because he has taken to the karmamārga, the way to salvation by means of meritorious activity in this world. All landed property belongs, in reality, to God, man being only His solicitor or the temporary administrator of His possessions. It seems worth while to add a few quotations from an Indian authority.[116] The Bhudan movement seeks to make the ancient ideal of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth a reality by developing the concept of sarvodaya and by applying its principles and teaching to the present-day social, economic, political, ethical and religious problems of society. In reply to the question why he did not approach the Government for legislation in the matter of redistribution of land Vinoba Bhave pointed out that this suggestion would be incompatible with the deep spiritual thought behind his mission, the moral law demanding that people should be transformed so as to give their possessions voluntarily and cheerfully. The task before him and his workers is the conversion, purification and moral regeneration of society. Thus their mission has not only a spiritual aspect, but also a mystic significance. Insisting on the purification of the heart and encouraging the cultivation of qualities and virtues indispensable to the ideal society of his dream, viz. self-knowledge, self-discipline, self-reliance, self-sacrifice, Bhave insists on the truth that man will be inwardly free only when the I, the Me, and the Mine are no longer the centre of his consciousness. It is Masani's conviction that Vinoba and his followers have "succeeded in no small measure in cleansing the hearts of thousands". "His personal experience of seemingly impossible tasks accomplished by faith is the source of the optimism with which he has embarked on his mission". "Bhudan", Masani concludes, "thus becomes a spiritual pilgrimage to the shrine of a new order of society".

[116] R. P. Masani, *The five gifts* (London, 1957), p. 184 ff.

VIII. THE GURU

Instruction was in ancient times not regarded as an end in itself, but only as a means to 'education' and the attainment of a higher spiritual level.[1] After completing his studies the young brahman expressed the wish (HirGS. 1, 10, 6; cf. BhārGS. 2, 21) to excel in that special form of sanctity which was called *brahmavarcasa-* and to be dear to gods and the four classes of men. 'Knowledge' (*vidyā*) itself had a practical aim; it was a means of attaining aims and realizing wishes, a key to difficulties and mysteries, a way to the accomplishment of difficult tasks or to successful completion of extraordinary performances.[2] The importance of instruction and study of the sacred texts is therefore repeatedly insisted upon (e.g. ŚB. 11, 3, 3, 3-6; 5, 7, 10). "One's own study" (*svādhyāya-*) is (ŚB. 11, 5, 6, 3) called the sacrifice to brahman, speech, mind etc. being the ritual requisites,[3] heaven its conclusion, an imperishable world the object in view. Study and teaching (of the) Veda are a source of pleasure to those engaged in them who become calm in mind and undistracted by them, independent of others, and the best physicians for themselves (ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1). "The brahmans who have studied (*śuśruvāṃsaḥ*) and recited (*anūcānāḥ*) sacred lore are the human gods" (ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 6). "The learned man is a brahman, a ṛṣi (seer) and sprung from ṛṣis" (TS. 6, 6, 1, 4), and the word for "studied", "learned man" (*śuśruvān*) literally means "the one who has heard".

What indeed strikes us is the repeated disapprobation of mere self-study as futile. "The man who has heard" belongs to those who are

[1] Most of the places adduced by R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education* (London, 1947), p. 88 in substantiation of a similar thesis are not pertinent. See also H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), p. 209 ff.; B. N. Puri, *India in the time of Patañjali* (Bombay, 1957), ch. VI, p. 143 ff.; Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), ch. XIV and XV, p. 291 ff.
[2] See also *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 176.
[3] Cf. also TĀ. 2, 9-15.

prosperous (TS. 2, 5, 4, 4). The knowledge acquired from a teacher (*ācāryāt*) leads also more successfully to the goal than supernatural instruction by animals etc.; it helps best to attain one's end (ChU. 4, 9, 3). KaṭhaU. 2, 8 represents a teacher as indispensable to the acquisition of knowledge (*ananyaprokte gatir atra nāsti*).[4] "Let him", MuṇḍU. 1, 2, 12 says, "for the sake of this knowledge, approach ... a 'teacher' (*gurum*) who is learned in the scriptures and established in brahman", and from ChU. 6, 14, 1f. it appears that the spiritual guide was regarded as necessary to disperse the mist of empirically acquired knowledge and to enable a man to become conscious of the fact that he shall belong to this transitory world only until the time of his release.[5] Even the god Indra himself was (ChU. 8, 7, 2) obliged to live, as a pupil, with Prajāpati in order to obtain perfect instruction. Without tuition the members of the first order were brahmans by birth only (ChU. 6, 1, 1).[6] The teacher indeed will tell the way, even if a pupil possesses knowledge (4, 14, 1). The indispensability of a teacher appears very clearly from the last words of ChU. (8, 15, 1) where the career is described of that man who will not return again: he learns the Veda from the family of his ācārya in the time left over from doing work for the guru ..., settles down in a home of his own, continues the study of what he has learnt etc. That it was, at least in certain milieus, as self-evident to have had a teacher as to have had parents is apparent from BĀU. 4, 1, 2ff. The importance of the spiritual guide is also illustrated by ŚvU. 6, 23 and ĀpDhS. 1, 2, 6, 13 "(the student) should wait upon the ācārya as if he were a god (*deva-*)". The divine character of the religious teacher, which cannot be dissociated from the divinity of the learned brahman (see above, ŚB. 2, 2, 2, 6) has always been an Indian tenet.[7] It would be incorrect to consider ŚvU. 6, 23 'Hinduistic', that is to say, to regard the doctrine of the guru's divinity as characteristically post-Vedic.

[4] This interpretation is in my opinion preferable to Śaṅkara's (see e.g. S. Radhakrishnan, *The principal Upaniṣads* (London, 1951), p. 610, and R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads* (Oxford, 1934), p. 347).

[5] Other instances: Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 90.

[6] I am not convinced of the correctness of Mookerji's (*o.c.*, p. 91) conclusion that this place shows that at that time Veda-study was not yet universally enjoined upon brahmans.

[7] Those who feel inclined to the opinion that this belief is strange or typically eastern may remember that the λόγιοι ἄνδρες, "the learned or eloquent men" who wandered about the Grecian world from the VIth to the IVth centuries B.C. were not only philosophers and scholars, but at the same time poets, divine men, prophets, doctors, fortune-tellers, conjurors, priests of purification and ... gods. The poet, scientist, and philosopher Empedocles (± 460), crowned as a god, permitted himself to be worshipped by the masses who came to him: "I walk before you ... as an immortal god ... Thousands come after me to discover where the road leads to salvation" (H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I, [3]1912, p. 294 f.).

From a variety of texts it appears that the best possible teacher had to be sought for because the main object of the upanayana was the acquisition of knowledge and building of character (see e.g. Vīramitrodaya-saṃskāraprakāśa, I, p. 408). The guru should therefore be 'well-read', of good family and character, purified by asceticism, a performer of the Vedic sacrifices, merciful towards all creatures etc. etc.

It was, in the second place, no less a matter of course that the preceptor, in Vedic times, should be a brahman. Teaching had become so much associated with these superior men, "visible gods" (TS. 1, 7, 3, 1)[8] that when the brahman Gārgya approached king Ajātaśatru for the knowledge of brahma, the latter replied that this would be contrary to the natural order (BĀU. 2, 1, 15). It is true that the texts now and then refer to a kṣatriya teacher or philosopher (e.g. ŚB. 8, 1, 4, 10; 11, 6, 2, 1ff.), but ĀpDhS. 2, 2, 4, 25ff. lays down that the brahman alone can be the teacher (*ācāryaḥ*); only in an emergency (i.e. in the event of absence of a brahman) may a member of the first order learn from a kṣatriya or vaiśya; after finishing his study he may however walk in front of his kṣatriya teacher.

The educational system, based upon the principle of brahmacarya (cf. e.g. Pāṇ. 5, 1, 94) was characterized by a constant personal contact between teacher and pupil who were bound together by a spiritual relationship (Pāṇ. 4, 3, 77 *vidyāsambandha-*). This tie was not less real than blood relationship (*yonisambandha-*). The close association of a teacher and his resident pupil (*antevāsin-*[9]) led to the practice of naming the latter after his ācārya (cf. Pāṇ. 6, 2, 36; 104). It was also at the root of the regulation[10] that a man could not marry the daughter of his guru or pupil (*śiṣya-*) and to the development of a right of succession on the strength of spiritual relationship: ViSmṛti 17, 15f. gives the direction that the possessions of an anchorite (*vānaprastha-*) should, after his death, fall to his guru or pupil. "Noch heutzutage kommt dieses geistliche Erbrecht nicht selten vor ... Bei den Gosāvīs ernennt der Guru häufig schon bei Lebzeiten einen seiner Schüler zu seinem Nachfolger und Erben ...".[11] The teacher's son was moreover for the students like the teacher himself (Kāty. 1, 1, 56, 1 *guruvad guruputra iti*).[12]

[8] Cf. e.g. also TS. 2,6,2,5; 5,2,7,1.

[9] For *antevāsin-* see my note in *Bijdragen Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 97, p. 459 f.

[10] For particulars: J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (Strassburg, 1896), p. 63.

[11] Jolly, *o.c.*, p. 89 f.

[12] V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* (Lucknow, 1953), p. 282.

Another point of interest is the prohibition to communicate a doctrine or ceremony to anyone except a son or a pupil adopted by the rite of 'introduction' (*upanayana-*). Thus ChU. 3, 11, 5 states, in connection with esoteric lore: "a father may teach this (doctrine of) brahma to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil, and to no one else, even if one should offer him the whole earth ...", and see also AiĀ. 3, 2, 6, 9 "let no one tell these saṃhitās to one who is not a resident pupil, who has not been with the teacher for one year, and who is not himself to become a teacher";[13] 5, 3, 3, 4; BĀU. 6, 3, 12; ŚvU. 6, 22; MU. 6, 29. The tendency to keep sacred lore secret from the general public culminates in the Āraṇyakas, treatises on ritual mysticism and sacerdotal philosophy which from the point of view of the Vedic *Weltanschauung* were especially esoterical, so that their contents could be communicated only in the jungle, outside the villages. There are however exceptions: Yājñavalkya, for instance, imparted knowledge in the presence of many hearers (BĀU. 3, 8).

Curious, but quite intelligible, details are the reference to mutual protection: the pupils were in the house of the preceptor always under his canopy to protect them, but they had in turn to protect him like sunshades (Pat. Mahābh. 4, 2, 62 *guruṇā śiṣyaś chatravac chādyaḥ śiṣyeṇa ca guruś chatravat paripālyaḥ*), and passages such as TĀ. 1, 6, 3 *naivaṃviduṣācāryāntevāsinau anyonyasmai druhyātām. yo druhyati bhraśyate svargāl lokāt*, show the 'transcendental' consequences of mutual illoyalty.

In Vedic times the pupil was required to win the affection of his teacher for his own welfare, both[14] in this world and in the world to come (cf. Pat. 3, 1, 26 *ye tāvad ete guruśuśrūṣavo nāma te 'pi svabhūtyartham eva pravartante pāralaukikaṃ ca no bhaviṣyati, iha ca naḥ prīto gurur adhyāpayiṣyati*). Enjoining upon the 'student' to show reverence towards the 'teacher', the smṛtis, though giving the exact details of 'studentship' differently, agree in regarding a considerable number of ritual and ceremonial acts as essential. The teacher who is to accept a boy as a pupil, is – to mention only this – to offer oblations into the fire, to behave and perform a series of acts in a traditional way, to make the boy put on a brand-new garment, to tie a girdle round his waist and to give him an animal-skin, which fills the wearer with power and sanctity and, in cases of a brahman, was that of the black antelope, and considered a manifestation of the sacred word. The girdle is called a protector against evil influences

[13] See also A. B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (Oxford, 1909), p. 257.

[14] The qualities of a good student are enumerated by Yājñ. 1, 28: *kṛtajñādrohimedhāviśucikalpānasūyakāḥ / adhyāpyā dharmataḥ sādhuśaktāptajñānavittadāḥ.*

and serves as the umbilical cord when the boy, who from this moment is a brahmacārin, is born anew.

The character of this Vedic study and instruction is especially evident from the detailed prescriptions and prohibitions with respect to specified times, places, and conditions (AV. 7, 66;[15] TĀ. 2, 9ff.; AiĀ. 5, 3, 3);[16] to the various 'vows' and observations to be performed by the pupil during his period of studentship;[17] to his manifold duties the relations of which to schoolteaching are from a modern point of view not always clear; to the above ceremonious reception of the pupil by the teacher, the rites needed to bring the two into close spiritual contact and the many details given of the garments and equipment of the former; to the ceremonial bath at the end of the 'years of study' and in combination with it, the shaving, hair cutting, nail paring and teeth washing, and the tabooed state of the young man who has completed his studies etc. etc. All these meticulous prescriptions and observances make it perfectly clear that this instruction really was an initiation.[18] The ancient Indian upanayana which was no doubt the continuation of a prehistoric socio-religious practice, is indeed "eine Jünglingsweihe"[19] on a higher level. The complex of ceremonies and ritual acts, of tuition and observances was considered the preparation for a new birth;[20] hence the name *dvija-* applied to the members of the first three classes (especially the brahmans) who had passed through the initiation into the Veda and such passages as AV. 11, 5, 3 where the 'teacher' is said to make the pupil his embryo. Many of its elements recur in the initiation rites of other peoples, for instance the obligatory chastity,[21] the partial fasting (abstention from meat-eating) etc.,[22] the observances, the imposition of the guru's hand,[23] the special

[15] See W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharvaveda-Saṃhitā* (Cambridge Mass., 1905), p. 432.

[16] For particulars see A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 58 f.

[17] Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 56 f.; A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 371.

[18] Cf. also *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 119 ff.

[19] For which see e.g. K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur* (Zürich, 1946), p. 335 ff.; F. Speiser, "Uber Initiationen in Australien und Melanesien", *Verh. Naturf. Ges.*, 40 (Basel, 1929); R. H. Mathews, "Initiation ceremonies of Australian tribes", *Proc. Am. Philos. Soc.*, 37 (Philadelphia, 1898). Cf. also J. W. Hauer, *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1922)), p. 79 ff.; S. Rice, *Hindu customs and their origins* (London, 1937), p. 172 ff.; M. Weber, *The religion of India* (Glencoe Ill., 1958), p. 59.

[20] See also M. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth, the religious meanings of initiation in human culture* (New York, 1958), p. 53 f. (French ed.: *Naissances mystiques*, Paris, 1959, p. 113 f.).

[21] E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910); F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 198 f.

[22] See e.g. Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 195.

[23] Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 238. See also n. 32.

dress of the 'student'. "That birth", Manu 2, 148 says, "which a "teacher" (*ācāryaḥ*) who is wholly acquainted with the Veda, in accordance with the law, procures for him through the Sāvitrī, is real and exempt from old age and death". "The initiates, whether primitive negroes or Hellenistic Greeks, are "new men" with new names, "newly born", etc., and this holds good of converts too ...; a new powerfulness enters into life which is experienced as "wholly other", so that life receives a new basis and is begun afresh".[24] Although the educative influence of the compulsory obedience to the teacher, the services to be rendered to the latter and the sojourn in his domestic circle should not be underestimated, the subjects for tuition proper had nothing to do with our three R's. The young man's studies embraced the directions in connection with ritual purity, correct behaviour, ritual and sacrifices, and especially parts of the Vedic mantra collections and the authoritative commentaries added to these.

Teaching the Veda was a duty enjoined upon a brahman. It is interesting to take cognizance of the motivation.[25] The man who, having mastered the Veda, does not teach destroys his own good acts and shuts the door to happiness (a quotation from the Śruti in Medh. on Manu 2, 113); the man who keeps back something or speaks untruth dries up completely (PraśnaU. 6, 1) or receives all the sins of his pupil (Mbh. 7, 50, 21 (?)).[26] The potent word, the 'holy power', of which the brahman who has studied the Veda is the bearer must be transmitted and remain a living force in the world; the dharma must be known by those who reach maturity lest society and the universe fall into decay and be reduced to chaos. When the brahman is not recited (studied) it is as useless in the world as a cloud which does not give rain (Mbh. 12, 79, 42 cr. ed.).

As this instruction had no mercenary motives, the guru is not paid for his tuition, but is offered a 'present' – see e.g. Mbh. 1, 3, 95ff. – called *vedadakṣiṇā* "dakṣiṇā[27] for (the teaching of) the Veda" (ĀpDhS. 1, 2, 7, 19) or *gurudakṣiṇā* (cf. Mbh. 5, 107, 1; Kāl. Ragh 5, 20).[28] Patañjali makes mention of the gift of a cow to the upādhyāya (1, 4, 32), Manu, however, gives a more amplified list (2, 245f.). The ideal was obviously that the dakṣiṇā was "simply for pleasing or propitiating the teacher and was not a complete equivalent of ... the knowledge imparted".[29] From

[24] G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1938), p. 531.
[25] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 329 f.
[26] Quoted by Kane, *l.c.*
[27] See the chapter on 'gifts'.
[28] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 360 f. has collected a number of relevant text-places and has discussed some particulars (the term 'fee' should however be avoided).
[29] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 360.

ChU. 3, 11, 6 it may be inferred that *brahmavidyā* is more valuable than the gift of the whole earth.

Whereas the term *guru-* in the sense of "teacher" does not appear before ChU. 8, 15, 1, *ācārya-* – literally "the man who knows, adheres to and (or) practises the traditional good behaviour, customs, practices, established rules or institutions etc."[30] – is already found in the Atharvaveda. In AV. 11, 5, a hymn in 'praise' of the *brahmacārin-*, "the man who occupies himself with, or applies himself to, *brahman-* or who seeks to realize it", this powerful person is, "in the full glory of his holy functions",[31] treated as an incarnation of brahman. He is said to fill his teacher with tapas (st. 1); and the latter who takes him in charge – here the term *upanī-*, cf. *upanayana-* is already used – "makes him an embryo within" (st. 3),[32] so that he will be born (again). Compare ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 12 "by laying his right hand on the pupil, the teacher becomes pregnant (with him): he is born as a brahman with the Sāvitrī". The ācārya who is identified with various divine powers (e.g. Varuṇa, AV. 11, 5, 14f.) is said to seek a 'student' by "brahma-studentship" (*brahmacaryeṇa*, st. 17). 'Teacher' and 'student' are identified and the latter said to be Prajāpati (st. 16). Whatever the exact meaning of these stanzas and the general purport of the hymn[33] – which need not concern us here –, there can be no doubt whatever that the *ācārya-* is in the milieu of the poet already an important and mighty personage: he is able to effect a 'rebirth' of his pupil, but also to "fabricate earth and sky" (st. 8) and moreover identified with Varuṇa and other divinities. As on the other hand the fuel – to be gathered by the student for the ritual fire of his guru – the girdle or belt (*mekhalā*) which is to be worn by the 'student' (st. 4) and the black antelope skin (st. 6), as well as the collection of alms (st. 9) are explicitly referred to, the conclusion seems warranted, first that then already 'studentship' broadly speaking was an institution not unlike that minutely described in the gṛhyasūtras, and in the second place, that the teacher was considered a

[30] "Die Grundbedeutung (dieser mit *-ya-* gebildeten Derivaten) ist die der Beziehung oder Zugehörigkeit zum Grundwort und erscheint in mannigfachen Spezialisierungen" (J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, II, 2, Göttingen, 1954, p. 812).
[31] M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-Veda and the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* (Strassburg, 1899), p. 89. For particulars see also Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 636.
[32] See above. – For the imposition of hands and its ritual significance see also further on, n. 42 (p. 238), and see also p. 285. For this idea see also Heesterman, *Royal consecration, Index*, p. 233, s.v. and *passim*; for ritual birth or rebirth see S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas* (Paris, 1898), p. 81 and elsewhere and Eliade, *Birth and rebirth* (see above, n. 20 of this chapter).
[33] See e.g. P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, 1[4] (Leipzig, 1920), p. 277 ff.

great and mighty authority who entered into a 'mystical' relation with his pupil. That the pupil had for instance to regulate his conduct according to the ācārya is apparent from JUB. 1, 17, 2, 1 (= 1, 54, 2): a brahman may not eat honey, but he may eat at pleasure what his teacher gives him; cf. also 1, 6, 3, 3 (= 1, 22, 1).

The fairly detailed description of the upanayana contained in the ŚatapathaBrāhmaṇa (11, 3, 3, 1-7) includes all the essential features of this 'sacrament' (*saṃskāra-*) which are dealt with at length in the gṛhyasūtras, such as the formal acceptance, the vows and duties to be undertaken and discharged by the young man while staying in the family of his teacher (see also 12, 2, 2, 13; GB. 1, 4, 24; ChU. 2, 23, 1), his dress etc.[34] By doing the bidding of the teacher – who is here consistently called *ācārya-* – and by performing any work for him the pupil "redeems that part of his which has at the moment of entering on studentship gone into the teacher" (ŚB. 11, 3, 3, 6) "and having cleansed it, he takes it to himself, and it enters him". In 11, 5, 4 the same brāhmaṇa deals once more with the upanayana; some points of special interest may be related here: the ācārya (11, 5, 4, 2) initiates the pupil by making him belong to Prajāpati (1); he declares Indra, Agni and himself to be his teacher (2); he entrusts the pupil to the care of these and other high deities, has him sip water, perform work (cf. e.g. also JB. 2, 276), put on fuel and sip water again (water being amṛta, he thus encloses him with 'immortality', and thus the brahmacārin suffers no harm). Then he teaches him the Sāvitrī. From these texts it appears that then already this institution had given rise to reflection and to a theoretical examination of its significance.

That the teacher (*ācārya-*) enjoyed great authority is also apparent from those passages in which he is asked to answer difficult questions or to decide problematical cases. Thus ŚāB. 26, 5 a brahman priest who is unable to say how a definite ritual flaw should be removed asks an aged ācārya how to act; JB. 1, 271 some prominent brahmans resort to their teacher Āruṇi for discussion. ŚāĀ. 3, 1 a teacher (*ācārya-*) is called upon to answer difficult questions. The high position or special status enjoyed by the ācārya is also apparent from incidental remarks such as ŚāB. 3, 8 "... even if he be a teacher".[35] ŚvU. 6, 23 speaking of the man who has the highest love-and-devotion (*bhaktiḥ*) for God, and for his spiritual teacher (*guru-*) as for God, bears evidence to the tendency to 'deify' the guru. In ŚB. 10, 1, 4, 10ff. an *ācārya-*, disputing with his pupil expounds

[34] See also V. M. Apte, in *The history and culture of the Indian people* (London, 1951), p. 455.
[35] See also Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 282.

a definite lore. In ŚāĀ. 8, 11 the subject-matter is esoterical. In the TaittirīyaUpaniṣad 1, 11 it is related how the *ācārya-* after having taught the Veda imparts some exhortations to his departing students: "speak the truth, practise the dharma, etc.". This admonition to a virtuous life, to respect for parents, ācārya and brahmans – "be one to whom mother, father, teacher and guest are gods" (... *ācāryadevo bhava*) –, and conformity with the behaviour of the latter is explicitly called a command, a teaching and an "esoteric doctrine of the Veda" (*vedopaniṣat*). The inference seems to be hardly open to controversy that such exhortations were one of the channels through which the range of the activities of these teachers was extended. They were given fuller scope for adding more or less esoterical subjects to the instruction in the Veda.

The term *guru-* in itself is an illustration of the widespread belief that mighty, divine, or holy persons are held to be characterized by an uncommon weight. For this belief one might, as far as India is concerned, compare e.g. Bhāsa, Bālacarita 1, 11 +: when Vasudeva, father of the newborn Kṛṣṇa, takes the child in his hands he exclaims: *aho gurutvaṃ bālasya*, and st. 14 he adds "my arms seem to lift a mountain" (cf. also 20 +, 27 +). According to Jātaka 4, p. 229 F. the Buddha declared that there was no other place which can support him if he attained to that which he attained under the great bo-tree. According to ViP. 1, 12, 8 the earth cannot bear the man in whom the God of gods has taken residence: *manasy avasthite tasya viṣṇau ... / na śaśāka dharā bhāram udvoḍhuṃ bhūtadhāriṇī.*[36] This belief is no doubt at the root of various customs, convictions and expressions in many countries. There are for instance many places in Roman authors where the "heaviness" of gods, heroes or deified human beings is explicitly mentioned, e.g. Ovid. F. 3, 330 (when Jupiter appears on earth) *terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iovis*; Stat. Theb. 1, 289 (Jupiter is speaking) *nostri reverentia ponderis obstat*; Verg. Aen. 6, 412f. in connection with Aeneas: ... *simul accipit alveo / ingentem Aenean, gemuit sub pondere cumba.*[37] According to the legend St. Chris-

[36] For other instances see my paper à propos d'un sens magico-religieux de skt. *guru-*, in *B.S.O.A.S.*, 12 (London, 1947), p. 124 ff. For a similar influence of sins and lies see also E. W. Hopkins, in *The Cambridge History of India*, I (Cambridge, 1922), p. 284. For parallels in the Indonesian archipelago see e.g. A. C. Kruyt, *Het animisme in den indischen Archipel* (Den Haag, 1906), p. 341; P. Voorhoeve, *Overzicht van de volksverhalen der Bataks, Thesis* (Leiden, 1927), p. 141; 147; (if, with the Bataks of Sumatra, a new-born child falls through the floor it will be a hero); Poerbatjaraka, *Agastya in den archipel, Thesis* (Leiden, 1926), p. 18; G. J. Held, *Papoea's van Waropen* (Leiden, 1947), p. 88.
[37] For a collection of places see: H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism* (Oxford, 1947), p. 114 ff.

topher, for all his enormous bodily strength, could carry the Christ-child across the river only with the utmost effort, because He grew too heavy for him.[38] Gregory of Tours reports how, when in the VIth century the tomb of the apostle Peter was arranged, a small wicket was inserted, allowing people to put their heads in and pray. Those who wished to procure a relic for themselves threw some fragment of clothing, which had first been weighed, on to the tomb. If prayer and faith were strong enough, the fragment weighed more when it was carried away again, because it was possessed of 'strength' (*virtus*).[39] Remarkably enough the Latin *gravis*, which is etymologically related to Skt. *guru-*, and its derivative *gravitas* were, as has been shown by Wagenvoort,[40] often used in connection with the nouns *auctor* and *auctoritas* and applied to magistrates, and especially to the Roman senate. In Latin the expression *gravis auctor* not only indicates "the important or true authority, the competent judge, the acknowledged master", but often also "the energetic, influential initiator".[41] The quality inherent in the *auctor* or in all his various appearances which is indicated by *gravis* is best represented by our word "prestige". *Gravitas* was according to the Romans themselves especially an attribute of the ancestors and of the idea of imperium. There is further the *gravitas* of magic and powerful words, of lofty inspired poetry, and, as already observed, of those who are bearers of auctoritas, of 'authorities'. In tracing kindred notions in other ancient Indo-European civilizations Wagenvoort drew also attention to the expression "the heavy hand" (cf., in Latin, Val. Flacc. 4, 311 *dextra gravis*), which is also found in Greek authors: Homer, A 219 ἐπ' ἀργυρέῃ κώπῃ σχέθε χεῖρα βαρεῖαν; Soph. Ai. 130 χειρὶ βρίθεις), the hand being particularly regarded as a bearer and transferrer of power.[42]

It is therefore in perfect harmony with the ideas fostered by the ancient Romans, in connection with the *gravitas verborum, sermonis, vocis, orationis*, about the "prestige" of lofty and inspired poetry – cf. Cic.

[38] Wagenvoort, *o.c.*, p. 116, n. 2.

[39] N. Söderblom, *Werden des Gottesglaubens*, (^{2}1926), p. 88 f.

[40] Wagenvoort, *o.c.*, p. 104 ff.

[41] Cic. *Dom.* 30; *Fam.* 11,27,8; Tac. *Hist.* 3, 43.

[42] See e.g. J. G. Frazer, *The golden bough*, abr. ed., (London, 1957), p. 269 ff. etc. For the imposition of hands, see J. Behm, *Die Handauflegung* (Leipzig, 1901); Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 238 f. It might be remembered that the ancient Jews considered Joshua to be full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him (Deut. 34, 9). It was through his hands that he who 'blessed' his son or grandson before he died transmitted his gift (Gen. 48, 3 ff., cf. 49, 26). In this connection R. B. Onians, *The origins of European thought* (Cambridge^2, 1954), p. 494, expressed the opinion that the hand obviously was for the Jews a seat of strength or of life which had sanctity or, rather, a special powerfulness. For the 'sanctity' of the right hand see also the same, *o.c.*, p. 97, n. 1.

Tusc. 1, 64 *mihi vero ne haec quidem notiora et illustriora carere vi divina videntur, ut ego ... poetam grave plenumque carmen*[43] *sine caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu putem fundere* ... –, and the 'weight' of magic words – e.g. Quint. decl. 10, p. 206, 1 L., referring to the conjurations of a magician, *terroribus omnibus verba graviora* – that the adjective *guru-* accompanies in the Ṛgveda the words *mantra-* and *manman-*. ṚV. 1, 147, 4 it reads *mantro guruḥ punar astu so asmai* "(wenn, Agni, uns ein übelwollender Knauser, ein missgünstiger durch Doppelzüngigkeit Abbruch tut,) auf den soll das Wort als schwerer (Fluch) zurückfallen" (Geldner). Mantra being the powerful word loaded with supernatural might and influence,[44] the extraordinary weight must refer to an uncommon powerfulness, influence and efficacy. In 4, 5, 6 *idam me agne ... gurum bhāraṃ na manma / bṛhad dadhātha* ..., the word *manma* "a religious or inspired poem or stanza",[45] which must refer to the *padaṃ gabhīram* "the solemn, secret or mysterious word" in st. 5, is not only qualified as *bṛhat* "firm, fundamental", but also compared to a heavy load. In 10, 37, 12 *yad vo devāś cakṛma jihvayā guru manaso vā prayutī devaheḷanam / ... tasmin tad eno vasavo ni dhetana* we hear that a 'heavy' offence against the gods is committed with the tongue or with thoughtlessness of mind; it is a sin (*enaḥ*) which must be laid upon the one who led those speaking "into evil".[46] Here also "heavy" no doubt implies the idea of "extraordinarily powerful or influential". In Manu 11, 256 the *enas* "sin" itself is called *suguru-*; cf. also Mbh. 12, 159, 40 f. cr. ed. *yas tu dūṣayitā tasyāḥ śeṣaṃ prāpnoti kilbiṣam* (v.l. *pāpmanaḥ*) / *brāhmaṇāyāvagūryeha spṛṣṭvā gurutaraṃ bhavet* (Nīlakaṇṭha: *gurutaraṃ śeṣād apy adhikaṃ pātakaṃ tasya phalam*). The poet of ṚV. 8, 47, 7 speaks of *tigmaṃ ... tyajaḥ ... guru* "heftige, schwere Schuld" (Geldner) or rather "the sharp and heavy consequences of an omission or of neglect of duty". In 7, 56, 19 we hear of a *guru dvesaḥ* "a heavy hatred". The adjective applies in AVPar. 69, 6, 3 to amulets which are well-known containers of power.[47] In the brāhmaṇas where the word is not very frequent it is not only used in a literal sense, but also in connection with sāmans: ŚB. 12, 2, 2, 11 (cf. GB.

[43] For *carmen* see also Ambros., *Serm. c. Auxent.* 34 *grande carmen istud est, quo nihil potentius.* On the power of *carmina* see my book *Stylistic repetition in the Veda* (Amsterdam Acad., 1959), ch. II.

[44] See my relative article in *Oriens*, 16 (Istambul-Leiden, 1963), p. 244 ff.

[45] See L. Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, I (Paris, 1955), p. 2.

[46] See also S. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil* (Lund-Copenhagen, 1946), p. 136 f.

[47] See Ābharaṇa, in *New Ind. Antiquary*, 2 (Poona), p. 69 ff.; G. Kropatschek, *De amuletorum apud antiquos usu*, Thesis (Marburg, 1907); E. Villiers, *Amulette und Talismane* (München, 1927); F. A. Wallis Budge, *Amulets and superstitions* (Oxford, 1930).

1, 4, 23) ... *aṅgirasaḥ sarvai stomaiḥ sarvaiḥ pṛṣṭhair gurubhiḥ sāmabhi svargaṃ lokam aspṛśan* and in a passage dealing with the 'increase' of those who have received a gift: AiB. 4, 25, 3 "these seasons and months thought themselves heavy having received (gifts)"; TB. 2, 8, 5, 7 speaks of *guru dveṣaḥ*.

The noun *guru-* in the sense of "teacher" or "spiritual guide" which is foreign to the earliest texts may be considered a substantivation of the same adjectival use. It must primarily have denoted the man who on account of his special knowledge and function was held to be a bearer of power conspicuous by his prestige, 'weight' and influence. This assumption can be substantiated by the use of the word and by text-places. First, guru does not only apply to the "spiritual teacher", but also to other venerable or respectable persons, to father, mother, or any relative older than one's self. Examples are needless, cf. however GobhGS. 2, 4, 11 *yathāvayasaṃ gurūn gotreṇābhivādya*; ŚāGS. 4, 13, 1 f. *ācāryāyābhivādayeta, gurubhyaś ca*; Manu 4, 162 *ācāryaṃ ca pravaktāraṃ pitaraṃ mātaraṃ gurum / na hiṃsyāt* ... "let him never offend the 'teacher' who initiated him, nor him who explained the Veda, nor his father and mother, nor (any other) guru ...". The grave crime called *gurutalpa-* "violation of the bed of the guru" refers to sexual intercourse with the wife of the father as well as the teacher.[48] Devala, an authority on dharma, was of the opinion that "among the gurus five deserve special honour, viz. father, mother, ācārya, eldest brother and (in the case of women) husband". For the use mentioned last see also GobhGS. 2, 3, 13. There has not even been complete unanimity about the question as to who is to be considered the guru *par excellence*. Gautama 2, 50 f., though declaring that the ācārya is the chief among all gurus,[49] adds that according to some the mother is the highest, an opinion shared by Yājñ. 1, 35 (*ebhyo mātā garīyasī*), but rejected by Bhīṣma in the Mahābhārata (12, 109, 16 *gurur garīyān*).[50] "Father, mother and ācārya are the three highest gurus of a person" ViSmṛti 32, 1 f. says (*trayaḥ puruṣasyātiguravo bhavanti, pitā mātācāryaś ca*).[51] It is not surprising, then, that the term sometimes needed defining: Manu 2, 142 "that brahman who performs the rites in accordance with the rules (of the Veda) ... is called the guru"; 149 "the man who benefits (the pupil) by (instruction in) the Veda ... is called in

[48] W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Prag, 1939), p. 134 ff.
[49] See also Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 282.
[50] Cf. the places collected by J. J. Meyer, *Sexual life in ancient India* (London, 1930), p. 199 f.
[51] Cf. also Gautama, 6, 1 ff. and Jolly. *o.c.*, p. 78.

this (work, cf. Kullūka) his guru, in consequence of that benefit (conferred by instruction in) the Veda".[52]

This use of *guru-* (see e.g. ChU. 8, 15, 1) is in harmony with the distinction made between this term, *ācārya-* and *upādhyāya-* although they are very often used as synonyms.[53] According to Manu 2, 142 (see above) and Yājñ. 1, 34 the guru is the one who performs the saṃskāras, maintains the child, and imparts the Veda to it. This must show that at least in the first place or originally the father is meant. Traditions about fathers[54] teaching their sons are indeed not wanting: BĀU. 6, 2, 1; 4.[55] The upādhyāya however is (Manu 2, 141) the man who for his livelihood teaches a portion of the Veda etc.[56] The ācārya[57] is, on the other hand, properly speaking the one "from whom the pupil "gathers" (*ācinoti*, the etymological relation assumed by the text is incorrect) (the knowledge) of his socio-religious duties (*dharmān*)": thus ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 1, 14, or rather, as we have already observed, who teaches him the *ācāra-* "the traditionally right conduct and behaviour".[58] However, Manu 2, 69 and Yājñ. 1, 15 use in this connection the term *guru-*: *upanīya guruḥ śiṣyaṃ śikṣayec chaucam āditaḥ / ācāram* ..., and *u. g. ś.* ... */ vedam adhyāpayed enaṃ śaucācārāṃś ca śikṣayet*. A clear distinction is made by Yājñ. 1, 34 *sa gurur yaḥ kriyāḥ kṛtvā vedam asmai prayacchati / upanīya dadad vedam ācāryaḥ sa udāhṛtaḥ*, from which it may be concluded that the guru performed all the ceremonies till the initiation, the latter initiated the boy into Vedic studies after performing the 'sacrament' of upanayana. Notwithstanding this terminological confusion these words and the functions of the persons indicated by them reflect the character of the instruction and the relation between the instructors and the pupil. The cumulative function of "the guru" consisted in imparting to the young member of the Aryan community the "sacraments", teaching him a portion of the Veda, and educating him with particular regard to ācāra and dharma.

[52] See also Medhātithi's commentary.
[53] For these terms see also Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 282 f. and Puri, *o.c.*, p. 155.
[54] Pat., Mahābh. 3, 3, 18 makes mention of the maternal uncle imparting instruction to the nephew.
[55] Cf. also Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 282; for other details see Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 321 f. However, the Mbh. (see 13,36,15) condemns him who studies the Veda at home.
[56] For other relevant passages see G. Bühler, *The laws of Manu* (Oxford, 1886), p. 56, note.
[57] For *ācārya-* see also above.
[58] Cf. also the first member of the definition proposed in the Nirukta 1, 4 *ācārya ācāraṃ grāhayati, i.e.* "the *ācārya-* makes (the 'student') understand traditional precepts or the proper course of conduct".

The above instruction was of the highest importance, because its aim was to prepare the boys of the higher classes for properly discharging their duties in all conditions of life. Being a most important saṃskāra or "sacrament",[59] it is to confer upon the youth "the superior birth from *vidyā*" (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 1, 16-18 adding that the parents produce only the body), to bring him into the invigorating contact with divine power, and to enable him to overcome the inferior human condition of those who do not possess the status of a brahman (or, generally of an Arya).[60] That the practice of oral instruction by which this "educational system" was characterized, was already customary in Ṛgvedic times may appear from ṚV. 7, 103, 5 "just as a learner repeats the words of his teacher (*śāktasya*)".

It is on the other hand clear that the subject-matter of teaching was liable to undergo modifications.[61] A brāhmaṇa boy was for instance, according to Patañjali (1, 1, 1), expected to study the dharma, and the Veda with its six ancillary sciences, the principal subject being grammar *brāhmanena niṣkārano dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo 'dhyeyo jñeyaś ceti. pradhānaṃ ca ṣaḍaṅgeṣu vyākaraṇam*). In those circles which began to stress the importance of esoterical doctrines, fathers (ChU. 3, 11, 5) and teachers imparted some secret lore or knowledge to their sons or pupils: ChU. 3, 11, 3ff. "for him who knows this mystic doctrine of brahma (*brahmopaniṣadam*), the sun neither rises nor sets ... A father may teach this 'brahman' to his eldest son or to a worthy pupil". That the ācārya, like the pupil (*antevāsin-*) and their mutual relations played a rôle in mystic speculations becomes clear from texts such as TU. 1, 3, 2 which, dealing with the mystic significance of combinations, holds the teacher to be the former, the pupil the latter form of knowledge which is called their conjunction, instruction being the connection. From these and other places it also appears that those who wanted instruction not always were adolescents or uneducated young people but also adult and independent members of the Aryan community. Thus (ChU. 4, 1) Jānaśruti approached Raikva, "the man with the cart", for instruction with regard to the deity worshipped by the latter; Uddālaka Aruṇi teaches his adult son, who has just finished his studies, the doctrine of the oneness of the self (ChU. 6); Yājñavalkya gives his wife Maitreyī an exposition of his idealistic monism (BĀU. 2, 4) etc. The same Yājñavalkya even enjoined a life-long celibate

[59] R. B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras* (Benares, 1949), esp. p. 186 ff.
[60] Cf. Parāśara 8, 19 quoted by Kane, *o.c.*, I, p. 189 f.
[61] It is no use enumerating here the various 'branches of tuition' mentioned in the ancient texts. See Puri, *o.c.*, p. 145 ff.; Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 327 ff.

to live with his ācārya, and in absence of the latter with his son, or wife, or fire (Pat. 2, 49).[62]

In other circles however people were more interested in other branches of tuition and in other acquirements and proficiencies. Thus in the princely and knightly milieu reflected in the Mahābhārata Droṇa was ācārya[63] or teacher of the military art, both to the Kaurava and Pāṇḍava princes, and so he was called Droṇācārya and Guru (cf. also BhG. 2, 4 and 5). Bhīṣma, the inspired one (*dhīmān*: Mbh. 1, 2, 353), expounded the rājadharma, "the 'duties' of kings" (Mbh. 12, a. 56ff.).

The usual translation "(religious) teacher" would make us overlook the 'priestly' functions of the guru, who when employed by a kingly person is called *purohita-*,[64] i.e. the one who "being placed in front (of that royal person)" serves, by virtue of the potency inherent in his person, so to say as a shield averting evil influences. An able purohita could render his employer yeoman service in attaining to power and prosperity, when his own strength and other help failed him. Thus a survey of the occurrences of the term *guru-* in a collection of texts such as the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa, which is mainly interested in magical rites and prognostication, represents this functionary almost as a magic practitioner.

The king who wishes to conquer the whole earth, AVPar. 2, 1, 6 says, should appoint a Bhārgava who is well-furnished with the characteristic marks of 'knowledge', to the office of purohita or guru: needless to recall that *vidyā* means "praktisch verwendbare Kenntnis, mit deren Hilfe man Zwecke oder Absichten erreichen kann, ein Schlüssel zu besonderen oder ausserordentlichen Leistungen, gleichviel wie sie nach modernen Massstäben charakterisiert wird: als rituelles Wissen, als Magie oder als angewandte Wissenschaft".[65] This functionary alone can, the text continues, avert portents; his absence will have awful effects: there will be no rain,

[62] It is my conviction that the difference in outlook and interests between brāhmaṇas and upaniṣads has often been exaggerated (see e.g. P. Masson-Oursel, *La pensée en Orient*, Paris, 1949, p. 134: "La notion d'upaniṣad, si différente de celle de brāhmaṇa, témoigne d'une gnose tout autre que la technique rituelle, patrimoine de la caste sacerdotale. Il s'agit de révélations transmises en secret, touchant la vérité métaphysique, non plus la ponctualité dans le culte ou l'exégèse vedique").
[63] Or even *ācāryamukhya-* "the best or chief among teachers" (for text-places see S. Sörensen, *An index to the names of the Mahābhārata* (London, 1904), p. 4). For particulars *ibidem*, p. 263 ff.
[64] See my relevant article in *Festschrift – W. Kirfel* (Bonn, 1955), p. 107. – Sometimes a distinction is made between *guru-* and *purohita-*, the latter being a higher title or used in a narrower sense. Thus Vasistha who is Rām. 1, 11, 6 Bh. the purohita waits upon the king when the gurus with the purohita (1,8,4) are sent for. In 1, 12, 3 the same person is however addressed as guru.
[65] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 176.

no heroic sons are born, the divine powers, which will not accept the oblations, have various calamities in store for king and kingdom. Cf. also Bṛhaddevatā 8, 6 "Śaṃtanu appointed him to be his 'chaplain' and to act as priest; so he duly performed the rites productive of rain". The requirements of a guru – who may not be disabled (2, 3, 5; 3, 2, 4) – were many and manifold (AVPar. 3, 1, 13); he should be of good descent, learned in the sacred tradition (*śrotriya-*),[66] of proper conduct and appearance, pure and steady, knowing the ins and outs of correct behaviour; he must have undertaken vows and restrained his passions etc., be familiar with the problems of peace and war, know the magic ("illusionary") rites etc., have given up using abodes and seats, be able to endure cold, heat and rain, be modest and honest, be completely free from passion and giving himself up to liberality, compassion and self-control, be energetic, profound (serious), and characterized by tejas ("spiritual, intellectual, moral, moral-religious efficacy and the dignity, influence and prestige deriving therefrom"). Needless to say that he must also be perfectly familiar with the secret (esoteric) doctrine of the Veda (*vedarahasya-*, 3, 3, 8). The guru must perform various rites (see e.g. 19b, 1, 5), and be an expert in vratas ("observances", 46, 7, 1), and in omina and portenta (cf. 24, 2, 1), which he is to "appease" (64, 10, 7ff.).

However, the Ṛgveda bears already testimony to the important and influential position of the king's purohita. ṚV. 4, 50, 7-9, being an eulogy upon the brahman priest, especially when acting the purohita, conceived as the human counterpart and representative of the god Bṛhaspati, reads as follows: "that king, indeed, overpowers all opposing forces with his valour and heroic power, who maintains Bṛhaspati (i.e. the purohita) well attended, and honours and praises him as the one who deserves the first share (precedence). He verily abides well established in his own place; to him Iḷā (Nourishment) abounds for ever; to that king his subjects (the *viśaḥ*) bow down of their own accord, with whom the brahman priest takes precedence. Irresistible, he wins the riches of his enemies and kinsmen; the king who affords comfort to the brahman desiring help, him the gods help". According to 10, 98 Devāpi, Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa's son, acting as purohita for king Śaṃtanu, performed rites in order to produce rain.[67] Vasiṣṭha, the typical purohita (ṚV. 7, 60, 12; cf. also PB. 15, 5, 24),[68] the

[66] See Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 283. A *śrotriya-* (Pāṇ. 5,2,84) specialized in "studying", i.e. committing to memory the Vedic texts in the various forms of recitation.
[67] Cf. also K. F. Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III (Cambridge Mass., 1951), p. 308 and Bṛhaddevatā 7, 155 ff. with Macdonell's notes.
[68] See also A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic index of names and subjects*, II (Benares, 1958), p. 274 ff.

mind-born son of the gods Mitra and Varuṇa (7, 33, 11[69]), guarded his patron from all dangers, addressed his prayers to the gods (cf. 7, 18, 4; 22, 3 etc.) inviting them to the sacrifices (7, 70, 6), composing hymns of praise (7, 88, 1), and invoking, on behalf of his employer, their favour (cf. 7, 26, 5). His great rival Viśvāmitra, the purohita of king Sudās, whom he accompanied to battle, succeeded in persuading two rivers to lower their level so that the king's army could cross (3, 33; 53, 9); his brahma protected the people of the Bhāratas (3, 53, 12). This protective function of the purohita[70] is for instance also obvious in AV. 10, 1, 6, a text to be used in averting 'witchcraft' (Kauś. 39, 7): "opposed (viz. to the inimical powers) is the Āṅgirasa (i.e. the magical officiant[71]), our overseer who has been placed before us" (viz. in order to protect us: *pratīcīna āṅgiraso 'dhyakṣo naḥ purohitaḥ*). He is (see 6 cd) expected to turn the 'witchcrafts' in the opposite direction and to slay their producers. Cf. also AV. 8, 5, 5 and 6. The poet of AV. 3, 19, introducing himself as the purohita of his patron, says (st. 1) that his brahma has been "sharpened up", (so that) also strength and heroism (probably "of the king",[72] or "on behalf of the king") are "sharpened up" and his "unwasting authority" will be victorious, adding in st. 4 that his employers are sharper than an axe, fire or Indra's weapon. Kauś. 14, 22ff. applies this text in a rite for gaining victory over a hostile army. It is therefore not improbable that the purohita who in AV. 11, 10, 18 has to accompany Triṣandhi – a divine power which has been identified (cf. st. 3) with the vajra – is likewise the "domestic priest" who (AVPar. 1, 31, 6) should precede the king who goes to war; the stanza belongs to a series of texts to be used in connection with rites for ensuring success in war.

That the protective function was an important feature in the 'domestic priest' is also apparent from brāhmaṇa passages such as JB. 3, 94; PB. 13, 3, 12 (the purohita has to keep his employer from doing evil or mischief); JB. 3, 244 where he has to ensure victory in war by means of a new ritual melody. AiB. 8, 24 – a long passage commenting upon the significance of purohitaship in which the above ṚV. stanzas 4, 50, 7-8 are explained – is quite explicit: "the gods do not eat the oblations of a king without a purohita, who is Agni Vaiśvānara, possessed of five missiles, which are in his speech, feet, skin, heart and organ. With these he keeps enveloping the king as the ocean the earth. His kingship does not perish, ... he lives

[69] Cf. Geldner, *o.c.*, II, p. 211.
[70] See also the above mentioned article in the *Festschrift-Kirfel*, esp. p. 118 ff.
[71] Bloomfield, *o.c.*, p. 107 f.
[72] Otherwise ("my"): Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 119.

a full life, who has for purohita to guard the kingdom a brahman with this knowledge". For him his people live in harmony, he overcomes all hostilities, etc.

It is however not always, or not only, the rites and words of the purohita, but also his very person which being a container of power ensures protection. Thus the family of the Vasiṣṭhas were especially capable for this function (TS. 3, 5, 2; see also ṚV. 7, 83, 4; 60, 12): when Vasiṣṭha, unlike the other ṛṣis, could see Indra face to face, the god revealed holy lore (*brāhmaṇam*) to him, so that people were propagated with him as purohita; "therefore a Vasiṣṭha should be chosen as the brahman priest". Hence also the hereditary character of purohitaship[73] as well as its standing and prestige in an ancient Indian kingdom.[74] The purohita as the most prominent representative of priesthood and spiritual power constitutes with the king, for the good of the country, a sort of unity (Mbh. 12, 74, 1ff.); their relation is regarded as matrimony (AiB. 8, 27, 4).[75] The purohita is "the half of the self of the prince" (AiB. 7, 26, 4). In accordance with Kauś. 17, 6 *sahaiva nau sukṛtaṃ saha duṣkṛtam* the king and the purohita have to perform certain ritual or ceremonial acts conjointly.[76] There is on the other hand an abundance of texts[77] to show that the man who desires to obtain the rank and office of a purohita (*purodhākāma-*) had to know special 'mystical secrets', to perform definite rites, and especially to execute an "unction", the so-called Bṛhaspatisava (see e.g. TB. 2, 7, 1, 2; PB. 17, 11, 4f.; JB. 2, 128ff.[78]).

It is not surprising to see that the above protective function of the king's 'domestic priest' could embrace also the care of the ruler's sacrifices in general, of the welfare of the country by means of 'fertility rites' etc.,[79] and, likewise by ritual techniques, of the king's security against external and internal enemies[80] (cf. e.g. JB. 3, 244-247; PB. 15, 3, 7). In later times (VIth cent. A.D.) Varāhamihira (BS. 43, 30) describes how the purohita, clad in white, makes a sacrifice in fire during the Indra festivities. Fur-

73 See also W. Rau, *Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien* (Wiesbaden, 1957), p. 119; Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 39 ff.
74 For particulars: Rau, *o.c.*, p. 117.
75 Compare the confused explanations by A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Spiritual authority and temporal power in the Indian theory of government", *J.A.O.S.* 22 (New Haven, 1942), p. 1 ff.; 51 ff.
76 For particulars see *Festschrift-Kirfel*, p. 108.
77 Collected by Rau, *o.c.*, p. 119, n. 1 and 2.
78 Translated by W. Caland, *Das Jaiminiya-brāhmaṇa in Auswahl* (Amsterdam Acad., 1919), p. 165 ff. See also the chapter on Dīkṣā, p. 408.
79 Rau, *o.c.*, p. 90 ff.
80 Rau, *o.c.*, p. 60 f.

thermore, his position entitled him to be the first to anoint the king during the inauguration ceremonies (ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 1; see also Varāh. BS. 48, 19 "the purohita wraps the king ... in a woolen blanket, and pours over him the contents of the jars filled with ghee").[81] In short, "die Pflichten des purohita genau zu definieren, ist deshalb unmöglich, weil er nach den Anschauungen jener Zeit als Kenner der Opfermagie alles erreichen und folglich zu allen Aufgaben herangezogen werden könnte, bei denen die Kräfte eines gewöhnlichen Menschen versagten".[82]

As already observed the many-sided activities remind us of the magician of many peoples who not rarely is "a Jack-of-all-trades, combining the offices of healer, exorcist, diviner, seer, prophet, bard, and educator. He may also control the winds, the rain, and the growth of the crops; detect witches and other criminals; impose taboos and conduct purificatory rites to avoid the disastrous consequences when broken; bring down destruction upon the tribal enemies; supply talismans to secure good fortune and amulets to avert all ills to which human flesh is heir; and in war and peace, in the day of plenty or in that of famine, be looked up to as the one person who must be consulted when important business is under way or when things go wrong. The professional magician may also be a sorcerer, whose nefarious activity, though feared and reprobated, is nevertheless socially recognized".[83] In connection with this functionary the belief is widespread that he is either by certain personal peculiarities or by his birth and descent especially qualified for the exercise of his profession.[84] Very often however these practitioners are more or less specialized, the practitioner who can make rain or compose spells is not always a 'doctor'; the man who can work mischief with charms not necessarily able to control the weather.[85] It is therefore intelligible that a similar differentiation and specialization may, to a certain extent, be ascertained in connection with the ancient Indian gurus and purohitas.

Nor is it surprising to find that GautamaSmṛti 11, 12f. and ĀpDhS. 2, 5, 10, 14 require that the purohita was to be a learned man of good family, endowed with the gift of speech, a fine form, of suitable (middle) age and a high character, and that he was to be of ascetic (austere) way of

81 See also J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 114 ff.
82 Rau, *o.c.*, p. 120. Compare also H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart, ³1923), p. 375 ff.; R. Pischel und K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II (Stuttgart, 1897), p. 143 ff.
83 H. Webster, *Magic* (Stanford Cal. 1948), p. 293 f.; see also p. 331 ff.
84 Webster, *o.c.*, p. 144 ff.; 163 ff.
85 Webster, *o.c.*, p. 294.

living and well-versed in dharma and artha. Other functions of this high official are however not forgotten: ĀśvGS. 3, 12 describes how the purohita is to prepare his employer for battle, and Yājñ. 1, 313 stress the gift of divination and the traditions of the Atharvaveda.[86]

The result of an examination of the above texts is in fairly good harmony with the theory enunciated by Kauṭilya, Arthaś. 1, 9 (5), 9 "zum Hauspriester soll er einen machen, dessen Familie hervorragt an überliefertem Wissen und dessen Charakter und Wandel in hervorragendem Masse mit diesem übereinstimmen, (der) gründlich geschult ist im Veda und seinen (sechs) Hilfswissenschaften, in Götterzeichen,[87] Vorbedeutungen und Staatskunde,[88] und der imstande ist, von Göttern und Menschen kommendem Unheil mit Zaubersprüchen und Abwehrmitteln (*atharvabhir upāyaiś ca*) entgegenzuarbeiten".[89] The recent Śukranīti, which however contains much that is old and applies to the classical period, is even more exacting (1, 9): (the king should appoint a purohita) "who is versed in mantras and rituals, master of the threefold knowledge, skilful at work, a conqueror of the senses, subduer of anger, devoid of greed and passions, equipped with a knowledge of the six auxiliary sciences (of the Veda) and of the science of archery with all its branches, one who knows the moral as well as religious interests, one fearing whose anger even the king takes to virtuous ways of life, one who is well up in Nītiśāstra and master of military implements and tactics".

This evidence is corroborated by the ancient Buddhist texts. "Selbst nicht im Stande ... Götter und Dämonen für sich günstig zu stimmen, noch auch der Mittel kundig, die ihm die Zukunft nicht allein offenbarten, sondern auch zu seinen Gunsten wendeten, bediente er (der König) sich zur Beeinflussung der transcendentalen Welt des Zauberpriesters ... In seinem Auftrage muss der purohita (– guru, Opferpriester und Hauspriester erscheinen nach den Jātaka in der Person des purohita vereinigt[90] –) ... Opfer vollziehen, um das Unglück, das sich dem Könige durch böse Träume (Jāt. I, 334ff.) oder durch unheimliche Klagelaute (III, 43ff.) angekündigt hat, abzuwenden; wenn unerklärliche Naturerscheinungen, wie das Aufleuchten der Waffen (V, 127), das Gemüth des Königs ängstigen, weiss der purohita sie aus der Constellation der Gestirne zu deuten; Waffen und Thiere, deren sich der König bedient, muss er ... weihen (II, 46) ...".[91] The Jātakas contain even stories of purohitas who – not unlike the delegation who has to find a successor to a deceased Dalai lama – take the initiative in looking for a new king.[92] In addition to these functions the ācārya is, of course, the king's "teacher": "er fungierte ..., auch wenn sein Zögling zur Herrschaft gelangt war, thatsächlich noch als sein Lehrer; denn ein König betrachtete anscheinend seine geistige Ausbildung mit Beendigung des Studiums nicht als abgeschlossen ... (cf. III, 28)". Thus the teacher was often a fatherly friend and adviser, the more so as his office was, as a rule, hereditary. Not rarely he also occupied a judicial or administrative post. "Auf Zauberei, Zeichendeuterei und ähnliche Dinge scheint im Wesentlichen die Thätigkeit der purohita beschränkt gewesen zu sein, die nicht am königlichen Hofe, sondern in der Provinz weilten ..., denen es aber zur Entfaltung irgend welcher politischer Thätigkeit an Gelegenheit gefehlt haben wird":[93] "some chaplains fortunes tell, or geld and mark a best for pay; with proffered food the village folk invite them oft to stay ..." (Jāt. IV, 364).[94] In the Jaina canon it is even told that a royal priest performed a human sacrifice in order to ensure victory for his royal patron.[95]

The conception that true birth is birth to immortality, and that the teacher who initiates the novice to his new 'birth' shall be regarded as his father is pan-Indian and also taken up by the Buddhists. The novice forsakes his family name and becomes a "son of Buddha" (*sakyaputto*), for he has been "born among the saints" (cf. SaṃyNik. II, p. 272 F.).

The Milindapañha (p. 94 T.) furnishes us with an interesting list of the

[86] For the purohita's responsibility for mistakes of the king see VāsDhŚ. 19, 40 ff.; see Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 183; 220, n. 1.
[87] Kālidāsa, Ragh. 11, 58 ff. Winds blowing in contrary direction harassed the army; the sun, with a formidable halo, looked like a jewel dropped from the hood of a serpent killed by Garuḍa, jackals began to howl in a fearful way ... Seeing these portents the king who knew what was right to be done, asked his guru regarding their appeasement (*śānti-*).
[88] The purohita who in the works of Kālidāsa appears in connection with various state functions (cf. e.g. Śak., act 5) plays the most important part in the consecration of the king, whose attitude towards him is one of utmost reverence. See B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa* (Allahabad, 1947), p. 129.
[89] The translation is Meyer's (J. J. Meyer, *Das altindische Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 13 f. with p. 13, n. 5).
[90] See also Rām. 1,1,7 and 1,11,6 Bh.: the same priest Vasiṣṭha is styled a *ṛtvij-* as well as a *purohita-*.
[91] R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit* (Kiel, 1897), p. 108 ff. For consecrations, explication of portents and auguries etc., see also p. 115 f.
[92] Fick, *o.c.*, p. 82 f.
[93] Fick, *o.c.*, p. 116.
[94] Translated by W. H. D. Rouse, in E. B. Cowell's Jātaka ... translated, IV, London 1957, p. 229.
[95] Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in ancient India as depicted in the Jaina canon* (Bombay, 1947), p. 58.

qualities of the teacher (*ācariya-*) with regard to his pupil:[96] "When a pupil (*antevāsika-*) is practising rightly the teacher should rightly practise twenty-five qualities of a teacher. He should constantly and continuously keep a guard over his pupil; he should let him know what is not to be followed and what is to be followed; he should let him know about slothfulness and diligence; he should let him know the occasions for lying down; ... about illness, ... what food he may accept or reject; ... he should share with him what has gone into his bowl; he should console him ...; he should not hold (foolish) conversation with him; having seen a defect he should have patience with it; he should be zealous; do nothing partially; keep nothing secret; hold nothing back; arouse the attitude of a begetter, thinking: "I have begotten him in the crafts"; arouse an attitude for growth, thinking: "how should he not deteriorate"; arouse the attitude (for strength), thinking: "I will make him strong with the strength of the rules of training"; arouse an attitude of friendliness; he should not forsake him in distress, and not be slothful in anything to be done; by means of the rule (*dhammena*) he should befriend him if he stumbles".

From other sources[97] we may learn, not only that the education subjects for children born in well-to-do merchant families were of a thoroughly practical nature and that a kṣatriya born to rule a kingdom was instructed in riding, bowmanship, the training of elephants etc., but also that the education of a young brahman might embrace, besides the three R's, the Vedas, the practice of the brahmanical duties, the rules of asceticism, mendicancy, ceremonial purity and of good social form (Divyāv. p. 485). Another text speaks of the three Vedas and other writings, such as the *itihāsā(ḥ)*, i.e. the traditional accounts of former events (AvadŚat. II, pp. 19).

The views of the significance of purohitaship expressed by the epic poets[98] are in essential agreement with the above sketch. A king who wishes to rule the earth and to win heaven must have a domestic priest (Mbh. 3, 27, 11 ff. cr. ed.), even when he is powerful, because the brahman (represented by the court chaplain) strengthens the royal power by which it is sustained (12, 74, 32 *brahma vardhayati kṣatraṃ kṣatrato brahma vardhate*). A ruler should appoint a purohita (*kārya eveha vidvān purohito naikavidyo nṛpeṇa*) and have himself anointed by that functionary (12, 73,

[96] Compare the translation by I. B. Horner, Milinda's questions (London, 1963), p. 130 f.

[97] See e.g. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, *Gleanings on social life from the Avadānas* (Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1945), p. 9 ff.

[98] E. W. Hopkins, "The social and military position of the ruling caste in ancient India, as represented by the Sanskrit epic", in *J.A.O.S.* 13 (New Haven, 1889), p. 151 ff.

28 f.). When he is guided by a purohita, who excels in intelligence, he will do well; his realm will prosper (12, 73, 15 ff.). Moreover, *pretya modate brahmacārī na tatra mṛtyur na jarā nota duḥkham* (13, 73, 26). The priest is however also able to destroy the kingdom by his magic and ritual power (cf. 5, 40, 7). The right guru is a divinity (*daivatam*, Rām. 1, 19, 20 Bh.).

The guru of the epic kings was, indeed, a formidable personage.[99] Whereas the king is advised to have ministers, he must have a purohita (1, 164, 13 f. cr. ed.), from whom he should never part (1, 64, 29; cf. 5, 33, 45), because without brahmans his power goes to wrack and ruin (3, 27, 15). The didactic writing of earlier and later times endeavours to demonstrate that the union of king and purohita is perfection (1, 76, 18), but the priests are the best of all classes of men (1, 76, 19). The king who turns against the priests is destroyed (5, 15, 32 = Manu 9, 321; Mbh. 5, 38, 13 etc.). Among the priests three are especially sacred, the guru who has taught the king his 'sacred learning', the sacrificial priest, and the family priest, who however is often identical with the guru. The later didactic epos insists on making the guru and family priest the controller(s) of the king's mind and council, his confident(s) and chief adviser(s). Though private in office the guru claims to be the chief of the ruler's councillors. Besides being conversant with sacred literature and possessed of moral virtues, he should know also the art of polity (cf. e.g. also AgniPur. 238, 16), "understand the principles of desire and gain, and know the true essence of things; he must be eloquent and skilful" (3, 27, 18 f., etc.). "(Priests) learned in revelation should moreover be employed by the king in legal and business affairs" (12, 25, 17); his victories depend on their advice (cf. Rām. 2, 44, 11). They consequently sat in the hall of debate and were, moreover, able to oversee elephants, horses, and war-cars, learned in detecting the faults of food (Mbh. 4, 42, 27 ff.). They were "to gain (for the king) gain as yet ungot, and to guard what has been already got" (3, 27, 18 f.). Being sacrosanct these priests might, at least according to some epic passages (see especially 5, 80, 16 f.), not be killed or executed. The assumption of a spiritual power greater than the physical might of the ruler is always maintained: the priest can destroy the realm through sacrifice and by his supranatural power.

It is as difficult to make out how far these often obviously 'didactic' statements were, in the period reflected by the epics, put into practice as to decide to what extent they answered to a reality which had already existed in the previous, i.e. the Vedic, culture. What is however clear is,

[99] Hopkins, *l.c.*

besides the variety of their occupations, the assumption of their paramount spiritual power, the claim on the part of these kingly "family gurus" to complete possession of sacred knowledge, to indispensability, to spiritual leadership, to be the channel through which the king can realize his highest ambitions. The epic poets in sounding the praises of the pattern purohita give us, it is true, a one-sided idea of guruship, but the essential features of that office (traditional knowledge, expertness in sacred texts and other branches of learning, spiritual leadership, venerableness (cf. BhagG. 11, 43) and sacrosanctity (cf. BhagG. 2, 5), brahmanical descent, great power, indispensability with a view to the attainment of the highest aims) are all there.

It is further interesting to note that in the Mahābhārata the doctrine of "the grace (*prasāda-*) of the guru" is introduced. Agni grants the seer Gaya the power to know the Vedas without study, simply, as Gaya begs, through "austerity, chastity, observances, vows, and the grace of the gurus" (7, a. 66 C.). Another curious detail, showing the increasing deification of the 'teacher' concerns the fetish-use of his image mentioned in 1, 123, 10ff. cr. ed., where the Niṣāda prince Ekalavya makes a clay image of his ācārya and worships it to get the instruction refused by the teacher himself. By practising weapons before that image he became in fact very skilled in shooting. The story illustrates the prevailing idea of the guru's greatness as well as the necessity of single-minded devotion to him for attaining proficiency.

The purāṇas also represent the purohita or guru as an influential personality who has, for instance, to co-operate in the consecration of a king;[100] on that occasion he has among other things to fast, to dress himself in white,[101] to observe and interpret portents etc., to perform the relative complex of rites, called Aindra-śānti, producing, for the king, "victory, might, cattle, rain and safeguarding against attacks of enemies"; furthermore, the purohita must bath the king, treat him with various sorts of earth, sprinkle him with water containing fruits. The guru must exchange a ceremonial honey-dish with the king and accept his homage. His ritual omnipotence was however reduced by the rising star of the astrologer, who not only was to foretell events from an observation of the heavenly bodies – a profession formerly incumbent on the purohita (Yājñ. 1, 308)–, but was even entrusted with the choice of the latter.[102] The con-

[100] H. Losch, *Rājadharma, Einsetzung und Aufgabenkreis des Königs im Lichte des Purāṇa's* (Bonn, 1959), p. 22 ff.

[101] For white as the sacral basic colour see Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 122 f.

[102] See Losch, *o.c.*, p. 45.

secration ceremonies as described in these texts had however considerably departed from the Vedic traditions.[103]

Teaching was also in the opinion of the authors of the purāṇas always one of the three primary functions of a brahman (cf. e.g. VāPur. 8, 169). Brahmans who are not able to teach were disqualified. Those who had no knowledge of the Vedas were not to be invited for assisting at śrāddhas (cf. VāPur. 82, 59ff.). A brahman without a disciple was not even qualified to learn the story of the birth of Pṛthu (VāPur. 62, 104). We also hear of brahman fathers who transmitted the Vedic learning to their sons (VāPur. 61, 27).[104] Like the upaniṣads (see e.g. BĀU. 6, 2, 7; ChU. 4, 4, 3; KauṣU. 1, 1) the purāṇas contain stories of earnest seekers after truth who express the wish to become a guru's pupil, and who sometimes are admitted only after a noviciate or probation (cf. ChU. 8, 7, 3; PrU. 1, 2). In Tantrism the guru should even test the intending disciple for a year, the period mentioned also in the PraśnaUpaniṣad. That it was however not always 'orthodox' traditions that engaged the attention of the purāṇic teachers is for instance shown by a quaint reference to brahmans preaching principles of 'atheism' or, rather, negativism in the holy place of Gokarṇa.[105]

From this rapid survey of the history of Indian guruship it may appear that the main characteristics of this institution while being already clearly discernible in the Vedic period were not lost in later times, adapting themselves to various milieus and circumstances.

Before continuing it may however be advisable to look, for a moment, away from Indian history and to invite attention to what may have been the prehistoric beginnings of the institution. As direct sources are lacking we are entirely committed to hypotheses based on the one hand on a comparison of the Vedic facts with the corresponding culture features of the related ancient Indo-European peoples and on the other on an examination of the relevant characteristics of the non-Aryan Indian priesthood.

In Iran, we find, to begin with, the *magi*,[106] an hereditary aristocratic[107]

[103] Losch, *o.c.*, p. 30 f. Cf. also K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian culture* (Sholapur, 1949), p. 378, n. 2.

[104] For particulars, D. R. Patil, *Cultural history from the Vāyu Purāṇa* (Poona, 1946), p. 30.

[105] VāPur. 77, 21 *gokarṇe varṇitaṃ viprair nāstikānāṃ nidarśanam.* – See also *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 86 (the guru in Śaṅkara's Vedānta) and II, p. 240 f. (the guru in Śivaism).

[106] G. Messina, *Der Ursprung der Magier und die zarathustrische Religion* (Roma, 1930) (= Thesis Berlin 1930); C. Clemen, *Die griechischen und lateinischen Nachrichten über die persische Religion* (Giessen, 1920), esp. p. 205 ff. (to be utilized with C. Clemen, *Fontes historicae religionis persicae*, Bonn, 1920); E. Benveniste, *Les mages dans l'ancien*

and sacerdotal 'order' or 'caste' – rather than 'tribe' or clan[108] –, in all probability Median in origin, and forming, as a fraternity among that people – but without devoting themselves exclusively to priestly functions –, the priesthood.[109] Constituting an isolated group they permitted the marriage of blood relations. In contradistinction to the Persians, who buried their dead, they exposed all corpses to be torn by birds of prey or wild beasts; they, moreover, destroyed noxious animals.[110] They had also theological or philosophical doctrines of their own: our sources[111] mention at least that they recognized two principles, Good and Evil,[112] and discoursed on ethical or philosophical subjects.[113] They were "wise in the things of God and served the divine".[114] The Achaemenians apparently taking them over as a priestly class, their presence became indispensable at any Iranian religious ceremony,[115] whether Zoroastrian or not; it probably was necessary even at the rite described by Plutarch[116] in which an offering was made, for averting evil to Ahriman.[117] Thus it was their concern to worship, to sacrifice and to murmur prayers;[118] it was also their function "to chant a θεογονία".[119] They accompanied the

Iran (= Publ. de la Soc. des Etudes iraniennes 15) (Paris, 1938), p. 6 ff.; R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan, a Zoroastrian dilemma* (Oxford, 1955), passim; Zaehner, *The dawn and twilight of Zoroastrianism* (London, 1961), esp. p. 161 ff.; R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (Harmondsworth, 1954), passim; A. Christensen, *Die Iranier* (München, 1933), passim.

107 S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (Lund, 1946), p. 44.

108 In spite of Herodotus 1, 101; see Ammianus Marcellinus 23, 6, 32 ff.

109 "(Dans l'Avesta le mot *moγu-*) désigne certainement et exclusivement le membre d'une certaine division sociale et territoriale, sans égard à l'activité qu'il exerce, et seulement par rapport aux membres de cercles plus restreints ou plus larges" (Benveniste, *o.c.*, p. 11). "Les mages étaient, comme l'affirme Hérodote, une tribu mède, un groupement de familles auxqueles étaient dévolus certain privilèges héréditaires d'ordre politique et religieux. Si tous les prêtres étaient des Mages, tous les Mages n'étaient pas nécessairement prêtres" (the same, *o.c.*, p. 18).

110 Herodotus 1, 140; cf. also H. S. Nyberg, *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938), p. 336 ff.; Zaehner, *Dawn*, p. 162.

111 See Diogenes Laertius, *De Vit. phil.*, pr. 2,8.

112 "Thus they can be regarded as the true authors of that rigid dualism that was to characterise the Zoroastrianism of a later period, but which is only implicit in the Gāthās of Zoroaster" (Zaehner, *Dawn*, p. 162).

113 Diogenes Laertius, *o.c.*, pr. 2, 7.

114 Porphyrius, *De Abst.* 4, 16.

115 Cf. e.g. also Herodotus 7, 114.

116 Plutarchus, *De Is. et Osir.* 369 D f.

117 "It can be assumed that even the 'worshippers of the daēvas' and the followers of the Lie' had Magi of their own, but their authority would not have been accepted by any Zoroastrian" (Zaehner, *Dawn*, p. 165).

118 Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 183 f.; J. Bidez - F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* (Paris, 1938), II, p. 285 ff.

119 Herodotus 1, 132; see also E. Benveniste, *The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts* (Paris, 1929), p. 31.

army[120] to celebrate the sacrifices, interpreted dreams[121] and ominous events,[122] functioned as soothsayers[123] and took part in the coronation of the new king, a ceremony performed in the temple of Pasargadae.[124] With the kings they had an unction rite in common.[125] They were guardians of royal tombs, tended the sacred fire and prepared *haoma*. Furthermore they are said to have recited, on the occasion of secret initiations, a myth.[126] They were also entrusted with instruction and education of boys.[127] Being the best of the Persians and striving to lead a holy life they are also said to have been the teachers of the Achaemenian kings.[128] There can be no doubt that they held not only certain religious but also political privileges.[129]

The points which this short survey of the functions of the magi has in common with the above enumeration of the activities of the Vedic brahmans and especially of those who functioned as gurus and purohitas are their belonging to an isolated aristocratic and hereditary group; their inclination to endogamy; the institutionalized character of their activities; their wisdom in divine things and their 'philosophical' knowledge and interest; their indispensability at rites and ceremonies; their sacerdotal functions; their activity as soothsayers, prognosticators, etc.; their close relation to kings and kingship; their teaching profession and initiatory duties.

Already in classical antiquity it struck the author Dio Chrysostomus (± 100 A.D.) that there exist remarkable points of agreement between the Iranian magi, the Indian brahmans and the priests of Egypt on the one hand and the Celtic druids on the other (Or. 49). In Latin the very name of magi was, in fact, often applied to the druids[130] who, if I am not mistaken, are a fine example of those interesting and important simila-

120 Cf. Xen., *Cyr.* 4, 5, 14.

121 Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 212.

122 Herodotus 7, 37. Some of them became profoundly influenced by Chaldaean astrology in the course of their migration to the West.

123 Herodotus 7, 113 f.; see also Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 213 f.

124 Plutarchus, Artax. 30 (they are no doubt meant by: τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἱερέων).

125 Plin. Sec., *H. N.* 24, 17, 165 "... folio myrti hac cum adipe leonino decocta, addito croco et palmeo vino, perungui magos et persarum reges ..."

126 Dio Chry., *Or.* 36, 39 μῦθος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τελεταῖς ὑπὸ μάγων ἀνδρῶν ᾄδεται. For a discussion of this passage see Clemen, *Nachrichten*, p. 152 ff.

127 Philostratus, *Vitae soph.* (ed. Kayser), 1, 10.

128 Messina, *o.c.*, p. 42.

129 Other traditions in connection with the magi and problems raised by our sources, such as e.g. the question as to the specific contribution of the magi to Zoroastrianism need not detain us here.

130 See e.g. Plin. Sec., *N. H.* 16, 249 druidae, ita suos appellant magos. Other instances: J. Vendryes, "La religion des celtes", in *Mana, Introduction à l'histoire des religions*, III (Paris, 1948), p. 295.

rities between the socio-religious institutions of the westernmost Indo-Europeans and those of the Indo-Iranians.[131] The druids of ancient Gaul, Britain, Ireland and Galatia[132] constituted a highly honoured,[133] non-hereditary fraternity,[134] specializing in a great variety of intellectual, spiritual, magical, sacerdotal and prognostic activities. Their institution – for that it was – was rooted in the highest circles of society, "the two privileged classes being the druids and the 'knights'";[135] they are recorded to have, in certain circumstances, been given priority even over the kings,[136] with whom they constituted a sort of "unity-in-duality" (compare the relation brahmans: kṣatriyas in India). Dressed in white,[137] "they officiate at the worship of the gods – "no sacrifice took place without them[138]" –, regulate public and private sacrifices, and give rulings on all religious questions (*religiones interpretantur*)".[139] They set themselves also to incantations,[140] prophesy,[141] auspices, ordeals,[142] prognostication and conjuration of 'demons'.[143] The magical aspects of their activities which

[131] For the correspondent linguistic relationship: J. Vendryes, *Mém. de la Soc. de linguistique* 21 (Paris, 1918), p. 265 ff. Now see also the very useful comprehensive survey by Myles Dillon, "Celt and Hindu" in *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, I (Hoshiarpur, 1963), p. 203 ff.

[132] See e.g. Vendryes, in *Mana*, III (see above), p. 290 ff.; J. de Vries, *Keltische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 203 ff.; the same, in *Kairos* (1960), p. 67 ff.; Fr. le Roux, *Les Druides* (Paris, 1961).

[133] Diodorus Siculus 5,31,4 περιττῶς τιμώμενοι; Julius Caesar, *B. G.* 6, 13. "Les druides (irlandais) étaient entourés d'un grand respect. Il était assis dans les banquets solennels à la droite du roi (see O'Curry, *Manners and customs of the ancient Irish*, Dublin, 1873, II, p. 49) et la déférence émanait en premier du souverain .... "sans eux, il n'était permis aux rois ni d'agir ni de décider, au point que c'est eux qui commendaient en vérité, les rois n'étant que leurs serviteurs et les ministres de leurs volontés" (Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 49). Les rapports entre le druide et le roi se conforment à cette définition et il est facile de vérifier que la royauté celtique a vécu à l'ombre et pour ainsi dire sous la protection du sacerdoce druidique ... En fait, que ce soit en Gaule ou en Irlande, tout en exerçant sur elle un contrôle, les druides restent étrangers à la fonction royale ... Ce ne sont pas proprement les druides qui choisissent le roi, mais, d'une part ils ont la responsabilité des cérémonies religieuses qui marquent l'élection et, d'autre part, ils influencent le choix" (Miss Le Roux, p. 45 ff.).

[134] Ammianus Marcellinus 15,9,4 sodaliciis adstricti consortiis.

[135] Caesar, B.G. 6, 13.

[136] Dio Chrysostomus, *l.c.*; Táin, ed. E. Windisch, 4725 etc.; see also Vendryes, *o.c.*, p. 300.

[137] Vendryes, *o.c.*, p. 298; 300; Miss Le Roux, *o.c.*, p. 27.

[138] Diodorus Siculus, *l.c.* See also Plin. Sec., *N.H.* 16, 251; De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 39.

[139] Caesar, *B.G.* 6,13. I would not adopt Vendryes' translation (*o.c.*, p. 291) "les mystères de la religion".

[140] Vendryes, *o.c.*, p. 299.

[141] Cicero, *De divinatione*, 1,41,90.

[142] Vendryes, *o.c.*, p. 299.

[143] Keating (17th cent.), *Foras Feasa ar Eirinn*, II, p. 348 ff.

come into prominence in the Irish tradition and, in Gaul, when their profession fell into decay should however not induce us to describe the druids as mere "wizards" or "medicine-men".[144] Being the guardians of tradition,[145] "they act as judges in practically all disputes, whether between tribes or between individuals; when any crime is committed, or a murder takes place, ..., it is they who adjudicate the matter".[146] They also acted as ambassadors.[147] The druids must have been well-informed and 'learned' men,[148] who "spend twenty years at their studies'".[149] Large numbers of young men flocked to them for instruction.[150] "Die grosse Menge (*multi*, Caesar) der Schüler bestand aus der Jugend der Kriegeraristokratie, die von den Druiden erzogen wurde. Diese Jünglinge müssen zu waffenfähigen Mitgliedern des Stammes ausgebildet werden und deshalb lernen, worin ein mannhaftes Betragen besteht: Gottesfurcht, Rechtschaffenheit, Mut".[151] The instruction being oral,[152] "these pupils have to memorize a great number of verses".[153] In Ireland, where the kings and chiefs had druids about them to interpret omens and to work spells, a most famous man was the druid Cathbadh, the instructor of Cuchulain. Among the subject matter of teaching was, according to Caesar's valuable account, the doctrine of 'transmigration'[154] – the words "non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios" may, in fact, refer to the belief that a soul of a deceased ancestor etc. is reincarnated in a younger member of his family –, astronomy, geography, the physical constitution of the world (*rerum natura*), and "the power and authority of the

[144] J. Pokorny, in *Revue celtique*, 5 (1908), p. 15 ff.; A. G. van Hamel, *Actes IV Congres Intern. d'Histoire des Rel.* (1913), p. 147 ff.

[145] Cf. De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 209.

[146] Caesar, *B.G.* 6, 13; Miss Le Roux, *o.c.*, p. 35 ff.

[147] Miss Le Roux, *o.c.*, p. 41.

[148] Vendryes, *o.c.*, p. 297; De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 209.

[149] Caesar, *B.G.* 6, 14 and De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 204 f.

[150] Caesar, *B.G.* 6, 13 and 14; Pomponius Mela, *Geogr.* 3, 19. Cf. also Tacitus, *Ann.* 3, 43; see also Miss Le Roux, p. 22.

[151] De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 205; cf. Diogenes Laertius, *Vit. Phil.* 6, 150 ff.: σέβειν θεοὺς καὶ μηδὲν κακὸν δρᾶν καὶ ἀνδρείαν ἀσκεῖν.

[152] "neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, graecis litteris utantur" (Caesar, *B.G.* 6, 14). As is well known ancient laws etc. were often handed down orally. Numa Pompilius for instance would not commit his "holy books" or laws to "soulless letters", Plutarchus, *Numa*, 22, 2. The written word dies, the spoken lives, and an oral tradition renews itself in every generation. See also G. Dumézil, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 122 (Paris, 1940), p. 125 ff.

[153] Caesar, B.G. 6, 14.

[154] A recent discussion of this doctrine may be found in De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 248 ff. (cf. also p. 202; 203).

immortal gods", "subjects about which they hold long discussions".[155] There is sufficient ground for supposing their instruction, like that of Vedic teachers, to have been, at least to a certain extent, esoteric, being imparted outside the settlement.[156] It was finally the druid who gave a name to new-born children, who fixed the calendar and imposed ritual obligations or prohibitions.[157] In short, they were vested with religious authority, "l'intermédiaire naturel" between men and the unseen, and as such they had considerable social and political influence,[158] the more so as they were internationally organized under a chief druid, holding moreover an annual general meeting.[159] The druids were not celibate and took part in the occupations of other men,[160] but were exempt from military service[161] and taxation.[162]

The points of agreement with the functions of the brahman priests, śrotriyas, ācāryas and purohitas and the Iranian magi are too evident to be in need of comment. They have of course also attracted the attention of other scholars who drew also the Roman *flamines* into the discussion.[163] It must be admitted that the views of those who prefer to consider the in all probability panceltic institution of druidism an originally foreign element, borrowed from a non-Indo-European pre-Celtic substratum,[164] are far less convincing than the theories of those who hold it to be Indo-European in origin.[165] A cogent argument in favour of the latter hypothesis has recently been adduced by Jan de Vries.[166] Reminding his readers of the remarkable etymological relationship between the Celtic, Latin and Indo-Iranian languages,[167] he rightly observes that this terminological identity "einen klaren Beleg für den altertümlichen Character der keltischen Kultur (liefert)", adding: "besonders wichtig ist es ..., dass zu diesem Erbgut gerade solche Wörter gehören, die 'abstrakte'[168] religiöse Begriffe bezeichnen. Denn damit legt sich die Annahme zwingend nahe, dass es in dieser Vorzeit eine Priesterschaft gegeben haben muss,[169] die nicht nur die Opfer darbrachte, sondern durch heiliges Wissen hütete und sich über ihren Glauben Gedanken machte".[170]

155 'Medicine', 'theology' and 'history', though not included in Caesar's enumeration, can hardly have escaped their attention.
156 I refer to the recent discussion of the relevant sources by Miss Le Roux, *o.c.*, p. 25 f.: Pomponius Mela speaks of instruction given in secret (in private), Lucanus, *Phars.* 1, 453 f., addresses the druids: *nemora alta remotis / incolitis lucis*; it is known that Irish druids went "to the North-East" for teaching.
157 Vendryes, *o.c.*, p. 300.
158 Cf. e.g. Tacitus, *Hist.* 4, 54.
159 For particulars see De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 206 ff.
160 Vendryes, *o.c.*, p. 296 f.
161 However, they sometimes joined in military operations: Miss Le Roux, *o.c.*, p. 42 ff.
162 Caesar, B.G. 6, 14. It may be remembered that in India most smṛtis laid down that brahmans learned in the Veda (*śrotriyas*) were to be free from taxes (see Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 143 f.).
163 A. MacBain, *Celtic mythology and religion* (Stirling, 1917), p. 84 f.; H. Hubert, *Les Celtes*, II (Paris, 1932), p. 230; 282. For the flamines see further on, p. 261, n. 182.
164 J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (London, ⁴1908), p. 69; J. Pokorny, in *Mitt. Anthrop. Ges. in Wien* 38 (1908), p. 35 ff.; the same, in *Zs. f. celt. Phil.* 12 (1912), p. 229 f. ("the Druids were the magicians and sorcerers of the ancient Mongoloids who in prehistoric times lived in Ireland and Scotland!").
165 E. Windisch, *Das keltische Britannien* (Leipzig (Sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.) 1912), p. 23; Vendryes, *La religion des Celtes*, p. 290: "on doit ... considérer le druidism comme une antique institution d'origine indo-européenne, comparable à celle des brahmanes de l'Inde, de mages de l'Iran et des flamines de Rome"; De Vries, *Keltische Religion*, p. 212 f.

While, in the main, subscribing to this conclusion I would however stress the probability of the prehistorical growth of this institution, of a development of this 'priesthood' in the separate provinces of the ancient Indo-European world as well as the possibility of transformation under the influence of non-Indo-European peoples. The priests of the 'original' Indo-European (Urindoeuropäer) were certainly neither magi, nor brahmans, nor druids. There is on the other hand a sufficiency of evidence to defend the thesis that there are, also in other ancient Indo-European cultures, traces of priestly groups characterized by specialized knowledge,[171] which to a limited extent suit the above descriptions. With regard to the 'Waidler' of the ancient Prussians it is recorded: "their 'gifts' are hereditary; when in a family the 'gift' comes to an end, it becomes extinct",[172] and I am not the first to recall the Vasiṣṭhas and other Vedic families.[173] In ancient Greece also we occasionally find a priestly clan, such as the Eumolpidae of Eleusis who had their definite functions in connection with the mysteries;[174] according to one of the traditions[175] these were founded

166 De Vries, *Keltische Religion*, p. 212 f.
167 See the above mentioned article by Vendryes in *Mem. Soc. Ling.*
168 The inverted commas are mine.
169 Some lines before the same author wisely expresses himself less apodeictically.
170 Cf. also Hubert, *o.c.*, II, p. 229 f. "Il s'agit non seulement de sacerdoces comparables, mais de sacerdoces identiques, qui ne se sont bien conservés qu'aux deux extrémités des peuples indo-européens. Entre les deux avaient subsisté des débris de pareils sacerdoces, en Thrace et chez les Gètes par exemple".
171 For words for "priest" or "magician" etymologically expressing the idea of "the knowing one" – to which the Celtic druids may belong also (see R. Thurneysen, in A. Holder, *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz*, I (Leipzig, 1896), 1321; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de litérature celtique*, XII (1902), p. 185; De Vries, *o.c.*, p. 213) – see O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, II (Berlin-Leipzig, 1929), p. 201 f.
172 M. Prätorius, *Deliciae Prussicae* (Berlin, 1871), p. 48.
173 See Schrader-Nehring, *o.c.*, II, p. 202. Cf. also Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p.382; 396 and see above p. 231 f.
174 See e.g. P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (München, 1890), p. 121.

by their mythical ancestor, Poseidon's son Eumolpus. It may be taken for granted that these groups or clans produced not only priests who either on their own account or as assistants of the king or householder worshipped and sacrificed, but also diviners, 'sorcerers' and magicians.

The Germans[176] had no institution like the Celtic druidism, but it would be incorrect to infer from Caesar's report (B.G. 6, 21) that they had no priests at all (cf. e.g. Tac. Germ. 7; 10; 11; 40). Their priests sprung from aristocratic families (see e.g. Jordanes, Get. 5, 40) without however forming an 'order' or 'caste'. Generally speaking their office may already in Caesar's times have had that secular character which we know from the later Scandinavian sources: in Iceland their dignity developed into a political office. Jan de Vries[177] may be right in supposing the Germans to have lived, also in this respect, under the same patriarchal system as other Indo-European peoples: "der Hausvater ist der selbstverständliche priesterliche Vorsteher des Hauskultus ..., aber die höheren sozialen Formen ... hatten auch ihre sacra, die durch eigene dazu berufene Priester vollzogen wurden". That there have been German priests who were concerned also with moral and religious traditions appears from the Old High German name – the most frequent of German priestly titles – *êwart*, *êwarto* (cf. Old English *aeweweard*), literally "Warter des Gesetzes" and translated by "sacerdos". "Man darf sagen, dass die Sorge für die *êwa*, womit nicht nur das ewige Gesetz, sondern auch die sittlichen und religiösen Ordnungen im allgemeinen gemeint sind, ein Hauptmerkmal der priesterlichen Funktion war".[178] Besides, there was the *þulr*, a functionary "der von seinem Stuhl seine geheimnissvollen Worte redet",[179] and therefore may be supposed to have imparted religious knowledge or to have recited religious texts. He was the, or a, guardian of moral, juridical, magical and religious traditions, seems to have fulfilled also a pedagogic function[180] and may possibly have played a rôle in the initiations which were not unknown to the ancient Germans.[181] Whether,

175 Lucianus, *Demon.* 34.

176 J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, I (Berlin, 1956), p. 393 ff.; the same, in G. van der Leeuw-C. J. Bleeker, *De godsdiensten der wereld*, I (Amsterdam, 1955), p. 488 f.; 492; E. Tonnelat, "La religion des Germains", in *Mana* (see above) III, esp. p. 350 ff.

177 De Vries, *o.c.*, I, p. 397.

178 De Vries, *o.c.*, I, p. 400.

179 De Vries, *o.c.*, I, p. 402.

180 De Vries, "Om Eddaens Visdomsdigtning", in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 50 (1934), p. 1 ff.; W. H. Vogt, "Der frühgermanische Kultredner", *Acta Philol. Scandinavica* 2 (1927), p. 250 ff.

181 De Vries, *Altgerm. Religionsgeschichte*, I, p. 499 ff.

however, these men formed an exclusive group, whether they were specially trained and how they transmitted their professional knowledge is not known to us.

So much, however, is clear that the remarkable combination of functions which the brahman gurus and domestic priests, the magi and the druids have in common appears to have been foreign to the other ancient Indo-European peoples.[182] Without entering here into a discussion of the difficult problem as to how far this is due to a special – and perhaps to a considerable extent parallel – development in prehistoric India, Iran

182 The objects of the Roman religion (see e.g. H. J. Rose, *Religion in Greece and Rome*, New York 1959) which was vague of conceptions and like the Greek, the Vedic and Hindu religions unencumbered by theological dogmas, were essentially material (protection against dangers, a sufficient food-supply, success in war, increase of the population and their cattle). As a public affair the worship of the deities was highly organized. Although one of the priests, the rex sacrorum, never, and the greater flamens seldom, held any secular office, there was no priestly class or caste, nor was the clergy ever in a position to enforce its decisions. It was above all essential to know the proper ritual, which was not free from an element of sheer magic, and to discover the will of the gods. On these ritual activities a very large literature was accumulated which must somehow have been transmitted. The duties of some priests were of an onerous nature; especially the flamen dialis was subject to a large number of tabus which have often been compared to those imposed on the brahmans. In attempting to establish a prehistoric identity of the flamen and the brahmans scholars have too often generalized the *Sakralordnung* (G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, München, 1912, p. 506 f.) incumbent upon the flamen dialis, overlooked that the Roman priestly functions were not hereditary (the rex sacrorum and the three flamines maiores must, it is true, be patricians and be married by the most ancient rite of all, known as *confarreatio*), and been fascinated by a very disputable etymology (see my *Notes on brahman*, Utrecht, 1950, p. 6 f.). Thus G. Dumézil's argument in favour of an original identity of *flamen* and *brahman* (*Flamen-brahman*, Paris, 1935), though ingenious, tends to exaggerate the correspondence between the one Roman functionary and the members of the Indian first order. Part of these correspondences are, it would appear to me, rather vague (e.g. p. 58 a brahman cannot appear as a witness, a flamen not swear an oath), wrenched from their socio-religious context (e.g. those regarding the brahman's wife, p. 61), insufficiently corroborated (for brahmans following the profession of arms, p. 58 f., see Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 122 f.) or are based on Elementarverwandtschaft rather than historical relationship (p. 43; 47; 60). It is true that there was, in Rome also, a close co-operation and a sort of complementary relation between the priestly functionaries and the government of the state (Dumézil, *o.c.*, p. 50 ff.), true also that the former formed – even more literally and 'constitutionally' than in India – an institution; that there were instances of hereditary priestly offices (cf. e.g. Livius 1,7,14; Wissowa, *o.c.*, p. 274; 404); that the Roman clergy was active chiefly as expert advisers and was in sole charge of the conduct of sacrifices or other pieces of ritual which fell within their province; that the Roman priests must have transmitted a considerable amount of traditional knowledge, they did on the other hand not act as teachers (although at Rome ethical control lay with the *pater familias*, the children being educated in *gremio matris*, in 'private' or 'public' teaching institutions); nor had they anything to do with 'initiations', spiritual guidance of private persons belonging to the higher classes of society etc. Moreover, the various 'priestly' and other functions which the brahmans

and the Celtic world, or to atrophy and losses in the other countries,[183] the conclusion seems to be warranted that the typical Indian guruship of the brahmans, i.e. their often combined teaching, advising, initiatory, magical and officiating functions had developed mainly from what for the sake of brevity may be called Indo-European germs.

Without considering the relative terminology a conclusive argument it may be observed that all Vedic terms for the preceptor are unquestionably Indo-European or Indo-Aryan in origin: *guru-*, *ācārya-*, *upādhyāya-*, *śrotriya-*. Moreover, behind the etymological word families, and in correlation with them, one discerns a series of cultural complexes which continued for a long time to play a large part in the *Weltanschauung* of several Indo-European peoples. The etymological relatives of *guru-* expressed, as we have seen, in Latin, a remarkably similar idea. The term *ācāra-*,[184] from which *ācārya-* is a derivative, comes from the root *car-*, which, used to denote, among other notions, such ideas as "to behave, conduct oneself, to be engaged in, or occupied with, to observe, practise, to apply oneself to etc.", furnishes in many uses close parallels to the etymologically related Lat. *colĕre* which expresses, besides other ideas, the following meanings: "to bestow care upon, to cultivate, practise, devote oneself to; to revere, worship, honour (most frequently of the reverence and worship of the gods)". *Ācāra-* is "das korrekte, heilbringende vor anderem wesentliche und schicksalbestimmende Verfahren in religiöser, sittlicher und gesellschaftlicher Hinsicht".[185] "Sogar das Heiligste alles Heiligen für den brahmanischen Inder, die Kaste, vermag er zu vergessen ..., wenn er das Lob des ācāra anstimmt".[186] "Der *ācāra-* in seinem höchsten Glanze offenbart sich aber im *snātaka-*"[187] (i.e. in the twice-born

acting as guru or domestic priest, like the Celtic druids, combined in their persons or which they in the course of time succeeded in assuming were, in Rome, spread over different experts or specialists. The very function of 'domestic priest' was unknown to the ancient Romans, who though commingling their religion with their daily occupations to a considerable extent and therefore requiring priestly guidance in matters of ritual, do not seem to have, generally speaking, needed the interference of priests in their households very frequently.

[183] For the existence of an Indo-European priestly order see G. Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartie des Indo-européens* (Bruxelles, 1958) (with a bibliography); the same, "La préhistoire indo-iranienne des castes", in *Journal asiatique* 216 (Paris, 1930), p. 109 ff.; E. Benveniste, "Les classes sociales dans la tradition avestique", *ibidem* 221 (Paris 1932), p. 117 ff.

[184] J. J. Meyer, *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften* (Leipzig, 1927), p. 1 ff. etc.; 16 ff.

[185] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 291. See also p. 350.

[186] Meyer, *o.c.*, p. 1.

[187] Meyer, *o.c.*, p. 200.

youth who has finished his studentship). It is the highest duty and dharma; the man who is lacking in *ācāra-* will perish (VasDhŚ. 6). Like *dharma-* and other terms *ācāra-* is in its own Indian way a counterpart of such well definable, though in our eyes vague or complex, *weltanschauliche* concepts as *mos* or *fas* in Latin, δίκη, νόμος etc. in Greek, of the great significance of which the ancients themselves were very well aware.

The importance of oral traditions in religious life as well as the education of the rising generations, testified also by terms such as *śrotriya-* and *upādhyāya-*, cannot be doubted. In ancient Greece and Rome[188] where ethical and religious ideas had a large place in education and the children, like the brahman students, had to learn how to behave towards men and gods, poets were, at all events in these respects, the great teachers. The pupils were "furnished with the works of good poets to read ... and (were) made to learn them by heart" (Plato, Prot. 325 E). While poetry played a large part in the curricula of Greek and Roman schools, in Sparta and in early Rome laws and conventions seem to have been no less favourite: even in Cicero's time children learned, for instance, the Twelve Tables by heart. As to the Celtic world it may suffice to remember what has already been said on the instruction imparted by the druids and to make mention of the Irish verb *for-canim* (*canim* "to sing") which, meaning "to teach", must have referred originally to instruction by means of metrical or pronouncedly rhythmical oral traditions.[189] The important function of oral traditions in the ancient German world, for instance in Iceland and Scandinavia, is too well known to be in need of comment.

However, the ancient Indo-European 'teachers' not necessarily were 'priests' or 'ascetics'. Instruction could be obtained from old or at least elder and experienced men, who took young members of noble families under their care. Although it is of course completely uncertain whether there is any prehistoric connection or common origin, there are, in several IE. countries, some interesting parallels. Old Phoinix, the θεράπων of Achilles (Ilias *I* 432ff.), was by order of the latter's father his chaperon and teacher who had to bring him up to be a good "speaker of words and a doer of deeds" (διδασκέμεναι τάδε πάντα | μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων). To Plinius[190] we owe a similar piece of information with regard to the Romans: *erat autem antiquitus institutum,*

[188] For a bibliography see Th. J. Haarhoff, in *The Oxford classical dictionary* (Oxford, 1949) (1953), p. 307.

[189] H. Pedersen, *Vergl. Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, II (Göttingen, 1913), p. 480.

[190] Plinius, *Ep.* 8,14,4.

ut a maioribus natu non auribus modo, verum etiam oculis disceremus, quae facienda mox ipsi ac per vices quasdam tradenda minoribus haberemus. There are numerous instances of this type of education in German antiquity, e.g. Master Hildebrand, the *Waffenmeister* and teacher of king Theoderic, the well-known Hagen who lived at the court of the Burgundians, his Danish colleague Starcatherus etc.[191] As to the Celtic world, "il est à noter que les écoles druidiques ont longtemps survécu en Irlande, sous la direction officielle des filid (seers, poets, and diviners), transformés en éducateurs professionnels. Les nobles suivaient l'enseignement des degrés inférieurs de la confrèrie et apprenaient le droit, la généalogie et la versification".[192]

In favour of the hypothesis that ancient Indian guruship had, in the main, developed within the framework of traditionally Indo-European customs attention may be drawn to a curious point in which the 'initiation' of the Indian pupil seems to have been in harmony with practices in vogue in other Indo-European communities. As is well known one of the main acts of the upanayana ceremonies is the investiture of the boy with the extremely sacred 'sacrificial cord', which is worn over the left shoulder and hanging down under the right (*yajñopavīta-*).[193] It has not unjustly been argued that this cord which should never be put off or lost is the remainder of a garment worn in the same way.[194] There are indeed texts in which men are not, as might be expected, wearing a sacrificial cord, but a garment, a strip of antelope skin, or a piece of cloth (ŚB. 2, 4, 2, 1 ff.; TĀ. 2, 1).[195] The Indian youth is moreover given a skin for an outer garment; for a brahman, an antelope skin which is supposed to be a manifestation of brahman and to imbue its wearer with that particular power and sanctity. In this connection one is reminded of the Roman toga, the expensive and uncomfortable, but conventional dress of the respectable Roman citizen, to wear which was an ancestral custom which had to be observed. This dress which was also thrown over the left shoulder and under the right arm, was "as the first public distinction of youth" (*primus iuventae honos*),[196] likewise accorded to a young Roman when he was received into

[191] According to Schrader-Nehring it was in the ancient period not customary to have children educated at the teacher's place. See also F. Roeder, *Über die Erziehung der vornehmen angelsächsischen Jugend in fremden Häusern* (Halle, 1910).
[192] Miss Le Roux, *o.c.*, p. 25 (with references).
[193] See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 287 ff.
[194] W. Caland, *Een Indogermaans lustratiegebruik* (Amsterdam Academy, 1898); A. S. Altekar, in *Journal Bihar Orissa Res. Soc.* 20 (1934), p. 135 ff.
[195] For a detailed discussion see also Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 288 f.
[196] Tacitus, *Germ.* 13.

the (state) community.[197] The assumption of this *toga virilis* was the mark of puberty. It took place at the festival of Liber, the Italian god of seed and fertility, who *praeest virorum seminibus.*[198] It was on this occasion that a young Roman received his name.[199] Curiously enough, the Roman historian Tacitus[200] after recording that in Germany "one of the chiefs or the father or a kinsman equips the young warrior with shield and spear in the public council", calls this ceremony the equivalent of the Roman toga (*haec apud illos toga*).

As is well known, outward trappings and articles of clothing are among 'primitive' peoples as well as in other communities not only worn because they are decorative or physically useful, but also because they are rather vehicles of power endowing the wearer with the attributes proper to his class. The Parsis, though adapting themselves in matters of doctrine to the dominant religion of the region in which they live have preserved their ancient rituals intact. Between seven (in India) and ten (in Persia) every young Parsi must be initiated. This ceremony is essentially characterized by an act reminiscent of the Indian upanayana: the youth is vested with a shirt (*sadre*) and a cord (*kustī*). "Das Hemd muss weiss sein, ein Symbol der Unschuld, vor allem aber ... ein Symbol der Religion";[201] it is a symbol that reminds one of purity of life and of righteousness.[202] "Eine offensichtliche Symbolik knüpft sich an die neuen Gewänder, zeichen der Reinheit und der Erneuerung. ... Die Priesterweihe umfasst das Anlegen eines neuen Gewands, das von weisser Farbe, der Farbe der Religion ist ...".[203] The *kustī* is a belt or girdle which has given occasion to manifold symbolical interpretations: "signe de l'obéissance; symbole de la division du corps entre une part noble et une part ignoble; la ceinture est la religion mazdéenne etc."[204] It is generally accepted that in India and Iran an ancient, common initiation rite has developed in a somewhat different but in the main parallel way. These remarks are however not to contend that the Vedic upanayana ceremonies

[197] Servius, on *Verg. Ecl.* 4, 50; A. Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe* (Stuttgart, 1853), p. 408.
[198] St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 4, 11.
[199] For particulars: Onians, *o.c.*, p. 264.
[200] Tacitus, *l.c.*
[201] J. Duchesne-Guillemin, *Symbolik des Parsismus* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 42. For particulars see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 5, p. 285 ff.
[202] See J. J. Modi, *The religious ceremonies and customs of the Parsees* (Bombay, 1937), p. 173 ff.; G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart, 1965), p. 351 f.
[203] Duchesne-Guillemin, *o.c.*, p. 43.
[204] Duchesne-Guillemin, *La religion de l'Iran ancien* (Paris, 1962), p. 114 f.; see also the same, *Symbolik des Parsismus*, p. 41 f.

had exclusively developed from prehistoric Aryan rites connected with puberty, of which we know very little.[205] There even is a certain degree of probability that the Aryans laid a superstructure upon initiatory ceremonies which they adopted during their migrations or found in India, because the arrival at the age of puberty is in India and the adjacent countries in the North-West often an occasion for various ceremonies.[206]

Throughout tribal India the influence of the routine priest is greatly modified by another functionary who is sometimes described as the seer, the prophet or the possessed one, and who may perhaps best be defined as the medium of the divine powers. Often both functions, ordinary priesthood and the other, are combined in the same person whose influence is thus greatly increased. Not rarely however, the routine 'priests' have to consult, at every festival or ceremony, at the last rites of the dead, and especially in all cases of disease, the representatives of the other class of 'clerics' for their advice, co-operation or initiative. These have, among other things, to explain in each case what peculiar rites or special offerings will be acceptable to the divine powers.[207] There is not, in fact, anything like a definite system of ritual which must always be performed in the same manner. We do not find anything about extensive, more or less systematized traditional and professional knowledge. There is rather a great repertory of rites and customs from which many possible combinations can be drawn.[208] Nor do the priests as a rule form a special class of men. The functions may be hereditary, but boys are chosen and trained when they are found to have a natural aptitude for these functions. Striking examples of either 'priests' or 'divine mediums' who impose their

205 In view of the extremely numerous and striking identical features in the various ancient Indo-European 'birth' and marriage ceremonies a common heritage of puberty rites would however be expected, the more so as in the case of girls the change of hair-dress on reaching puberty or entering into marriage was an old and widespread Indo-European usage (see my article "The Sīmāntonayana as described in the Gṛhyasūtras", *East and West* 7 (Roma, 1956), p. 12 ff.).

206 See e.g. G. Buschan, *Die Völker Asiens, Australiens und der Südseeinseln* (Berlin w.y.), p. 466; 507; 542; 547. For the symbolism of initiation and rebirth see also *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 7 (1939), Zürich 1940, esp. R. Thurnwald, *Primitive Initiations- und Wiedergeburtsriten*, p. 321 ff. (mainly Australia, New-Guinea, Africa).

207 See e.g. V. Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul* (Oxford, 1947), p. 199 ff.; T. C. Hodson, *The primitive culture of India* (London, 1922), p. 114; R. Rahmann, "Shamanistic and related phenomena in Northern and Middle India", *Anthropos* 54 (1959), p. 682 ff.

208 Elwin, *o.c.*, p. 223 with regard to the Muria and related communities: "There is no (defined pantheon), no sacred book, no canon, no deposit of faith committed to a central authorized guardian, no regular liturgy. Religion is always on the move. Even the legends change from village to village. The living voice of the prophet is more important than the convention of the priest".

moral or social doctrines on the whole of their community or who devote themselves to 'initiation' with a view to spiritual elevation or final emancipation are, outside the sphere of Hindu influence, as far as I am able to see, exceptional occurrences. It must however be observed that there is much terminological confusion, terms for "holy man" or "saint" being also applied to wizards and magicians.[209]

Thus studying for instance the Santal tribes in Bihar[210] we find mostly a sharp distinction between the social functionary in charge of religious festivals and the "spirit-doctor" who generally possesses second sight – called *mati* by most of the 'primitive' tribes of Chota-Nagpur – the former being the priest of the community, the latter a 'practising physician' or 'mental disease expert', a master of 'spiritualist seances', if we would describe his profession in modern terms. Among the Khāṛiās in the hill ranges of Orissa and Chota-Nagpur generally the oldest member among the eldest of a settlement acts as village-priest. He belongs to the particular clan who originally founded the village, and his post is hereditary. Besides, there is a minister of good magic, the diviner and 'medicine-man' (*deoñṛā*) and a 'sorcerer', dealing with black magic, which is anti-social in its objects.[211] Two men exercise in the communities of the Tipperah and Chittagong considerable influence, the *bukho*, who is a priest, somewhat of a magician and a little of a physician, and the *wi*, the prophet oracle who predicts when 'the spirit' throws him into epilepsy. The Purums in Manipur, a small 'Native State' on the eastern frontier of India, have no village officer to look after the religious side of their life. Some of their communal rites are performed by one of the village officers who are as a rule concerned with 'secular affairs'. In a few domestic rites the individual householder appears as a priest.[212] The most important ritual functionaries are the *maipas*, who are pre-eminently medicine-men dealing with such deities and spirits who are considered to be responsible for the appearance of diseases. They do not officiate in communal worship, except in the case of Durgā who was borrowed from the Hindus; besides, they are the priests in other Hindu cults.[213] Among the Assamese Kacháris there is no authorized priestly caste, the religious offices being

209 See e.g. G. W. Briggs, *The Doms and their near relations* (Mysore, 1953), p. 404 f.

210 See e.g. P. C. Biswas, *Santals of the Santal Parganas* (Delhi, 1956), p. 108 ff.; Ch. Mukherjea, *The Santals* (Calcutta² w.y.), passim.

211 S. Ch. Roy and R. Ch. Roy, *The Khāṛiās* (Ranchi, 1937), p. 327 f.; 387 ff.

212 For a similar report in connection with the Assam hill tribe of the Lakhers see N. E. Parry, *The Lakhers* (London, 1932), p. 246.

213 Tarakchandra Das, *The Purums* (Calcutta, 1945), p. 214 ff. Cf. also T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), p. 102.

discharged by non-hereditary village elders. Another class of persons employed in ceremonies is to deal with prognostication and the ailments of village life, but in times of special emergency the services of a possessed woman are called upon.[214] In the villages of the Hos, a Munda-speaking tribe in Bihar, a distinction is made between two sacerdotal functions: the *deuri*, who is almost always a Ho, is entrusted only with the worship of the benevolent deities, who are few in number. The other minister, the *deonwa*, who may or may not be a Ho and who may belong to any caste or tribe living in the village, has to deal with a legion of malevolent spirits who interfere with every department of Ho life. In most cases the latter who is usually elected, overshadows his colleague, whose position is hereditary.[215] With the Raj Gonds of Adilabad (Hyderabad, Deccan)[216] the duties of the *kaṭoṛa* or hereditary clan-priest, who plays the foremost rôle in the many rites and ceremonies constituting the cult of the clan-god – although several other functionaries are responsible for this performance as well –, however important in establishing harmonious relations between the living clan-members and the invisible powers, in no way overlap with those of the *bhaktal* or seer, who can cut through the bar separating the worlds of spirits and human beings. At the annual feasts the *kaṭoṛa* acts throughout as the priest, not so much as the mediator between the godhead and the community, or as the representative of the latter; at the most decisive phases of the worship he prays with the other worshippers and as one of them.

The Reddis of the Bison Hills (Hyderabad), who are "older than" the Dravidians, and to whom the Aryan incursion is an event of yesterday,[217] depend in their relations with the supernatural world on two intermediaries, the *pūjārī* or village-priest[218] and the *veju*, the so-called magician. Sometimes the same man performs both functions. Whereas the former functions at all traditional rites and ceremonies, the latter "must battle through the wilderness of the supernatural world to discover the cause of

[214] S. Endle, *The Kacháris* (London, 1911), p. 39 ff. Cf. also P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (London, 1914), p. 120 ff.

[215] For further particulars see Dh. N. Majumdar, *The affairs of a tribe* (Lucknow, 1950), p. 258 ff.

[216] Chr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *The Raj Gonds of Adilabad, a peasant culture of the Deccan*, I (London, 1948), esp. p. 245 ff. Cf. also S. Fuchs, *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla* (London, 1960), passim; Indrajit Singh, *The Gondwana and the Gonds* (Lucknow, 1944), p. 140; V. Elwin, *The religion of an Indian tribe* (Oxford, 1955), ch. IV. ff.

[217] Chr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *The Reddis of the Bison Hills* (London, 1945).

[218] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 4; 8; 17. Generally speaking, the *pūjārī* is in the milieus mentioned on these pages the priest of the more hinduized deities.

disease and threatening disaster and must devise the means of placating the wrath of the malignant deity ... or of counteracting the black magic of an enemy". The term *veju* denoting both "magician" and "wizard", this functionary – who also assists the *pūjārī* in the performance of the ordinary ceremonies – often owes his knowledge to the instruction of his father or to divine inspiration. The co-operation of a deity seems to be indispensable to the process of becoming a *veju*, and on occasions the gods themselves are said to take the initiative. Some *vejus* are credited with the ability to foretell the future; others work black magic on their own account or in the pay of other Reddis.

The Bondas – a small tribe living in Orissa which may belong to a group of old Austro-Asiatic communities[219] – who are "the least priest-ridden of men", employ likewise two different functionaries, the *sisa* for routine, the *dissari* (shaman or medicine-man who falls into a trance and prophecies) for emergency. Every householder is a potential priest and may perform special duties for his family. The priest is not a specially gifted person. He has no deposit of doctrine to guard or transmit. The *sisa*, who however is indispensable for the routine duties of religion, may be deposed if he does not do his work properly. The *dissari* is not subject to election or deposition; deriving his position from divine favour he is free to go anywhere and may develop an extensive practice, which becomes a full-time job. His great function being the banishing of fear he may perform himself the rites which he has prescribed or he may leave them to the householder. Both offices may, as a matter of training and convenience, be hereditary. Similar facts are recorded in connection with the Maria Gonds of Bastar and other peoples:[220] in addition to the regular priests there are the 'magicians-and-soothsayers', men who serve the gods and interpret their will in a special way; for that purpose they fall into ecstasy. They too are chiefly in demand for the cure of disease.[221]

One of the most striking features of the worship of the village deities in South India is the absence of anything like a sacerdotal caste in connection with it. The *pūjārīs* (officiants of the popular gods) are drawn from all the lower classes indiscriminately. Because of the bloody character of many rites, and also for historical reasons, they are very rarely brahmans. They act also as exorcists and intercede for the villagers with the

[219] V. Elwin, *Bondo Highlander* (Oxford, 1950), esp. p. 159 ff. For Orissa see also S. Ch. Roy, *The Hill Bhūiyās of Ōṛissā* (Ranchi, 1935), p. 234 ff.; Kunjabehari Das, *A study of Orissan folk-lore* (Santiniketana, 1953), p. 49 f.

[220] W. Grigson, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar* (Oxford, ²1949), p. 57; 226 ff., etc.; V. Elwin, *Maria murder and suicide* (Oxford², 1950), p. 35.

[221] For other 'tribal' communities see e.g. Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul*, p. 199 ff.

deities, which are as a rule thought to be female. The office of *pūjārī*, which as a rule is not hereditary, is by no means an honourable one.[222] A distinctive feature of the 'clergy'[223] is also in many communities of the South the opposition between, and the co-operation of two categories of functionaries, the *pūjārīs* and the dancing possessed, who, considered incarnations of the deity, reveal oracles or give advice and directions.[224] Although individuals may perform various religious acts, "rien dans ce domaine n'est préscrit ou obligatoire, tout est laissé en un sens large à l'initiative de l'individu".[225] Initiations are not absent, but different from the brahmanical *dīkṣā*.[226] The "demon doctor" is called when a person is ill for a considerable time and other remedies have failed.[227]

Elsewhere however the various priestly (and related) functions seem – if we may rely on the ethnographic literature – to be fulfilled by one single functionary who however lacks many of the characteristics of the Hindu gurus. In the North the priests of the village godlings are usually drawn from the menial classes, though there is no recognized priesthood like that of brahmans. Any man may at times become possessed by them or show in other ways that he is able to propitiate or coerce them.[228] As people began to adopt Hinduism[229] brahmans came to take the places of the local priests.[230] With the Semas who occupy part of the watershed dividing Assam from Burma the principal religious functionary is practically compelled to take his unpopular office. As a rule a poor man is selected for the post. He is mainly concerned with sowing and reaping.[231] The Daflas (N.E. frontier) whose ideas of religion are exceedingly crude, may employ any man who chooses to qualify himself and who is at the same time a diviner and an exorcist;[232] this functionary, however, holds as a rule a distinct position by virtue of his knowledge of diseases and the methods of curing them. His services are indispensable, his main duties being to sing songs and to make incantations. Shamans are few with the Daflas.[233] With the Tangsas, another people in the N.E. Frontier Agency, the profession of priest and diviner usually is a profession for men and not hereditary; the tradition is handed down orally.[234]

In Bengal, the Abors have no hereditary priesthood, but there are persons called *deodars* who acquire the position of augurs or soothsayers from their knowledge of omens;[235] the Akas have a priest, called *deori*, for every hamlet, who performs daily worship at shrines, attends at marriages etc.;[236] the non-hereditary priests of the Garos, called *kamal*, who in ordinary life behave like other people, pretend *inter alia* to foretell events, are consulted in cases of disease and have the power to remove the deity to whom these are ascribed.[237] The simple social life of the Kols is neither dominated by a well-defined system of religion nor absorbed by many domestic ceremonies. Magical practices also do not form part of a regularly organized system; they are executed by individuals who acquired the art more or less by chance.[238]

With the originally 'primitive' Bhils, who being often mentioned in Sanskrit literature, have been largely influenced by Hinduism,[239] the

[222] H. Whitehead, *The village gods of South India* (Calcutta, 1921), p. 43 ff.; see also *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 9.

[223] "Le terme de 'clergé' exclut toute idée de corps spécialisé mais indique d'une part, à l'échelle de chaque temple, une certaine organisation et transmission des fonctions, d'autre part une distinction entre ceux ..., qui sont chargés a vie de telles fonctions, et ceux qui ne le sont pas", L. Dumont, *Une sous-caste de l'Inde du Sud* (La Haye, 1957), p. 339.

[224] For details, see Dumont, *o.c.*, p. 347 ff.

[225] Dumont, *o.c.*, p. 410.

[226] See e.g. W. Th. Elmore, *Dravidian gods in modern Hinduism, a study of the local and village deities of S. India* (= University Studies of the Univ. of Nebraska, 15) (Lincoln, 1915), p. 29.

[227] Elmore, *o.c.*, p. 49.

[228] W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 87.

[229] B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Indian village community* (London, 1896), p. 180.

[230] Thus the presence of gurus and sādhus among the Bhils is due to Hindu influence: "Diese 'höheren' religiösen Lehrer ziehen umher, belehren 'schlecht und recht' die Bhil, welche darum ersuchen oder sich das gefallen lassen, wofür jene das für den Lebensunterhalt Nötige erhalten" (W. Koppers, *Die Bhil in Zentralindien*, Horn-Wien, 1948, p. 43). However, the *dholi*, i.e. their drummer, singer and musician – who being an 'outcaste' is in a dependent and submissive position – is to a certain extent also regarded as a 'religious mendicant' or guru (Koppers, *o.c.*, p. 138 f.; 269). For all that he plays an important rôle: "er gilt als der besondere Experte in allen Clan-Fragen; er verkörpert das wandelnde genealogische Lexikon der Bhil, das nicht selten lebenswichtige und verantwortungsvolle Fragen zu beantworten und zu entscheiden hat". On such occasions as marriage, death and ceremonies in commemoration of the deceased his activity is especially wanted. In this institution the Bhils probably underwent the influence of the Rājputs.

[231] J. H. Hutton, *The Sema Nagas* (London, 1921), p. 216.

[232] V. Elwin, *India's North-east frontier in the XIXth century* (Oxford, 1959), p. 166 f.

[233] B. K. Shukla, *The Daflas of the Subansiri region* (Shellong, 1959), p. 102 ff.

[234] Parul Dutta, *The Tangsas* (Shillong, 1959), p. 66.

[235] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872) (reprint Calcutta 1960), p. 25 (of the original edition).

[236] Dalton, *o.c.*, p. 38.

[237] Dalton, *o.c.*, p. 60 f.

[238] B. C. Mazumdar, *The aborigines of the Highlands of Central India* (Calcutta, 1927), p. 74 ff.

[239] Koppers, *o.c.*; P. Konrad, *Ein Volk zwischen Gestern und Morgen* (Preiskretscham, 1939); Y. V. S. Nath, *Bhils of Ratanmal* (Baroda, 1960), p. 182; *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 18 ff.

barwo or magician is on the one hand characterized by the ability to become, in trance, possessed by a deity or spirit, and on the other hand, in a sense, a trained man with a certain professional knowledge. He is almost exclusively interested in white magic. "Der Barwo will helfen, Gutes (z.B. Kinder- und Erntesegen) vermittlen, anderseits von üblen Dingen (Krankheiten) befreien oder davor bewahren".[240] The systematic character of his professional activities may be regarded as due to Hindu influence. An initiation (*Jugendweihe*) proper does not seem to be a Bhil institution.[241] However, among the Bhils of Ratanmal[242] different classes of 'priests' may be noticed, the larger section of them being regarded as good enough where malignant ghosts are concerned, but not efficient enough to propitiate the deities and higher spirits; besides there are 'witch-doctors' etc.

The – often hereditary – village priest, one of the most important officials in the Santal communities is responsible for maintaining right relationships with the tribal spirits.[243] Elsewhere – for instance, with the Chenchus in the Deccan[244] – there are no priests proper, everybody addressing himself to the gods as the necessity and opportunity occur. Magic seems to have no prominent place in their old culture, although there are in the same tribes some experts in divination; no special social status is however attached to those proficient in the art.

Although it would be a dangerous method to conclude from an anthology of the relative facts recorded in connection with living *ādivāsis* (the so-called primitives) to the priesthood and the sacerdotal ceremonies of those non-Aryans with whom the Vedic Aryans came in touch, they do not on the other hand furnish us much material for the hypothesis that the institution of the learned guru or ācārya, the teacher of traditional and systematic knowledge and behaviour, the educator and initiator, who belonging to a hereditary class also performs priestly functions and helps his pupils to attain a higher spiritual level, was borrowed from these non-Aryans. This is not to contend that guruship as such never expanded or developed under foreign influence, or that individual gurus did not, already at an early date, borrow doctrines and practices from the 'aborigines'. It is quite true that "la question du rôle de l'élément aryen et de

[240] Koppers, *o.c.*, p. 232.
[241] Koppers, *o.c.*, p. 131.
[242] Nath, *o.c.*, p. 195 ff.
[243] W. J. Culshaw, *Tribal heritage. A study of the Santals* (London, 1949), p. 78 f.
[244] Chr. von Fürer-Haimendorf, *The Chenchus, jungle folk of the Deccan* (London, 1943), esp. p. 193 ff.

l'élément protoindien dans brahmacarya est encore à résoudre",[245] but it cannot be our concern here to discuss doubtful details or to test the suppositions and arguments of others. A brief reference to some of these may suffice. The 'egg cosmography' of ChU. 3, 19 ("the world, becoming existent, grew; it turned into an egg, out of which came, after a year, sky and earth") was, like Kumārahārita's advice to practise sexual intercourse as a rite with a mystic sense (BĀU. 6, 4, 4),[246] believed to be "pre-Aryan".[247] The doctrine of transmigration was in a similar way supposed to be of shamanistic origin,[248] "die Verherrlichung der Ruhe bei Yājñavalkya" was regarded as developed from a primitive 'Schlafsehnsucht'[249] etc.[250]

There may even be room for the supposition that there existed, already in Vedic times, other 'spiritual circles' – or, rather, other professions – which were more exposed to 'foreign' influences than the brahmans who functioned as gurus. We are indebted to the Greek author Megasthenes (about 300 B.C.) for a vivid description of the Indian ascetics or "philosophers" at the time of Candragupta Maurya.[251] He distinguishes four groups passing by the common name of *sarmanas*.[252] This word is no

[245] L. Skurzak, "Etudes sur les fragments de Megasthène", in *Org. Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego*, 47 (1954) (Wrocław, 1956), p. 96. Cf. also Rahmann, *o.c.*, p. 731: "It is not out of the question that the Hindu teacher-pupil relationship is rooted in ancient, pre-Aryan, beliefs and practices, although it would seem more probable that in ... concrete cases the shamans of the Santal and Baiga simply adopted a Hindu custom".
[246] W. Ruben, *Die Philosophen der Upanishaden* (Bern, 1947), p. 130; 135 f.; 202.
[247] I ask myself whether Ruben, *o.c.*, p. 135 may not be misunderstood: "... zu jener Gruppe der Brahmanen gehören, die alte pflanzerische Fruchtbarkeitorgien der Vorarier in den vedischen Ritualismus einführten". Did there not exist fecundity rites within the Aryan fold?
[248] Ruben, *o.c.*, p. 307.
[249] Ruben, *o.c.*, p. 307.
[250] Some of the non-Aryan components of the upaniṣadic philosophy assumed by Ruben, *o.c.*, p. 307 f., are in my opinion hardly worth discussing, because they are first and foremost characteristic of that archaic thought which is common to both Aryans and non-Aryans. I for one fail to see why the "altertümliche Wissenschaft, die in der Aufreihung von Begriffen bestand und mit Listenführung in der Verwaltung protohistorischer Staaten zusammenzuhängen scheint" must be of non-Aryan origin. How are we to know that Aryans never made lists? (See e.g. K. Menninger, *Zahlwort und Ziffer*, Göttingen, 1958, p. 49 ff.) Nor do I understand why the existence of 'Morallehren' in the Osiris texts of Egypt, the laws of Hammurabi, the Jewish prophets, Zarathustra and in ancient Greek (*sic*!) should prove the upaniṣadic moral to have originated in the same non-Aryan milieus.
[251] Megasthenis Indica, Fragmenta coll. ..., E. A. Schwanbeck (Bonnae, 1846), fr. 41 ff. For a discussion see B. C. J. Timmer, *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* (Amsterdam, 1930), p. 84 and 96 ff. and Skurzak, *o.c.*, p. 95 ff. (who unfortunately has not known Miss Timmer's book).
[252] See Timmer, *o.c.*, p. 84, n. 2.

doubt identical with the Sanskrit *śramaṇa-* "one who performs acts of austerity or mortification", but should not induce us to identify the people described by the Greek author with for instance the Buddhist monks or mendicants to which the term was often applied.[253] The four classes of Σαρμᾶναι are, Megasthenes records, the ὑλόβιοι the "forest dwellers", who are most honoured, have no houses, live in the woods, feed on leaves and wild fruits, are clad in bark, abstaining from spirits and sexual intercourse; "they are, through the intermediary of messengers, consulted by the kings, when these wish to be informed about the causes (of various occurrences) and, through the same intermediary, they do service and pray to the divine powers"; in the second place, the ἰατρικοί "those skilled in the medical art", who speculate on man, lead a simple and frugal life, but do not dwell in the open; they are by means of drugs able to make marriages fertile and are like the first category devoted to asceticism, remaining for instance motionless for a whole day; further the diviners (μαντικούς) and enchanters (or, reciters of charms: ἐπῳδούς), who are also experienced in the formulas and customs regarding the departed; they lead as mendicants a roving life in towns and villages; and finally a category of more graceful and civilized ascetics, who however are no more averse to the common talk about the realm of the deceased, so far as it seems to be of use from the point of view of worship and a disposition to observe divine law. Now the usual identification of the ὑλόβιοι and the *vānaprasthas*, the brahmans in the third stage of life who lead, alone or with their wives, an ascetic life in the woods,[254] is in all probability incorrect, because these people live in huts, keep their sacred fire alive, make the burnt-offerings, study the Veda etc.[255] As further the Buddhist texts concur with Megasthenes in opposing the śramaṇas to the brahmans – cf. SumVil. 1, p. 102 *pabbajjupagatabhāvena samaṇā, jātiyā brāhmaṇā lokena vā samaṇā ti ca brāhmaṇā ti ca evaṃ sammatā* – and the former term is also applied to the Jaina monks,[256] that is to another group

[253] See e.g. also H. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921), p. 77.
[254] Which is taken for granted by Miss Timmer, p. 98 and by H. G. Liddell-R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford, 1948), p. 1848.
[255] See ĀpDhŚ. 2, 9, 22, 6-23; *ManuSmṛti* 6, 1-24. As seen by Skurzak ("Études sur l'ascétisme indien", *Prace wrocławskiego towarzystwa naukowego* A, 15, Wrocław, 1948, p. 6 ff.) the errant forest-dwellers are in our sources often mistaken for vānaprasthas. It may however be imagined that in practice little or no distinction was made between either category. – See also Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1960), esp. ch. III. From MajjhNik. II, 89 it appears that a kṣatriya who went into homelessness was regarded simply as a *samaṇa*. According to SaṁyNik. I, 45 recluses, though of low birth, are reverentially saluted even by noblemen.
[256] W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas* (Berlin-Leipzig 1935), p. 26; 158.

regarded by the brahmans as heterodox, and as the activities of diviners, exorcists, and medical men were in Buddhist (SuttaNipāta 927) as well as brahman (Manu 3, 152; 180; 4, 212; 220; 6, 50 etc.) texts declared to be incompatible with a religious life, and as *śramaṇa-*, according to Indian lexicographers, may also mean *nindyajīvin-* "living on reprehensible subsistence", there seems to be sufficient ground for the inference that the Σαρμᾶναι described by the Greek author largely consisted of people who from the brahman point of view were outsiders, though they might have made Aryan proselytes and influenced the way of life of Aryan ascetics. It is perhaps not devoid of interest that the DīghaNikāya 1 (Brahmajālasutta), 1, 19ff. in denouncing the evil practices of those ascetics who, while living on the "gifts in faith" set themselves to prognostication, sorcery and medicine, speaks of śramaṇas and brahmans.

Up to the present day there are among the 'tribal' communities people whose social function and way of living answer fairly well to Megasthenes' description of the Σαρμᾶναι. In addition to some of the above quotations attention may be drawn to the "mendicant friars"[257] of the Limbus in Bengal, the *bijowas*, who apparently belonging to no particular race, wander about in the garb of Buddhist priests. Inspiring "by cunning and charlatanism" their votaries with considerable awe, they are ready to prescribe for those who are sick, to cast the 'devil' out of those who are vexed and to sing or dance for those in health. 'Shamans', medicine-men, wizards or magicians as agents by whom unseen powers can be moved to influence the weather, to cure diseases,[258] to reveal the future, and generally to intervene for good or evil in the affairs of the world, who live a life of seclusion, practise or pretend to practise various austerities, perform incantations and wear symbolic garments, have indeed always been a feature in the Indian landscape.[259]

It remains to show that also in the last millennium the Indian guru though accommodating himself to the changing circumstances has essentially remained the same personage.[260] It will be clear that throughout

[257] Dalton, *o.c.*, p. 104.
[258] For "witch-doctors" in Bengal, Bihar, Orissa etc. see also Ch. Mukherjea, *The Santals* (Calcutta w.y.), p. 302 ff.
[259] See also L. A. Krishna Iyer and L. K. Bala Ratnam, *Anthropology in India* (Bombay, 1961), p. 188 f.
[260] See e.g. J. Herbert, *Spiritualité hindoue* (Paris, 1947), p. 356 ff.; O. Lacombe, "La direction spirituelle selon les traditions indiennes", in *Études carmélitaines* (Bruges, 1951), p. 159 ff.

the centuries his position was essentially based on the time-honoured reverence for *Respektspersonen*, especially when they are bearers of sacred knowledge or tradition, or when they have succeeded in gaining the victory in a spiritual struggle. It is no less evident that the belief in their superiority rests largely on the conviction that their knowledge or doctrines are not only eminently powerful, but also of supernatural or transcendent origin, that their rites are efficacious and their ideals exalted; on the conviction also that they, and especially those who are supposed to be liberated themselves, are able to guide their adepts to perfection and emancipation. The guru accepts pupils, initiates, imparts the mantra. His full favour is essential. An unending succession of twice-born 'students' learned the old texts from their teachers. The guru may also sit in judgement upon his 'disciples' in case of offence against caste rules etc.[261] Whatever the accretions to and excrescences from traditional guruship, whatever the growth of the institution under the influence of, and in correlation to, the development of Indian religious thought and practice in general, its main characteristics remained clearly recognizable.

In order to give an idea of the importance attached in traditional *milieus* to 'student life' under the guidance of a guru some passages may be quoted from a modern account of South-Indian Śivaism.[262] When a child has reached a certain stage, the parents entrust it to the 'teacher', delegating their authority to him. An intelligent child destined to intellectual life begins its studies at the age of five. This 'student life' is sometimes erroneously held to be the preparation for the householder's life. It is on the contrary considered the most important part of life, the other life periods being only appendices to it. The student has therefore to make the use of this time in order "to attain the object of his birth". He is expected to lead a purely religious life (is called *brahmacārin-*) and those circumstances and opportunities must be created for him which are most conducive to the awakening of good desires and to the atrophy of evil ones. The most important circumstance is the personality of the teacher, whose intelligence must be above the average, and who must possess vast learning and culture besides patience and sympathy. The veneration for the guru has to extend to veneration for God, the highest Teacher (*paramaguru-*).

It is worth while to dwell a moment upon the function of the guru in connection with the *dīkṣā*, the so-called "consecration or initiation". It may be remembered that in Vedic ritual the *dīkṣā* is the preparation or

[261] J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (Strassburg, 1896), p. 119.
[262] S. Shivapadasundaram, *The Śaiva school of Hinduism* (London, 1934), p. 157 ff.

consecration for a religious ceremony and the observances involved. There it is the adhvaryu, the officiating priest in charge of the ritual acts proper,[263] who helps the sacrificer in preparing himself for the ritual rebirth[264] and who declares him "consecrated" after the process of initiation has, by means of the ritual attire, sacral acts and mantras pronounced by adhvaryu and sacrificer, been enacted automatically. In the viṣṇuite Pāñcarātra systems – which though partly based on Tantrism are not without starting-points in the Vedic tradition – the election of a guru is extremely important. He must not only be thoroughly versed in the traditions and literature of their own persuasion, but also in those of the other systems. He must sympathize with his pupils – who must belong to the three higher classes of society – in their grief or in their joy. He must teach them in accordance with their natural abilities and act as their confessor. He must introduce them to the methods of yoga and after a long probationary period, consecrate or initiate them by means of esoteric instruction in the meaning of the mantras.[265] The dīkṣā brings the adept into closer contact with God. The Pāñcarātrins believe in the esoteric nature of these formulas which they regard as the energy of God (Viṣṇu).[266] The knowledge of, and meditation on, these mantras enables the adept to exercise power over the potencies manifesting themselves in them. By muttering these mantras which one receives from the guru one is for instance sure to be free from sin. In Tantrism, certain peculiarities of the highly important function of the guru have developed into extreme forms.[267] Being the representative of the one divine guru, he is "the root" of initiation (*dīkṣā*), which in its turn is the root of the mantra;[268] this is the basis of the deity which grants the adept the highest success.[269] The dīkṣā consists in the transference of the guru's vital energy to the adept and in the gift of a suitable mantra. The adept who has, like his guru, to meet the highest requirements must obey the latter until the moment of liberation. It may further be observed that in Tantrism women are also admitted to this ministry (see e.g. YoginīT. 1).

The special relation between the guru and his 'disciples' or clientele is, as already intimated, founded on the belief that he is the mediator be-

[263] See e.g. A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les Cent Chemins*, I (Paris, 1949), p. 167 f.
[264] Cf. W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 19 f.
[265] See Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā, ch. XX.
[266] See my paper "The Indian mantra", in *Oriens* 16, p. 244 ff.
[267] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 36 f.; A. Avalon, *Tantra of the great liberation* (Mahānirvāṇatantra) (Madras, 1953), p. LXXIX.
[268] See my article "The Indian Mantra", *Oriens* 16, p. 257 ff. and passim.
[269] J. Woodroffe, *Introduction to Tantra Shāstra* (Madras, 1952), p. 65.

tween them and God. On this account he is venerated as God's mundane representative. He also pays periodical visits to the family or families in his clientele and gives them religious instruction, moral admonition, etc. His advice is held to be the most valuable guide for spiritual advancement. Although there are ignorant gurus whose ministrations are confined to ceremonial acts, others are true religious guides and directors of consciences. Owing to the belief that without the initiation which is to be imparted by the guru man cannot or possibly may not obtain salvation, some of those numerous Hindus who have no guru have themselves initiated in old age or even on their death-bed.[270]

It would be superfluous to dwell here on the likewise important position of the guru among the Jainas[271] and Buddhists; those Buddhists who adhere to the Vajrayāna are, to mention only this, very consequent in their conviction, that no one except one properly initiated by a 'teacher' could enter the fold, that nothing can be achieved without a guru whose position is altogether paramount, and on the other hand very difficult to attain.[272] Thus the recital of mantras and dharaṇīs, the practice of yoga and samādhi are not possible without the help of a spiritual guide. It is through him – whose words are nectar – that nirvāṇa can be obtained.[273] The Yoga as well as the Tantra schools always attached great importance to the selection of the true preceptor, without whom the esoteric sense of the texts can never be understood and truth and the final goal can never be attained.[274] The earthly gurus, through whom speaks the One Guru, God, is not different from the Supreme Being; he is "the root of initiation".[275] This belief in the divinity and indispensability of the guru, in his being a form and embodiment of divine power, which was emphasized in Tantrism, flowed on in all the religious currents of Hinduism.[276]

270 For particulars see e.g. L. S. S. O'Malley, *Popular Hinduism* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 79 ff.; 196 ff.; N. Macnicol, *The living religions of the Indian people* (London, 1934), p. 97 f.; and also W. Crooke, *The tribes and castes of the North-Western provinces of India* (Calcutta, 1896).

271 See e.g. Jagmanderlal Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, ed. by F. W. Thomas (Cambridge, 1940), p. 108.

272 See e.g. Bh. Sh. Verma, *Socio-religious, economic and literary condition of Bihar* (Delhi, 1962), p. 92. Arthur Avalon, *Principles of Tantra* (Madras, 1952), p. 786 ff.; Woodroffe, *o.c.*, p. 65 ff.; B. Bhattacharyya, *An introduction to Buddhist esoterism* (Oxford, 1932), p. 93 f.

273 Saṅkṛtyāyana, *Hindī Kāvyadhārā* (Allahabad, 1945), p. 20.

274 See e.g. T. M. P. Mahadevan, *Outline of Hinduism* (Bombay, 1956), p. 207.

275 Cf. also Patañjali, *YS.* 1, 26.

276 For the *gurudeva* as the highest religious authority among the Hindus of Suriname (S. America) see C. J. M. de Klerk, *Cultus en ritueel van het orthodoxe Hindoeïsme in Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1951), p. 116 ff.

In Hindu mysticism as far as it expressed itself in Hindu literature the true guru separates matter from spirit for the sake of his disciple's spiritual uplift; he is to sharpen his intellect, removing all the rust and dirt of passions and desires. There are two views about this process: the disciple may either attempt by a process of self-purification to perfect himself, or await his guru's grace: in a single moment he can reach the goal of his endeavour (i.e. the door of liberation) by the grace of his spiritual teacher. In the third place, the guru takes away all the defects and deficiencies of his disciple's mind, enlarging his receptivity and making him worthy and capable.[277]

According to the followers of Caitanya (1485-1533) the Supreme Being reveals himself in three ways, viz. directly in the soul, through the guru and through the scriptures. The first channel is opened when Kṛṣṇa, being gracious, teaches, by way of direct inspiration, some fortunate man, as his guru, within his heart. The human guru was, as a channel of revelation, accepted as a part of the general Viṣṇuite heritage, although, if that had been necessary, Caitanya's own experience would have been sufficient to procure the guru a central and essential position in his movement. Insisting on the spiritual qualifications of the guru he was completely convinced of the necessity that the latter knows the mysteries of Kṛṣṇa.[278] While this is the one essential, caste status or privilege of any kind are of no significance. Being one of the means of grace, the guru is however to be served with the greatest honour.[279] The guru who gives instructions is indeed the very self of Kṛṣṇa, who shows kindness to his devotee in the form of the spiritual teacher, from whom bhakti is to be heard.[280] "It is difficult to believe that the actual identity of the guru and the Supreme is taught here, but there is no doubt of the lengths to which this doctrine was carried in the exultation of the guru".[281] It may be interesting to add some notes on the ideas connected with guruship by Caitanya's immediate successors, one of whom wrote his bibliography. In Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja Gosvāmin's Śrī-caitanya-caritāmṛta, Ādilīlā Ch. 1 it reads: Lord Kṛṣṇa manifests himself in six forms, viz. gurus, devotees, avatāras, prakāśas, śaktis and (as Kṛṣṇa himself in the guru *par excellence*) as Caitanya-Kṛṣṇa (p. 5[282]). The guru, the embodiment of all deities, is expressly identified with Kṛṣṇa himself, who confers his blessings on his devotees

277 R. D. Ranade, *Pathway to God in Hindi literature* I (Bombay, 1957) p. 334 ff.

278 Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, II, 8 (p. 211, ed. Calc. 1922).

279 *Ibidem*, II, 22.

280 *Ibidem*, I, 1; II, 25.

281 M. T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya movement* (Oxford, 1925), p. 102 f.

282 These pages are those of the translation by Nagendra Kumar Ray (Puri², 1959).

in the shape of the guru, who – according to the BhāgavataPurāṇa – dispels the darkness of ignorance of all beings (p. 6), and who is "the giver of all fruits of desire" (p. 7). Kṛṣṇa indeed manifests himself as the greatest devotee of God, becoming a preceptor of men (p. 8). Thus Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya Deva is the guru of the universe, by whose grace even a low cur can with ease cross the vast ocean (ch. 9, p. 122).

The great mystic Kabir (± 1440-1518) taught that the guru should be recognized as the Lord himself, this recognition and participation in the sacramental meal being the way of salvation. The favour of the true guru frees from heaven and hell; it is he who tests the good and the evil, rescuing the former.[283] The disciple must not even listen to abuse of the guru, nor harbour any inimical thoughts against him. Those who do not honour the guru well fall into rebirths.[284] As is the case in other religious communities and movements of a mystic nature, the adepts cannot enter into the secrets of mysticism without the help of one who on the ground of his own experience thoroughly masters the subject. It is for instance also the opinion of the ŚivaSaṃhitā (3, 11) that only the instruction imparted by a guru by word of mouth can be of any use. Thus among the Liṅgāyats the guru is the spiritual and religious guide who initiates with due forms the novice into the faith of this Śivaist community, ushering him so to say into a new birth. It is he who gives the devotee real insight into the principles of religion, explains the inner meaning of the practices, and guides him on the path to the ultimate goal. Since the guru has by experience gained first-hand knowledge of God and the world, the devotee attempts to serve and imitate him, and to acquire knowledge from him.

In the theism of Tulsī Dās (1532-1623) however, the reverence for the teacher which has a prominent place in all the spiritual teaching of this latter period resolves itself into reverence for the brahman: "the guru can save from the brahman's anger, but if the guru himself is wroth, there is none in the world who can save".[285]

Thus the tradition of profound respect for the guru did not only continue throughout the whole history of Hinduism, this reverence even grew, especially in later centuries, not rarely to exaggerated dimensions. The guru being not rarely worshipped and even recognized as God, devotion

[283] See also the remarks made by N. Macnicol, *Indian theism* (Oxford, 1915), p. 142.
[284] See the Guru-māhātmya, one of the important literary products of the Kabīr Panth (F. E. Keay, *Kabīr and his followers*, Oxford, 1931, p. 115).
[285] Tulsī Dās, *Rām.* I, 169 (Growse's transl. I, p. 93).

to this man who replaces the great avatāras often became the vital centre of the religion. The followers of Rāmānuja (especially those who belonged to the Prapatti-school) while considering the guru a manifestation of God hold that he has to lift the weak adept out of mundane life and to offer him as a worthy object of grace and mercy to the Lord. While this process of 'deification' was on the one hand facilitated by the conception of avatāras, it may on the other hand be seen as a substitute, in certain systems of religious teachings (*saṃpradāyas*), for the cult of images.[286] In many religious communities it is for instance considered a privilege to be allowed to drink the water in which the guru has washed his feet. The spiritual teacher was even identified with the Highest Brahman,[287] a conviction which is in essential agreement with ŚvU. 6, 23: the wise man feels the same devotion (*bhakti-*) for his guru as for brahman.[288] The Mahārāṣṭra saint Jñānadeva (± 1290) experienced the oneness of himself with his guru, when he stated that "God, His devotee, and the guru are united together, as three rivers merge in a confluence".[289] Whereas this Marāṭha taught that the grace of the guru is to be invoked as one of the great means of attainment, the followers of Nanak († 1539) believe that the power of the guru lies in that he can convey the Name, the mysterious concrete embodiment of God to the seeker, so that without the true guru nobody can find God, who has put himself into the true guru. The gurus of Vallabha-Viṣṇuites have even gone so far as to claim absolute power and to receive, *inter alia*, the *ius primae noctis*.[290] But also the followers of Caitanya eventually exalted their master to such a degree that he almost eclipses Kṛṣṇa, and the Śivaite Liṅgāyats feel higher respect for their guru than for Śiva himself, because the former leads the soul to God.

In the last centuries the religious teacher or spiritual preceptor – who is not always a brahman or an ascetic – still is as a rule a much honoured personality.[291] The name guru is applied to a man of any caste who is

[286] L. Renou, *Religions of ancient India* (London, 1953), p. 95.
[287] J. N. Farquhar, *The crown of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1913), p. 399.
[288] "There is at the root the instinct that God will provide a teacher for us, and will pour into him such grace and wisdom that spiritual health and strength will flow to others from him" (Farquhar, p. 450).
[289] Compare also K. V. Gajendragadkar, "The Mahārāṣṭra saints and their teachings", in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, 1956), p. 368.
[290] See also Meyer, *Sexual life in ancient India*, p. 174, n.
[291] See e.g. O'Malley, *o.c.*, p. 196 ff.; Lacombe, *o.c.*, p. 159 ff.; Herbert, *o.c.*, p. 356 ff.; Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The rites of the twice-born* (Oxford, 1920), p. 31 ff. etc.; J. N. Farquhar, *Modern religious movements in India* (New York, 1915), passim; J. C. Oman, *The mystics, ascetics and saints of India* (London, 1903).

believed to be in peculiarly close communion with the Highest Being or supranatural Power and to hold the secret of divine mysteries, whether on account of asceticism, utterances regarded as inspired, or saintliness of life or character. The basis of the peculiar veneration of the guru still lies in the conviction that he is a link in a long chain of transcendental beginnings, a mediator able to bring his disciple and God together, or a medium through whom God is willing to reveal Himself. Those who on account of their highly developed spirituality and earnest religious life need no guru are rare. Gandhi[292] wrote: "I believe in the Hindu theory of guru and his importance in spiritual realisation. I think there is a great deal of truth in the doctrine that true knowledge is impossible without a guru. Only a perfect *jñānī* (one who having spiritual knowledge knows the path to Release) deserves to be enthroned as guru". Most of those who want to reach God must follow such a guide, who is no mere man, but "a channel through which Gods communicates Himself to the adept". Hence the conviction that the guru alone can guide his disciples on the path of spiritual progress to full knowledge of the Highest which leads to ultimate emancipation. Thus he is, to the present day, a 'Respekts-person', performing various functions and entering into different relations to his adherents. According to Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the founder of the Ārya Samāj (1875), the term guru includes father, mother, and preceptor: in fact, its old sense. It also applies to all those "through whose instrumentality the mind is grounded in truth and weaned from falsehood".[293] Dayānand himself was one of those numerous prominent Hindus who are said to have owed much of their ideas, impulses and inspiration to a sage to whom they were apprenticed. It is in certain *milieus* the guru who still fulfils priestly duties in the domestic ritual and initiates – like his Vedic predecessors – boys into religious life.[294] It is the guru who serves many adult people as a spiritual mentor, who still teaches and guides those who wish to study the sacred scriptures,[295] and "dispels their darkness" and who may be "the man who can swim and so is able to pull a drowning man out of the water". The genuine guru on his part regards his activities as an opportunity to bring his personality to a higher degree of perfection. This man, who always must be a competent teacher, who is selfless and

[292] M. K. Gandhi, *The story of my experiments with truth*, I, p. 211.
[293] Lajpat Rai, *The Arya Samaj* (London, 1915), p. 88.
[294] See e.g. Sh. Ch. Bose, *The Hindoos as they are* (London-Calcutta, 1881), p. 182 ff.
[295] See e.g. C. G. Diehl, *Instrument and purpose* (Lund, 1956), p. 89; 90 "even those who read disinterestedly should be taught by a guru".

guided by wisdom, love and compassion, is still believed to possess the power of increasing the wisdom, health and happiness of others. However, the preceptor, priest and initiator may also in modern times combine in the same person with the magician, or these terms may cover those who ask for money and are as magical 'practitioners' at the service of people in need[296].

[296] Diehl, *o.c.*, p. 268.

IX. BRAHMACARYA

A few words about the concept of *brahmacarya-* would not be out of place here, because the name as well as the main ideas connected with it have remained unaltered throughout the centuries. *Brahmacarya-* denotes the condition of life of the *brahmacārin-*, the so-called "religious student", reference to whom has already been made in the preceding chapter. Literally the term means: "applying or devoting oneself to brahman, 'walking with brahman', 'cultivating brahman', faring in harmony with brahman"[1] etc. The frequent translation "study of the Veda" stresses one aspect of the concept, the paraphrasis "state of continence and chastity, unmarried state" another which however has, as will be shown, always been central.

The oldest occurrence of *brahmacārin-*[2] – incorrectly translated by Grassmann:[3] "nach der Weise der Brahmanen wandelnd" –, the only one in the ṚkSaṃhitā, is 10, 109, 5 (= AV. 5, 17, 5) *brahmacārī carati veviṣad viṣaḥ sa devānām bhavaty ekam aṅgam* "the brahmacārin goes about

[1] "Wandel in der Heiligkeitskraft" (F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 198). For the 'etymological sense' of the term one might compare compounds such as *rathacarya-* "travelling or going by carriage" (Mbh. etc.); *bhikṣācarya-* "going about for alms, mendicancy" (ŚB.); *bhaikṣyacarya-*, *bhaikṣyacaryā* "mendicancy" (Yājñ., Manu etc. cf. *bhikṣācaryaṃ caranti* BĀU. 4,4,22 and *brahmacaryaṃ car-* e.g. TB. 3,7,6,3; GB. 1,1,16); *vratacaryā* "the practice of any vow or religious observance" (ŚB. etc.); *tapaścaryā* "the practice of austerities" (Hariv.); *dharmacaryā* "observance of law or duties" (Rājat.) as well as *śvacarya-* "the state of life as a dog" (Mbh.) and similar expressions. In Bhanujit Dikṣit's commentary on the Amarakoṣa (2,7,3) it reads: *brahma vedaḥ, tadadhyayanārthaṃ vratam apy upacārād brahma, brahma carituṃ śīlam asya* (cf. Pāṇini 3,2,80 the suffix *-in-* used to express a vow: *vanavartin-* "whose vow it is to live in the forests"; 3,2,78 *-in-* expressing a habit etc.: *śīghrabhojin-* "who eats quickly"); *yad vā, brahma tapo jñānaṃ va caraty arjayaty avaśyam* (cf. Pāṇini 3,3,170 *-in-* expressing that the subject performs an action of necessity) and 2,7,42 *brahma vedādhyayanavrataṃ carati, tacchito vā*. Anyhow, the second element of the compound *brahmacarya*l ays more emphasis on life, practice, and experience than mere learning and instruction.

[2] It has seemed desirable in this chapter to collect a considerable number of quotations in order to show that the apparent differences which separate the earlier and the later period, or various schools or religions are largely differences of emphasis.

[3] H. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* (Leipzig, 1936), 915.

(observes the rules of his group) rendering services, he becomes one limb ("Angehöriger", Grassmann, Wörterbuch) of the gods". In the first pāda another side of 'studentship' comes to the fore: service (cf. also JB. 2, 276ff.),[4] in the second his 'divine' character, i.e. his being a bearer or representative of a notable power, is emphasized.

The Atharvavedic text 11, 5 – which has already been discussed – gives, at an early moment in India's cultural history, the main characteristic features of 'religious life': the youth is initiated by his preceptor into a new life – the verb *upa-nī-* is used in st. 3 –; st. 4 tells us that by his girdle (*mekhalā*), fuel stick and by his life of hard work the brahmacārin fills the world with austerity (*tapas-*); he is vested with an antelope skin and lets his hair grow long (st. 6); he collects fuel (st. 6) and begs (st. 9),[5] learns and practices penance. It is no use discussing passages from the sūtra- and smṛti-texts in which all these characteristics – which are too well known to need quoting – re-appear.[6] The rules laid down in the sūtras and smṛtis centre mainly round the same topics: worshipping fire, begging for food, study of the Veda, obedience to the guru, the special vratas (observances, way of life) of the brahmacārin. Mention may only be made of some details which have survived in modern practices. Thus even nowadays a small piece of deer skin is often tied to the *yajñopavīta-* ("sacred thread") of a boy when his upanayana is performed.[7] The idea that a brahmacārin must beg for his food and offer fuel-sticks every day was so ingrained that BaudhDhS. 1, 2, 54 and Manu 2, 187 prescribed that if for seven days continuously a student who was not ill failed to fulfil these duties he had to undergo the same penance as was prescribed for a pupil who had sexual intercourse. In this connection it is interesting to notice that even in modern times many brahman students beg for their daily food, subjecting themselves to hard discipline. That an ambulatory life was regarded as typical for the brahmacārin may be inferred from TB. 3, 4, 1, 16 where a certain correlation is supposed to exist between him and the way (*adhvan-*), and from TĀ. 7, 4, 2 *ā mā yantu brahmacāriṇaḥ ... vi mā yantu ... pra mā yantu b*. The frequent use of the verbs *eti* and *carati* in AV. 11, 5 (st. 1; 6) may point in the same direction.

[4] He was called *chātra* (Pāṇ. 4,4,62), "because his duty (*chatraṃ śīlam asya*) was to be always at his teacher's service and to protect him like an umbrella" (cf. Kāśika). The pupil rather had to bear the guru's sunshade.

[5] Cf. also AV. 6, 133,3.

[6] See e.g. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 268 ff.; for additional information e.g. V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* (Lucknow, 1953), p. 81 f.; 280 ff.; R. B. Pandey, *The Hindu Saṃskāras* (Banaras, 1949), p. 187 ff.

[7] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 279.

What is however worth quoting from the Atharvaveda (11, 5; cf. AVPaipp. 16, 153-155) is the stress laid upon the brahmacārin's supra-normal power – he sets heaven and earth in motion and maintains them (st. 1); he fills his ācārya and even the gods with tapas (st. 1; 2); he generates brahman, the world, and Prajāpati (st. 7); fecundating the earth he causes the four directions to live (st. 12) –; his divine nature or being a manifestation of divine power (1 *tasmin devāḥ saṃmanaso bhavanti* "in him the gods become unanimous"; 5 *pūrvo jāto brahmaṇaḥ*); his ability to assume the character or play the part of an individual god (7 "having become Indra, he has shattered the asuras"); his long hair (6 *dīrgha-śmaśru*); his exemplary character or being a model to be followed: gods and fathers follow him (st. 2); the gods assemble to welcome him (st. 3). Brahmacarya is explicitly stated to be a great power: st. 17 *brahmacaryeṇa tapasā* (a combination often to be met with in later texts) *rājā rāṣṭraṃ vi rakṣati*: "by brahmacarya, which here must mean, not 'Vedic-studentship'[8] in the proper sense of the term but the 'walking with, or the devotion to, brahman', and austerity (asceticism) a king protects his kingdom". Hence also the continuation: "a teacher seeks a brahmacārin (student) by brahmacarya" and (18) "by brahmacarya a girl wins a youth to be her husband", where Lanman[9] is right in disapproving Whitney's inept rendering by "Vedic-studentship";[10] Deussen's[11] interpretation "durch Brahmanwandel" is indeed more satisfactory and his comment: "(der *brahmacārin-* ist) recht eigentlich dem Brahman und seiner Verwirklichung im Erkennen und Handeln gewidmet"[12] to the point. Compare also st. 24 *brahmacārī brahma bhrājad bibharti* "the brahmacārin bears a shining *bráhman-*". The same remark applies to the following section of the text: (18) "by brahmacarya a draught-ox and a horse strive to gain food"; (19) "by brahmacarya and tapas the gods warded off death; Indra by brahmacarya brought heaven to (for) the gods". The brahmacarya is (16) even identified with Prajāpati; the brahmans as well as brahman and all the gods together with 'immortality' were born from him (5; cf. 7). "All creatures which have sprung from Prajāpati have breath separately in themselves; all of these are preserved by brahman which is brought together (produced) in the brahmacārin" (ibid., 22).

[8] Thus W. D. Whitney-Ch. R. Lanman, *Atharva-veda Saṃhitā* (Cambridge Mass., 1905), p. 639.
[9] Whitney-Lanman, l.c.
[10] This passage does not prove the existence of 'girl-students' as suggested by R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education* (London, 1947), p. 69.
[11] P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, I, 1 (Leipzig[4], 1920), p. 279.
[12] Deussen, *o.c.*, p. 278.

It is sufficiently clear that this 'praise' of the brahmacārin views him as a person who "devotes" himself completely to brahman and who endeavours to realize it in his own existence or to realize his being brahman; the text draws from this realization the consequence that this person acquires an extraordinary and supranormal power. "Insofern er das Brahman ist, ist er nicht mehr Individuum, sondern das Prinzip aller Dinge selbst, ist er Schöpfer und Beleber von allem im Himmel und auf Erden, wie unser Hymnus es ausführt ...".[13] Letting alone the 'imagery' and phraseology which in our eyes may seem to be hyperbolical, the meaning of the above passages is that the realization of brahman, the existential consciousness of being brahman enables man to rise above his natural condition. As already observed the teacher who holds the pupil within himself, imparts a new birth and regenerates life to him, whence the pupil emerges as a dvija, a brahmacārin, a person new and changed externally and internally, who at the same time is an example of that discipline and detachment which "will remove mountains". The intimate connection of brahman and brahmacārin appears also from AV. 19, 19, 8 (AVPaipp. 8, 17, 8). In this text a similar close association is said to exist between these as there is between Vāyu and the atmosphere, the sun and the sky, soma and the herbs, the ocean and the streams, Prajāpati and progeny.[14] Wisdom (*medhā-*) filled with *bráhman-* and quickened by the same is in 6, 108, 2 stated to be drunk by (the) brahmacārins.[15]

The supra-normal and supra-human condition of brahmacarya is also obvious from the description and 'mystic' interpretation of the upanayana ceremony as found in Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 11, 5, 4. By saying: "I have come for brahmacarya" one offers (presents) oneself (as a devotee, slave etc.) to brahman (*brahmaṇa evaitad ātmānaṃ nivedayati*). By adding: "Let me be a brahmacārin" one makes oneself over (*paridadāti*) to brahman. Thereupon the teacher initiates him after making him one belonging to Prajāpati, because by asking him *ko nāmāsi* "what (*ka-*) is your name", he pronounces Prajāpati's name Ka. After committing him to the two highest and most powerful deities, Indra and Agni, whose disciple the young man is, the teacher commits him also to the beings, the waters, the plants, heaven and earth, etc. Thus the disciple suffers no harm of any kind. He now is dedicated to these powers, having entered into an inti-

[13] Deussen, *l.c.*
[14] Cf. also AVPaipp. 7,14,9.
[15] Cf. also AVPaipp. 5,35,9 *brahmaṇe sam anaman tasmai brahmacāribhis sam anaman.* – The treatment of the duties of the brahmacārin in GB. 1,2,1 – 9 (see further on) is based upon this text (AV. 11, 5).

mate relation with them. Belonging to them he is safe and protected. By pronouncing (5) the formula "you are a brahmacārin" the teacher commits him to brahman – again the close association with brahman. The next formula "sip water" really means "sip amṛta", because water is the "draught of immortality"; by sipping water the pupil obviously is supposed to become 'immortal'. The words "do (your) work" mean "exert vigour" because work (*karma*) means "vigour" (*vīrya-*); "put on fuel" means "enkindle thy mind with fire, with brahmavarcas" ("holy lustre"); by pronouncing the formula "do not die" the teacher says "do not sleep".

The sanctity of the brahmacārin is also emphasized in ŚB. 11, 3, 3, 1 where brahman is related to have delivered the creatures to Death (*mṛtyu-*), excepting however the brahmacārin. When Mṛtyu asked to be given a share in the brahmacārin also, the brahman said: "only the night on which he shall not bring his fire-wood". Therefore the brahmacārin should bring fire-wood lest he should cut off nights (days) from his life (cf. also GB. 1, 2, 6).[16]

A man desirous of being taught mighty rites may also be called a brahmacārin: ŚB. 2, 4, 4, 4 *tam ājagāma s. s. brahmacaryam* ("for the sake of sanctity" Eggeling) *tasmād etaṃ ca yajñam anūce* "and accordingly he was taught this sacrifice and another (according to 12, 8, 2, 3 the Sautrāmaṇi)". Having learnt it S. S. was called Sahadeva because he had come with the gods, by performing that rite he produced offspring and prosperity for the community to which he belonged.

Hence also passages such as AV. 7, 109, 7 – a text to be recited for success in gambling: "if a suppliant I call on the gods, if we have dwelt in brahmacarya (*brahmacaryaṃ yad ūṣima*, an expression which was to survive, cf. AiB. 5, 14, 2; TB. 3, 10, 11, 3; GB. 1, 1, 31 and in Pāli *brahmacariyaṁ vussati* "to live the religious life") ... let the (dice) be gracious to us", that is to say "as I have implored the gods to make me successsful, and as I have 'lived a holy life', let ...".

It stands to reason that the conduct or way of living indicated by the term under consideration is especially recommended to brahmans.[17] This is not only the opinion of modern authorities – to whom we will have to revert – but also of the author of JB. 2, 84 where brahmacarya correlates to the brahman (i.e. the collectivity of the brahmans or the first class or order in

[16] See J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, V (Oxford, 1900), p. 49.

[17] For the term *varṇin-* applied to the 'students' of the three upper classes see Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 81 and 280.

society); a princely way of living (*rājānucarya-*) correlates to *kṣatram* (nobility); the plough correlates to the earth; the quarters of the sky to trade. From the well-known passage TS. 6, 3, 10, 5 it appears that already at an early date 'pupilship' was considered obligatory for brahmans: "a brahman on birth is born with a threefold debt, of pupilship (*brahmacaryeṇa*) to the ṛṣis, of sacrifice to the gods, of offspring to the Fathers". The vrātyas[18] – authentic Vedic Āryans whose ritual constituted a crude earlier form of the Śrauta ritual – are however stated "to be destitute, and to be left behind, for they neither practice brahmacarya nor do they plough or trade (PB. 17, 1, 2 *hīnā vā ete hīyante ye vrātyāṃ pravasanti, na hi brahmacaryaṃ caranti, na kṛṣiṃ vaṇijyām)*". This passage does not only allow us to draw important conclusions with regard to the history of this institution, it also shows that it was considered characteristic of brahmans – Sāyaṇa already observed: *brahmacaryaṃ brāhmaṇocitam* –, that is something exalted and proper to these Aryans *par excellence*.

Other passages give us an idea of the discussions carried on by teacher and disciple: ŚB. 12, 2, 2, 13 ff.; cf. GB. 1, 4, 24; JB. 2, 431 (on the number of days in the year). That not only young men but also "great brahmans" resorted to a man who, being considered an authority was willing to teach them is apparent from JB. 1, 22 where Āruṇi and others become the brahmacārins of king Janaka (cf. ChU. 5, 11 ff.). In JUB. 1, 14, 1, 1 ff. Āruṇi is related to go to Vāsiṣṭha Caikitāneya for brahmacarya; the latter asks him many theological and philosophical questions. That brahmacarya embraced study of the Veda may be inferred from JB. 1, 271 *yat sahaiva brahmacaryam acarāva sahānvahavīvahi*, but from another passage in the same brāhmaṇa (3, 152) it is apparent that already at an early date 'esoterical' knowledge of rituals might be imparted by a teacher to his disciple. And what is more, brahmacarya could without any teacher or teaching be a means of obtaining highly important and fervidly desired objects and acquirements: GB. 1, 1, 16 *brahma ha vai brahmāṇaṃ puṣkare sasṛje. sa khalu brahmā sṛṣṭaś cintām āpede: kenāham ekenākṣareṇa sarvāmś ca kāmān sarvāṃś ca lokānt sarvāmś ca devānt sarvāṃś ca vedānt sarvāṃś ca yajñānt sarvāṃś ca śabdānt sarvāś ca vyuṣṭīḥ sarvāṇi ca bhūtāni sthāvarajaṅgamāny anubhaveyam iti. sa brahmacaryam acarat sa om ity etad akṣaram apaśyat.* Here brahmacarya, practised in solitude, leads to the vision of the syllable *Oṃ*, by which the brahman was able to attain

[18] See J. C. Heesterman, Vrātya and sacrifice, in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, 6 (The Hague 1963), p. 1 ff., esp. p. 8; Chitrabhanu Sen, "Vrātyas and Vedic society", in *J. Or. Inst. Baroda* 12 (1963), p. 288 ff.

all objects and acquirements which he desired. A similar efficacy is attributed to brahmacarya in GB. 1, 2, 2.[19] Here the brahmacārin is urged to overcome the seven passions, viz. class consciousness, fame, sleep, anger, bragging, personal beauty and fragrance, higher forms of which he may acquire by devoting himself to brahmacarya: if he clothes himself in the skin of the antelope he obtains *brahmavarcasa-*, if he works for his ācārya he obtains the latter's fame etc. In this way the brahmacārin puts himself also in possession of the sleep that is in the boa, the anger that is in the boar, the braggadocio that is in the water, the beauty that is in the maiden and of fragrance. With those ends in view he should, though sleepy, abstain from sleep; be humble in spirit not injuring anyone; while bathing, not perform braggart tricks with the water; not look at a naked maiden; not smell at plants and trees after having cut them. In the next sections the rewards and acquirements of brahmacarya are explained in connection with the pupil's duties, for instance: he wins the 'world' of those who daily sacrifice and that of the religious mendicants by not touching a woman etc. These statements are a glorification of the supranormal abilities and 'divine condition' of the brahmacārin, and the requisite chastity for the attainment of such qualities.

The brahmans of olden times who performed brahmacarya in an exemplary way acquired a very good reputation. Section 7 contains some mantras in expiation of certain sins to which the brahmacārin is liable. He is for instance not allowed to rest on an elevated bed, to dance or to sing, to spit and to move quickly to and fro. That is to say he is to lead an austere life and to observe definite tabus lest he should lose his peculiar qualities.[20] Referring to AVPaipp. 11, 5, 23 (?) the next section describes him as *devānāṃ parisūtam* "that which has been set in motion by the gods" (i.e. the sun) and in 8 he is urged to betake himself to a hermitage, after the pattern of the great sages of yore: the anachoretic feature in brahmacarya which is to survive in later times.

That however chastity and continence were already at an early date considered essential in a brahmacārin may be concluded from TĀ. 2, 18, 1 ff. where the evils of incontinence during 'studentship' as well as the expiations for the same are treated. The *avakīrṇa-* i.e. "(the 'student') who has spilt his semen virile", i.e. violated his vow of chastity – *avakīrṇaṃ bhagnavrataṃ brahmacāriṇo retaskandanādikaṃ tad yasyāsti saḥ* – should perform an elaborate expiation, make offerings with clarified butter, repeat

[19] See M. Bloomfield, *The Atharvaveda and the Gopathabrāhmaṇa* (Strassburg, 1899), p. 111.
[20] See R. Roth, *Der Atharvaveda in Kaschmir* (Tübingen, 1875), p. 23.

a mantra with folded hands etc. This sin and its expiation are – obviously in harmony with the seriousness of the event – dealt with in many sūtra- and smṛti-texts.[21] Even he who only suspects himself to be guilty should submit to the aforesaid expiation. In a section enjoining such qualities as veracity, austerity etc. as requirements for a saṃnyāsin the same text (10, 62, 3) says: *dama iti niyataṃ brahmacāriṇas tasmād dame ramante*; the commentary supplying us with the adnotation: *vākcakṣurādīndriyāṇāṃ bāhyānāṃ niṣiddhebhyo viṣayebhyo nivṛttiḥ*. According to 10, 63, 1 *damena brahmacāriṇaḥ suvar agacchan*. In PraśnaU. 1, 1 some persons, "devote to brahman, intent upon brahman and in search of the highest brahman" – and no doubt adult – approached, fuel in hand, Pippalāda who enjoined them to dwell with him for another year, in austerity, brahmacarya and faith, before they were allowed to ask questions. Here the main element of the brahmacarya concept is no doubt "chastity"; cf. Rāmānuja's explication: *yoṣitsmaraṇakīrtanakeliprekṣaṇaguhyabhāṣaṇasaṃkalpādhyavasāyakriyānirvṛttilakṣaṇāṣṭavidhamaithunavarjanarūpabrahmacarya-*, from which it appears that any contact with women was to be avoided. According to a definition attributed to Yājñavalkya brahmacarya is abstinence from sexual intercourse in thought, word and deed in all conditions, places and times (*karmaṇā manasā vācā sarvāvasthāsu sarvadā / sarvatra maithunatyāgo brahmacaryaṃ pracakṣate*). However the Mitākṣarā explains the same term in 3, 313 where it is one of the *yamāḥ* "forms of self-restraint" by *sakalendriyasaṃyamaḥ* "complete control of the senses". Similar statements are made in the purāṇas which also condemn incontinence of a 'student' (see e.g. MārkP. 31, 26).

That chastity was characteristic of brahmacarya may also be inferred from texts such as BrahmaS. 3, 4, 19 quoting Bādarāyaṇa: the text cited speaks of sacrifices to be performed by a householder, of penance and austerity as characteristic of a *vānaprastha-* (an anchorite in the third stage of life), celibacy in brahmacarya, and steadfastness in brahman for the *saṃnyāsa-* stage.

Hence also the discussion as to how far a brahmacārin who breaks the vow of celibacy can, by expiatory rites, be purified. An intransigent stand is for instance taken by the AgniPur. 165, 23f. "I do not see any expiation (*prāyaścittam*) by which the twice-born, who having reached the condition of a 'perpetual religious student' bound by chastity (*naiṣṭhikaṃ dharmam*) deviates therefrom, may be purified; he is a slayer of himself". Another authority declares that such a sin cannot be expiated any more

[21] For the *avakīrṇin-* see W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Praha [Prague], 1939), p. 139 ff. (with a bibliography).

than a head cut off from the body can again be tacked on to the body.[22]

The emphasis on chastity has even led to the use of *brahma* in the sense of "abstinence from sexual intercourse". Among the so-called aṇuvratas of the Jainas (*ahiṃsā, satya, asteya, brahma, aparigraha*) the brahmavrata consists in a life of chastity.[23] The transgressions of this vrata are in the usual way described and subdivided with extreme minuteness and their enumeration would furnish us with a long list of sexual practices and deviations. A Jaina layman should avoid "the delusive sight of the bodies of women",[24] loveplay, match-making, excessive predilection for the pleasures of the senses; he must not even arrange the marriages of other people's offspring. He should abstain from the enjoyment of all women save his own wife. The term *bráhman-* instead of *brahmacarya-* is however not foreign to Hindu usage: Kāl. Śak. 1, 22+ *bhagavān kāśyapaḥ śāśvate brahmaṇi sthita iti prakāśaḥ.*

The opinion that brahmacarya is to be taken in the limited sense of sex control, not of total sexual abstinence is already expressed in PraśnaU. 1, 13 *ahorātro vai prajāpatis tasyāhar eva prāṇo rātrir eva rayiḥ. prāṇaṃ vā ete praskandanti ye divā ratyā saṃyujyante, brahmacaryam eva tad yad rātrau ratyā saṃyujyante* (the comm. observing *ṛtumātrabhāryāgamanaṃ brahmacaryam eva ity arthaḥ*) "... that they join in sexual intercourse by night is chastity indeed". The same interpretation of the concept is defended in modern times: "chastity of body and mind".[25] To Bhagavadgītā 6, 14 *praśāntātmā vigatabhīr brahmacārivrate sthitaḥ* "serene and fearless, firm in the vow of 'continence' ..." Radhakrishnan[26] supplied the following note: "It is not ascetic celibacy that is meant by b., but control. Hindu tradition affirms that a householder who controls his sex life is a brahmacārī quite as truly as one who abstains from sex altogether", quoting also from the Mbh. (13, 93, 11) the line *bhāryāṃ gacchan brahmacārī ṛtau bhavati vai dvijaḥ.* The difference made by the Buddhists between the absolute chastity of their monks and the relative chastity of their laymen is probably more generally known than the eighteen kinds of abstinence from sexual intercourse taught by the Jains.[27]

Viewed from this angle brahmacarya is the typically Indian form of

[22] See S. Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma Sūtra*, London 1960, p. 519; V. M. Apte, *Brahma-sūtra Shānkara-Bhāshya* (Bombay, 1960), p. 762 f.
[23] R. Williams, *Jaina Yoga, A survey of the Mediaeval Śrāvakācāras* (London, 1963), p. 84 ff.
[24] Śrāvakaprajñapti, 274.
[25] See e.g. Radhakrishnan, *o.c.*, p. 164.
[26] S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagavadgītā* (London, 1948), p. 197 f.
[27] Williams, *o.c.*, p. 84.

socio-religious chastity and celibacy. The ancient and widespread belief in the "polluting" effects of sexual intercourse,[28] which exposes man to the influence of dangerous powers, the fear of loss of vital power and energy in consequence of *emissio seminis* – an idea prompted by the sensation of lassitude after coition –, the belief in the 'holiness' (which implies dangerousness) of procreative power, the conviction that any contact with the holy or divine requires purity and the complete concentration of energy, the belief that the holiness of rites and spiritual life is incompatible with sexual power have all over the world led to various forms of ritual chastity and celibacy.[29] As the 'primitive' is willing to restrain his sexual propensity for the sake of food, observing chastity before hunting and fishing, thus the virginity of the Roman vestals, associated with the state hearth by the state itself, guaranteed the power and well-being of the community.[30] Those who intend to join in the performance of a rite or who are to be initiated and priests are – each succeeding category more rigorously – to abstain from sexual intercourse. Lifelong celibacy was in the case of definite priests and priestesses already known to the ancients: Verg. Aen. 6, 661 *quique sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat.*[31] In connection with the ancient Thracians the geographer Strabo (7, p. 296) relates that there was among them a class of holy men who were celibates and greatly honoured: εἶναι δέ τινας τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, οἳ χωρὶς γυναικὸς ζῶσιν, οὓς κτίστας (probably the "chaste" or "pure" ones) καλεῖσθαι, ἀνιερῶσθαί τε διὰ τιμὴν καὶ μετὰ ἀδείας ζῆν.[32] Sometimes, for instance in Christianity, another consideration joins the motives: celibacy enables a man to devote himself completely to God (see 1 Cor. 7, 32). In the Roman Catholic church this undivided devotion to God and fellow-men is nowadays the first argument in favour of the necessity of priestly chastity; this celibacy is moreover regarded as the complementary antipole of the natural way of living.[33] The belief that celibacy of the few, of the spiritual guides and of those who set an example of a really religious life is neces-

[28] Cf. e.g. Porphyrius, *De abstinentia* 4, 20 ἀφροδίσια μιαίνει.
[29] See Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 198 ff.
[30] E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* (Giessen, 1910), p. 210 ff.; Th. Cato Worsfold, *The history of the Vestal virgins* (London, 1932).
[31] See also J. Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (London, 1908 ff.), III, p. 271 ff.
[32] I fail to see why the ancient Indo-European instances of *castitas* (ethical *continentia*) should root in non-Indo-Europian beliefs and customs as is held by O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1917-1923), p. 582.
[33] "Die Forderung geschlechtlicher Entsagung innerhalb der Ehe gilt nur dann als erfüllbar, wenn das zölibatäre Opferleben der Priester den Verehelichten die Kraft zur Entsagung vor Augen führt", Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 203.

sary to impress the ideal condition of life upon the masses is however far from foreign to the Indians. It is on the other hand, as far as I am able to see, impossible to decide which ethnic component has in pre- and protohistoric times made the most important contribution to the definitive establishment of the typical Indian form of chastity as represented by the brahmacārin.

There – quite intelligibly – is a frequent association of *brahmacarya-* with *tapas-* "austerity". Cf. AV. 11, 5, 26 *tāni kalpan brahmacārī salilasya pṛṣṭhe tapo 'tiṣṭhat* "arranging (shaping) these entities (i.e. breath, speech, mind, sight, food etc.) the brahmacārin stood devoted to austerities ..."; see also st. 17 (see above). Dealing with the investiture of the sacrificial cord TĀ. 2, 1, 1 tells a story showing how the devas and the asuras of yore had, in rivalry, performed a sacrifice, one regularly and the other irregularly ... *te 'surāḥ saṃnahya sahasaivācaran brahmacaryeṇa tapasaiva devāḥ*. "To those alone", PraśnaU. 1, 15 says, "belongs this brahman-world, in whom tapas, brahmacarya and 'truth' (*satyam*) are established". "This self (*ātmā*) within the body", MuṇḍU. 3, 1, 5 argues, "is attainable by 'truth', by tapas and by brahmacarya".

Considering the character of the 'concept' expressed by *tapas-* this combination may be easily accounted for. This so-called 'asceticism', the generation of creative internal glow, belonging to the brahman methods of rising above normal human conditions and possibilities, of obtaining revelations of secret wisdom and contact with the divine powers,[34] is the typically Indian form of the widespread practice of generating "heat" in order to transcend the normal human conditions and abilities. This practice rests on the belief that 'heat' and magico-religious or 'sacred' power are closely related conceptions, 'the archaic mind' being often inclined to assume that the presence of heat is an indication for the manifestation of power.[35] When a novice – for instance the ancient German *berserker* – by passing through certain initiatory ordeals succeeds in transmuting his human existence into a higher one he is not rarely said to heat himself. Becoming "heated" means becoming flooded by a mysterious, non-human and irresistible force.[36] Indians are until the present day often inclined to associate every form of occult or evil power or every manifestation of incomprehensible abilities – e.g. the power residing in a saint or a divinity – with heat.[37]

[34] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 184 f. and elsewhere.
[35] H. Webster, *Magic* (Stanford Cal., 1948), p. 6 etc.
[36] See e.g. M. Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth* (New York, 1958), p. 84.
[37] Cf. also e.g. J. Abbott, *The keys of power* (London, 1932), p. 5 f.

The brahmacārin should abstain from honey, flesh, perfumes, garlands, vegetable juices, women, acidulated substances, the killing of animate beings, unguents, black powder (for his eyes), wearing sandals, using an umbrella, sensual desires, wrath, covetousness, dancing, singing, dice, disputes, detraction and falsehood. We may of course disagree with the ancient authorities attempting to state the reasons for these tabus. Thus JUB. 1, 17, 2, 1 a brahmacārin is forbidden to eat honey because it is "the husk (*palāva-*) of the Veda" ("but", it is added, "he may eat at pleasure what his teacher (*ācārya-*) gives him"). The real motive underlying the interdiction of honey and intoxicants[38] lies in their aphrodisiac character.[39] Generally speaking the above enumeration implies that a brahmacārin should avoid any transgression of the rules of ahiṃsā, chastity, modesty and austerity.

It may therefore be concluded that as far as we know the high goal, the mastery of the holy texts, the knowledge which means salvation, aimed at in those circles which left these works were considered to call for the application of the whole person, of the whole life, of all energy. It is also clear that the various prerequisites mentioned for the attainment of these high goals rested on the basis of a life of austerity, abstinence and asceticism for which the terms *tapas-* and *brahmacarya-*, often in combination, were generally applied. Cf. AV. 11, 5, 26 *brahmacārī ... tapo 'tiṣṭhat tapyamānaḥ*. The upaniṣads often emphasize the need of the practice of tapas in all stages of life. Tapas "spiritual travail"[40] is the means of attaining to the perception of brahman: *brahmavijñānasādhanam* (Śaṅkara): cf. TU. 3, 1 *sa tapo 'tapyata. sa tapas taptvā / annam brahmeti vyajanāt* etc. In MuṇḍU. (1, 2, 11) "the way of knowledge" is promised to those who knowing and "free from passions" (*śānta-*) practice, in the forest, austerity and faith (*śraddhā-*) and live the life of a mendicant (*bhaikṣācaryaṃ carantaḥ*). The TaittU. (1, 9) demands study, teaching, austerity and self-control, quoting the views of two authorities, of whom the former requires asceticism (tapas) alone, and the other also study of the Veda, "for this is tapas".

In view of the Indian tendency to identify concepts which are closely related or show some similarity it is not surprising to encounter texts in which tapas and brahmacarya are looked upon as identical.[41] The author

[38] See also Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 796.
[39] For which see the numerous remarks made by J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, III (Zürich, 1937), p. 301 s.v. Honig.
[40] S. Radhakrishnan, *The principal Upaniṣads* (London, 1953), p. 553.
[41] Cf. also Deussen, *o.c.*, p. 278: "Jeder Dvija ... soll in seiner Jugend eine Reihe von Jahren Brahmacārin sein, einerseits um das Brahman in Gestalt des Veda in sich

of the JñānasaṃkalinīTantra has Śiva say that true tapas is brahmacarya (*na tapas tapa ity āhuḥ brahmacaryaṃ tapottamam*) and that he who practises it (from the original text *ūrdhvaretā bhaved yas tu* it appears that *brahmacarya-* here practically amounts to chastity) is divine, not human.[42] According to the BhagG. worship of the gods etc., purity, uprightness, brahmacarya (continence) and ahiṃsā are said to be the tapas of the body (17, 14).

It may in this connection be recalled that tapas was considered not only an important means of kindling the inner fire of illumination, but also a means of accumulating the fundamental power brahman, which the brahmacārin 'cultivates'.[43] Says the MuṇḍU. 1, 1, 8 *tapasā cīyate brahma* "brahman is accumulated by tapas".

A brief reference may by way of digression also be made to the ritual conversation between a brahmacārin and a prostitute (see e.g. LāṭyāyanaŚS. 4, 3, 9ff.; KāthS. 34, 5; KātyāyanaŚS. 13, 3 etc.).[44] The words to be used are handed down by Drāhyāyaṇa (ŚS. 11, 3, 9f.) "(the prostitute must say:) 'you, who have misbehaved! who have violated your vow of continence!'" There can be no doubt about the general purpose of the altercation: the mutual insult is offered 'for fertility purposes'. The co-operation of this curious couple who at first sight should be surprised at being associated, as partners, by the priests in the performance of part of the Mahāvrata rite, was on the other hand needed to make the act more effective.[45] There is a widespread belief that prostitutes and sexual intercourse with them are especially suited to promote the fertility of the fields, because the more unrestrained the sexual intercourse of human beings is, the more influential it may be in the realm of Nature. As to the brahmacārin it is true that ascetics are, in India as well as elsewhere, credited with supranormal powers (e.g. Mbh. 12, a. 155 cr. ed.), but it is just as well a reasonable assumption that by their very chastity they accumulated in themselves sexual power, that they made themselves, so

aufzunehmen, anderseits um es als Tapas durch eine Reihe von Entsagungen praktisch zu üben ...".

[42] Radhakrishnan, *Bhagavadgitā*, p. 197.

[43] Elsewhere the concept under discussion is closely associated with other important conceptions, which likewise help us in defining it more exactly. Thus MahaU. 2 it reads *bibhrat śriyaṃ satyaṃ brahmacaryam*; AruṇeyaU. 4 *brahmacaryam ahiṃsāṃ cāparigrahaṃ ca satyaṃ ca*; HaṃsaU. 1 *brahmacāriṇe śāntāya dāntāya*; MahānU. 22, 1 *damena brahmacāriṇaḥ suvar agacchan.*

[44] See also A. B. Keith, *The Aitareya Āraṇyaka* (Oxford, 1909), p. 277; Gonda, in *Acta Orientalia* 19, p. 351; the same, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 162.

[45] See Gonda, "Ascetics and Courtesans", *The Adyar Library Bulletin* 25 (1961), p. 80; 89 ff.

to say, reservoirs of that most important energy which – like the curses pronounced by ascetics – in case of need could be discharged suddenly and completely so as to produce quite uncommon results.

The meaning 'student' given in the dictionaries is however not fictitious: ŚB. 1, 6, 2, 4 "the father (teaches this sacrifice) to his son when he is a brahmacārin", i.e. when the son fulfils all requirements of Veda-studentship. Cf. also JB. 2, 276ff. In this sense it occurs in combination with *antevāsin-* "a pupil who dwells in his teacher's house": ŚB. 5, 1, 5, 17. In the 'technical' sense of the sūtras and dharma texts it occurs, between snātaka and "some one who is not initiated" (*adīkṣita-*) ŚB. 12, 1, 1, 10. Cf. also TB. 3, 10, 9, 3; JUB. 1, 6, 3, 3; MantraB. 2, 6, 5 *yathā samudraṃ sravantīḥ samavayanti diśo diśaḥ / evaṃ mā sakhāyo brahmacāriṇaḥ samavayantu diśo diśaḥ* (*b.*: *vedavidyārthinaś chātrāś ca*); cf. also 1, 6, 16; 25f.

It cannot be part of our task here to give a description of Veda-studentship and all rites and ceremonies connected with it.[46] Suffice it to observe that the detailed and comparatively modern procedure (*prayoga-*) of upanayana as described in Gopīnātha's Saṃskāraratnamālā follows, in the main, the briefer procedure of the gṛhyasūtras; that, quite consistently, up to the act of making the boy, for the last time, take his meal in the same dish with his mother it is his father who performs every act; thereafter it is the ācārya who does the rest. As to this meal, some gṛhyasūtras (e.g. Āp. 4, 10, 5) prescribe a dinner offered to brahmans before the ceremonies begin and, in addition to this, receiving their benedictions. Some texts add that the boy also is made to eat. According to later texts the boy takes, in the above way, his meal with his mother and other brahmacārins are also invited for meals in the company of the boy.[47] This practice is observed even in modern times. Almost all authorities prescribe that the boy is shaved on this day. This also is done nowadays.[48]

In connection with marriage the most esteemed families were those noted for their good deeds, learning and morality. This implied that they had observed unbroken brahmacarya or studentship (Manu 3, 7). The first requirement of a bridegroom was the completion of his brahmacarya (Manu 3, 2).

Long periods of 'studentship'[49] were however not unknown to the

[46] The reader may be referred to the handbooks: A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 50 ff.; Kane, *o.c.*; Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 291 ff.

[47] See also Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 219.

[48] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 284.

[49] For occasional studentship for shorter periods (e.g. a month or half a month) see e.g. Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 82 f.; Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 198 f.; 392.

authors of the Veda. The scene of the following events was it is true laid in the mythical sphere: TB. 3, 10, 11, 3f. *bharadvājo ha tribhir āyurbhir brahmacaryam uvāsa. taṃ ha jīrṇaṃ sthaviraṃ śayānam indra upavrajyovāca: bharadvāja yat te caturtham āyur dadyām, kim enena kuryā iti. brahmacaryam evainena careyam iti hovāca.* (4) *taṃ ha trīn girirūpān avijñātān iva darśayāñ cakāra. teṣāṃ haikaikasmān muṣṭim ādade. sa hovāca: bharadvājety āmantrya: vedā vā ete. anantā vai vedāḥ. etad vā etais tribhir āyurbhir anvavocathāḥ. atha ta itarad ananūktam eva. ehīmaṃ viddhi. ayaṃ vai sarvavidyeti.* ChU. 8, 7, 3 Indra and the asura Virocana came, fuel in hand, to Prajāpati and lived with him for thirty-two years "the disciplined life of a student of sacred knowledge" (Radhakrishnan). In ChU. 8, 11, 3 mention is made of a brahmacarya of one hundred and one years. It is on the other hand clear that the study of special texts – Katyāyana for instance speaks of *māhānāmikāḥ*, i.e. students of the *mahānāmnī* hymn (a kind of sāman) – or the observance of particular vows gave seekers after higher knowledge opportunities for specialisation and for realisation of their desire to reach the state of perfection.[50] See e.g. also ĀpastDhS. 1, 4, 13ff. and PraśnaU. 1, 1 (see above) and purāṇic passages such as MārkP. 28, 11ff.

In the older upaniṣads the scope of brahmacarya is also wider so as to embrace not merely the student-period proper but the entire course of life regulated by the disciplines of its four stages (*āśramāḥ*) as the way which leads to the Ātman. A reference to perpetual (*naiṣṭhika-*) studentship is no doubt made in ChU. 2, 23 *brahmacāry ācāryakulavāsī* ... *atyantam ātmānam ācāryakule 'vasādayan.* Like the temporary Veda student and the man who performs tapas such a brahmacārin attains to the world of the virtuous. Of special interest is ChU. 8, 5, a section dealing with the importance of brahmacarya ("abstinence and religious study"[51]) as the true way to the Brahman-world. What people call "worship" (*yajña-*), what they call "what has been sacrificed" (*iṣṭa-*), what they call "the protracted sacrifice" (*sattrāyaṇa*), what they call "silent asceticism" (*mauna-*), "a course of fasting" (*anāśakāyana-*) and "betaking oneself to hermit life in the forest" (*araṇyāyana-*) is really *brahmacarya-* "the disciplined and sacred life of a student of sacred knowledge". Only through brahmacarya, the author adds, does he who is a knower find the brahma world, i.e. the highest state of existence, or perfection; only after having searched with brahmacarya does one find the Ātman and the protection of the real Self (Ātman); only by finding the self through brahmacarya does one really meditate. The Ātman which one finds through brahmacarya does not perish. "This section advocates not only the need for brahmacarya but also the equivalence of certain sacrifices to brahmacarya".[52]

In the KaṭhaU. 2, 15 all the Vedas, all the practices of tapas and brahmacarya are described as means by which the 'mystic syllable' *Oṃ* – "desiring which men live the life of religious studentship" (*brahmacaryaṃ caranti*) – is to be sought as the final aim. There can be no doubt that here the meaning of the term is "a way of life characterized by continence and self-restraint". Compare also Bhagavadgītā 8, 11 "that state which the knowers of the Veda call the imperishable, which ascetics freed from passion enter and desiring which they lead a life of continence" (*brahmacaryaṃ caranti*).

The great weight attached to brahmacarya as a concept of *weltanschauliches* importance may also be understood from passages such as JUB. 4, 5, 4 "from them milk for me the chapters of the Veda (*adhyāyam*), brahmacarya, offspring, domestic animals, heaven, the prayer for supremacy over one's fellows."

Special attention may be drawn to the fact that the way of life of a brahmacārin is not rarely prescribed as a form of atonement or expiation in case of transgressions of the dharma.[53] According to Medhātithi on Manu 11, 223ff. (*brahmacārī vratī ca syāt*) brahmacarya in this case means first and foremost "chastity". Other forms of penitence and expiation are, in addition to brahmacarya, e.g. offering, worship, bathing, abstaining from injury, dishonesty, muttering of sacred texts, passing the time standing, etc.

Although the epic evidence regarding 'studentship' is comparatively meagre and mainly forthcoming indirectly in episodes and dialogues, some valuable observations are made in the Mahābhārata. In 12, 184, 8 the purpose of studentship (*gurukulavāsa-*) is said to be the purification of the soul by purity of conduct, Vedic rites, restraint, vows, chastity (*brahmacarya-*), and humility. See also 12, a. 66; 234, 5ff.; 5, a. 44.[54]

Among the ethical laws or precepts of Buddhism *brahmacariya-* "der heilige, d.h. zölibatäre Wandel und die Unterdrückung aller sexuellen Phantasien und Wünsche"[55] occupies an important place. So important that even Buddha's exemplary way of life could, so to say, be referred to by this term (SuttaN. 3, 11, 15). "This prince shall reach awakening's top-

[50] Agrawala, *o.c.*, p. 82 f.
[51] R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads* (Oxford², 1934), p. 266.

[52] Radhakrishnan, *The principal Upaniṣads*, p. 499.
[53] For particulars see Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 52 etc.
[54] For particulars see Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 329 ff.
[55] F. Heiler, *Die buddhistische Versenkung* (München, ²1922), p. 10.

most peak, as seer of utter purity shall turn the dharma-wheel for weal of man, and world-spread shall his godly life (*brahmacariyam*) become".[56] One should however apply oneself whole-heartedly to this way of life. Like vows improperly observed, unwilling obedience to the code of chastity is said to bring no great reward (Dhammap. 312).

The texts are also quite explicit in stating that the one "who takes hold of the bark of brahma-faring" (*tacaṁ aggahesi brahmacariyassa*) is justly called a "monk" (*bhikkhu-*): MajjhN. I, 195. And it belongs to the characteristic activities of a tathāgata, a perfected one, a fully self-awakened one that he teaches the lovely Buddhist dhamma or doctrine and proclaims the wholly fulfilled (*kevalaparipuṇṇam*) and quite purified (*parisuddham*) *brahmacariya-* (ibidem I, 179; 267 etc.). Hence also the explication given in the Visuddhimagga (32): "Zur Förderung des *brahmacariya-* bedeutet: Zum Zwecke den gesamten in der Lehre vorgeschriebenen heiligen Wandel sowie den mit dem (überweltlichen) Pfade verbundenen heiligen Wandel zu unterstützen".[57]

"Einschneidender noch ist das dritte Gebot, die Keuschheit, die im Buddhismus, wie im Yogasystem – compare Patañjali YS. 2, 30 – *brahmacarya-*, d.h. Brahman-wandel, heiliges Leben genannt wird. Die Bedeutung dieses Gebotes findet auch darin ihren Ausdruck, dass nicht nur diese einzelne Seite der Jüngerschaft, sondern auch das Ganze der Jüngerschaft, das gesamte auf den Pfad gerichtete praktische Bestreben, im Buddhismus *brahmacariya-* genannt wird. Auch die befreiende Erkenntnis wird in diesem Sinne die "Vollendung des heiligen Wandels" genannt. ... Im Buddhismus gehen die engere und die weitere Bedeutung des Wortes nebeneinander her".[58] It seems indeed preferable to assume a wider and narrower use of the same term[59] than a "double acception: la vie sainte, la vie religieuse, mais aussi la chasteté".[60] It is therefore easily intelligible that the term may combine with *dhammacariyam* "the way of life which is in accordance with Buddhist truth and doctrine": SuttaNip. 2, 6, 1 (274).

[56] The translation is Hare's (E. M. Hare, *Woven cadences of early Buddhists*, London, 1947, p. 104).
[57] The translation is Nyanatiloka's, *Visuddhi-magga oder Der Weg zur Reinheit* (Konstanz, ²1952), p. 38. P. 58 he translates by "Keuschheitswandel".
[58] H. Beckh, *Buddhismus* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1916), II, p. 30 f. (Stuttgart, ²1958, p. 140).
[59] This is not to deny the occurrence of other acceptations of the term: for instance those who wanted to learn secular literature only were according to I-tsing called *brahmacārin-*; see J. Takakusu, *A record of the Buddhist religion by I-tsing* (Oxford, 1896), p. 105 f.
[60] E. Lamotte, *La traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* (Mahāprajñāpāramitā-Śāstra), I (Louvain, 1944), p. 467, n. 1.

The phrase *brahmacariyaṃ car-* expresses the idea of "leading a holy (or, the higher) life", e.g. SuttaN. 1, 2, 15 "we would lead a holy life until birth and death overpast, we make an end of ills" (see also 2, 12, 12; 3, 7, 19). The aim of this way of life is described as follows: the devout quest of 'knowledge' (*vijjā-*) and good conduct (*caraṇa-*) (SuttaN. 2, 7, 6). The Buddhist formula *Uruvelakassapo mahāsamane brahmacariyaṁ carati* corresponds exactly to the brahmanistic *maghavān prajāpatau brahmacaryam uvāsa*, cf. ChU. 8, 74.

I am not the first to observe that the ceremony of initiation[61] into the Buddhist Order follows closely the lines of the brahmanical initiation of studentship. Just like the brahmanical youth has formally to apply for admission to studentship ("I have come for brahmacarya, I desire to be a brahmacārin") and the teacher has to perform certain ceremonious acts and to pronounce certain solemn formulas,[62] tradition represents the future Buddha himself to express to Uddaka, the brahman teacher, whom he approached for instruction in saving knowledge, the wish: "I desire, O friend, ... to walk in brahmacarya". And later on he inaugurated his Order by admitting his first disciples with the words "... walk in brahmacarya to put an end to all sorrow". "Das Leben des um Buddha vereinten Jüngerkreises wurde offenbar, so lange der Meister lebte, wie das ohne Zweifel entsprechend auch bei den übrigen damals so zahlreichen Mönchsgemeinschaften Indiens der Fall war, von Formen beherrscht denen ähnlich, die dem Verhältnis der geistlichen Schüler zu ihrem Lehrer nach alter brahmanischer Ordnung zukamen. Die gleichen Worte, die hier wie dort den solennen Ausdruck dieses Verhältnisses ausmachten, lassen auf die Gleichartigkeit des letzteren selbst schliessen". After quoting the formula as given in ĀśvGS. 1, 22 etc. Oldenberg,[63] recalling the above Uddaka episode, continues: "Uddaka nimmt den künftigen Buddha an, und das Verhältnis der beiden wird mit eben den Ausdrücken, die auch in der brahmanischen Redeweise die stehenden sind, als das zwischen Ācārya und Antevasin (Schüler) bezeichnet."

Although Buddhism is characterized by its organization of monks into

[61] Adepts of Buddhism also expected to be given the state of brahmacarya. Thus in the epitome of the life and teachings of the great Tibetan guru Padma-Sambhava it reads (W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan book of the Great Liberation*, Oxford, 1954, p. 124): "(Padma responded) ...: 'Please, confer upon me the state of brahmacarya! And the guru said: 'I understand the yoga systems ..., but I cannot confer upon thee the state of brahmacarya. For this thou shouldst go to Ānanda' ...". Padma was indeed destined to take the vow of celibacy before Ānanda, Buddha's chief disciple. – For 'initiation' in general see the next chapter.
[62] For details see the handbooks (see e.g. AśvGS. 1, 22; PārGS. 2,2,3).
[63] H. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921), p. 385 f.

the Order, the central idea of asceticism had, indeed, its source in pre-Buddhist religious life. The Buddhist *bhikṣu-* "mendicant" is like the brahman *naiṣṭhika-* or life-long brahmacārin, a *saṃnyāsin-*, i.e. a man who abandons and resigns all worldly affairs. Buddhism adopted for its monks many rules of brahmacarya, e.g. begging for livelihood, various rules of life (*i.a.* ahiṃsā, abstention from luxuries, physical purity, fasting, emphasis on habits more than mere study, etc.). In MajjhN. II, 120 a distinction is made between "some recluses and brahmans" who "fare a restricted 'Brahmafaring'" for ten, twenty or more years (*eke samaṇabrāhmaṇe pariyantakam brahmacariyaṁ carante* ...) and "monks faring a perfectly fulfilled, perfectly purified 'brahma-faring' all their lives long until their last breath"; outside this there is no "'brahma-faring' so perfectly fulfilled and perfectly purified" (*paripuṇṇaṁ parisuddhaṁ brahmacariyam*). These places quoted last – in addition to innumerable other texts – show us that in Buddhism it is the life-long brahmacarya – being as we know not foreign to brahmanism – that comes to the fore.

Thus the term *brahmacarya-*, adopted by the Buddhists, occurs, in the Pāli texts, very frequently to indicate a life devoted to "the observances of vows of holiness, particularly of chastity",[64] including such ideas of good and moral living, especially in the Buddhist sense of "moral life, holy life, religious life, renouncing the world etc.".

According to the Buddha "holy life" – and here the commentary explains the term by *ariya-magga-*, i.e. "the Aryan or noble path" – is "friendship, association and intimacy with what is lovely" (SaṁyN. 45, 2, 3; V, 2). "Whoso is possessed of this Aryan eightfold way – *ariyo aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo*–is called a 'righteous liver'".[65] In a similar context the term being likewise explained by "the Aryan eightfold way" was translated by "the best practice" (Woodward), its fruits being the fruits of arhantship. "*Brahmacarya-*" AṅgN. 4, 3, 5 (II, 26) teaches, "is not practice for gain, profit or notoriety, but for the sake of self-restraint, for the sake of abandoning, for the sake of detachment from the passions etc.". "It is", the text continues, "the way, on which great ones, great seers have fared".

A Buddhist monk should take his food thoughtfully and prudently ..., just enough for the support and upkeep of the body, "to help the practice of the righteous life".[66] "Non-restraint of the sense-faculties is an ob-

[64] T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, *The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English dictionary* (London, ²1959), p. 494.
[65] Woodward's translation: *brahmacārī*, SaṁyN. 45, 2, 5; V, 17).
[66] Woodward, SaṁyN. 35, 120, 7; IV, p. 104 *brahmacariyānuggahāya*.

stacle to *brahmacarya-*" (AṅgN. 10, 8, 3 = V, 136). Hence stanzas such as SuttaN. 493 *rāgañ ca dosañ ca pahāya mohaṁ / khīṇāsavā vusitabrahmacariyā* ... "who, quit of passion, error, hate, with cankers quenched, have godly lived ...".[67] "If any monk abuses and reviles, rails at the 'Ariyans' (*ariya-*) who are his fellows in the brahma-life", AṅgN. 10, 9, 88 (V, 169) says, "it is unavoidable that he should not come to one or other of the ten disasters"; similarly, 5, 22, 211 (III, 250). From these passages it appears that any exhibition of passion or moral defects will prevent the adept from reaching his goal.

The translation "religious life" is for instance also given SaṁyN. 16, 9 (II, 210): "they who lead the religious life are harassed by its own dangers; they who lead the religious life are fighters of that which assails it".[68] Elsewhere the same translator (Mrs. Rhys Davids) preferred "the divine life" (ibid. 16, 11; II, 219). The character of this way of life and the special significance attached to it appears from the epithets added to the term under discussion: 16, 11 *ekantaparipuṇṇam ekantaparisuddhaṁ saṅkhalikhitaṁ brahmacariyam* "entirely perfect, entirely pure as a polished shell".

Other translations are: "righteous living";[69] "holy life" (*brahmacariy' ogadham* "that incomparable bliss which is steeped in the holy life" = *uttama-patiṭṭhabhūtaṁ nibbānam* (comm.);[70] "god-life";[71] "godly life".[72]

Kathāvatthu 1, 3 discussing brahmacariya ("higher life"[73]) denies the practice of brahmacariya among the 'devas' (this term includes all that we mean by spirit, god, angel, and fairy): *natthi devesu brahmacariyavāso*, because – the commentary rightly observes – no deva practises renunciation of the world.[74]

It is repeatedly (e.g. SaṃyN. 35, 191, 6; IV, 164) emphasized that *brahmacariya-* is practised for the utter destruction of *dukkha-* (ill, unrest, grief), which is the great Buddhist ideal. There is an abundance of texts (see e.g. Mahāv. II, p. 214) to show that anyone who follows the Path

[67] Thus Hare, *o.c.*, p. 73.
[68] For the text see Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The book of Kindred Sayings* (London, 1952), p. 203.
[69] F. L. Woodward, *The book of the Gradual Sayings* (*Aṅguttara-Nikāya*), I (London, 1960), p. 45 (= AṅgN. I, 50).
[70] The same, *ibidem*, I, p. 152 (= AṅgN. I, 169).
[71] The same, *ibidem*, II, p. 28 (= AṅgN. II, 26).
[72] E. M. Hare, *ibidem*, IV, p. 208 (= AṅgN. IV, p. 311).
[73] Thus Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Points of controversy* (London, 1960), p. 71.
[74] Opinions were, among the Buddhists, divided on the question as to how far the gods devoted themselves to the "culture of the right path".

scrupulously and consistently may be called a *brahmacāri-* (ibid. 326) and that "It is not possible while dwelling in the midst of home life to live the completely bright, blameless, pure, the entirely clean brahma-life" which according to the same text (378) is revealed by a Buddha; "it is not possible for me while I stay at home to live the wholly pure and wholly clean brahma-life... .[75] There is no avoiding death for one who has been born. Therefore we must gain knowledge, take thought, wake up, do good, live the brahma-life and eschew every sinful act in this world". From Mahāv. II, p. 362 it appears that "a young man living the brahma-life" was not only devoted to severe austerity, but also lived in assiduous devotion to the practice of vigilance; he had, in endeavour, effort and exertion, attained to the four meditations and realized the five super-knowledges; besides, he was "a seer of great magic and power". Compare also 441 "endued with morality, forbearance and austerity, he has lived the brahma-life and is at the end of all worldly things". MajjhN. I, 204f. ... *na y idaṁ brahmacariyaṁ lābhasakkārasilokānisaṁsaṁ na sīlasampadānisaṁsaṁ na samādhisampadānisaṁsaṁ na ñāṇadassanānisaṁsam* "this brahmacarya is not for advantage in gain, honours, fame, it is not for advantage in moral habit, it is not for advantage in concentration, it is not for knowledge and vision". "Faring the brahma-faring with an expectation" does not indeed enable the adept to obtain the expected fruit" (ibid. III, 138).

In a long passage MajjhN. I, 147f. the aim of the brahmacariya which is lived under the Lord is said to be, not for purity of moral habit, purity of mind, purity of view, not for purity through crossing over doubt, for purity of knowledge and insight into the Way and what is not the Way etc., but "for utter nibbāna without attachment", i.e. for nibbāna due to no condition, "the end, the peak, the goal".[76] The "uttermost goal" (*pariyosāna-*, cf. SaṁyN. 21, 11, 5; II, 284) of brahmacariya is the Buddhist ideal, perfection or arhantship. Hence it is, in connection with the man who is freed, whose rebirth is destroyed, said that "the righteous life is lived, the task done", that "for life in these conditions there is no hereafter" (e.g. SaṁyN. 22, 76, 9; III, 83 ... *vusitaṁ brahmacariyaṁ kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ nāparam itthattāyati pajānāti*). Hence also such exclamations as SaṁyN. 23, 1, 13 (III, 189) *nibbānogadhaṁ hi ... brahmacariyaṁ vussati nibbānaparāyanaṁ nibbānapariyosānam* "rooted in Nirvāṇa the 'holy life' is lived, Nirvāṇa is its goal and end".

The "quest for brahman", shedding its integument of the specific

[75] See e.g. also the same work, III, 50; 180 etc.

[76] See I. B. Horner, *Middle-length sayings*, I (London, 1954), p. 190, n. 4.

brahman doctrine of the upaniṣads, meant also, in a more general sense, the striving for the highest spiritual attainment. It is this more general signification of the term which appears in Buddha's exhortation Mahāvagga 1, 11, 1: "Go along in accordance with what has been enjoined, having realized the supreme goal of brahmacariya, for the sake of which family men go forth from home into homelessness" (Horner). The way of life of the Buddhist bhikṣu is extolled as the way of brahmacarya. Whereas the life of the householder is a way "full of dust and hindrance", the path of brahmacarya is pure and free. Hence also the statement that brahmacarya is "for immergence in nirvāṇa, for going beyond the nirvāṇa, for culminating in nirvāṇa" (MajjhN. I, 304). There is no fundamental difference between this doctrine and the opinion pronounced by the brahman authors of smṛti texts: Manu 2, 249 *evaṃ carati yo vipro brahmacaryam aviplutaḥ / sa gacchaty uttamasthānaṃ na cehājāyate punaḥ* (Kullūka: *naiṣṭhikabrahmacaryam*[77] *akhaṇḍitavrato 'nutiṣṭhati*) "the brahman who thus applies himself to (life-long) brahmacarya without breaking his vow, reaches (after death) the highest abode and will not be born again in this world". See also Yājñ. 1, 49f.; Gautama 3, 9 etc. and compare Theragāthā 1079 "for those who ... are of mature holiness (*virūḷhabrahmacariyā*) renewed existence is destroyed (*khīṇā punabbhavā*)".

It is because the bhikṣu or the saṃnyāsin embodies this standard of values – in which the moral and spiritual ever have preference over the material – in his own person in the most extreme and striking form, forsaking the world and all its benefits for the spiritual quest, brahmacarya, that "the Indian mind perceives in him a symbolic relation to the hoary culture it is heir to".[78] According to passages such as MajjhN. I, 145 the model brahmacāri answers to the following description: he desires little for himself, is content and aloof, he is not sociable, and a man of "stirred up energy" (*āraddhaviriyo*), he is endowed with moral habit, concentration, intuitive wisdom (*paññā*), freedom, the knowledge and vision of freedom and he talks to the other monks of these qualities; he, moreover, is an exhorter and instructor of his fellow brahmacāris, gladdening, arousing, inciting and delighting them. MajjhN. I, 77 *abhijānāmi ... caturaṅgasamannāgataṁ brahmacariyaṁ caritā: tapassī sudaṁ homi paramatapassī, lūkhas sudaṁ homi paramalūkho, jegucchī sudaṁ homi paramajegucchī, pavivittas sudaṁ homi paramapavivitto* "now ... as one who fares, fully know a Brahma-faring that is endowed with four constituent parts: I became an ascetic, the foremost ascetic; I became loathly, the foremost

[77] Cf. also Yājñ. 1, 49.

[78] S. Dutt, *Buddhist monks and monasteries of India* (London, 1962), p. 43.

loathly one; I became a detester, the foremost detester; I became aloof, the foremost aloof one".[79]

Interestingly enough the combination of tapas and brahmacarya occurs also in Buddhist texts.[80] See e.g. Theragāthā 631 *tapena brahmacariyena saṃyamena damena ca / etena brāhmaṇo hoti, etaṃ brāhmaṇam uttaman ti* "ein heisser Ernst, ein keuscher Sinn, Genugsamkeit und Selbstverzicht, das macht den Menschen heilig sein, ist allerhöchste Heiligkeit".[81] *Tapena brahmacariyena saṁyamena damena ca – etena 'brāhmaṇo' hoti* (SuttaN. 3, 9, 62 = 655), i.e. "one becomes a true brahman by tapas etc."; and ibid. 2, 4, 10 = 267 *tapo ca brahmacariyā ca ariyasaccāna dassanaṁ* etc.; AṅgN. 6, 5, 1 (III, p. 346) etc. Elsewhere mention is made of brahmacariya in connection with *vata-* (Skt. *vrata-*) and *tapa-*, e.g. MajjhN. I, 102 *imināhaṁ sīlena vā vatena vā tapena vā brahmacariyena vā devo bhavissāmi* "by this 'vow' (moral habit) or austerity or religious life I will become a 'god'". Brahmacarya, tapas, temperance and restraint are, indeed, explicitly stated to lead to brahmanhood (SuttaN. 655).

The unshakable freedom of mind, obtained in the ultimate meditative state is called the goal, the pith and the culmination of brahmacarya (MajjhN. I, 197; 201). It is the fruit of arhantship. When the brahmacarya has been brought to a close, when done is all that there was to be done, the "brahma-farer",[82] who is the dhamma-farer and the even-farer, has become brahman, *brahmabhūta-*, is of the stuff of his own being, *evaṁdhammo*, and fares evenly amid things uneven.

As already observed, celibacy is, also in Buddhism, an important feature of brahmacarya. Abstinence from sexual intercourse is indeed not rarely among the explications of the term or among the concepts closely associated with it. Says AṅgN. 5, 18, 5 (III, 216): "from today I follow the celibate's life (*brahmacāri*), the life remote (*ārācāri*), giving up sex-life common among men" (*virataṃ methunā gāmadhammā*, more literally "thing of communal life"). The commentary on MajjhimaNikāya I, 41 says that brahmacariya is generosity, doing services, the rules of training, the *brahmavihāra-* (i.e. the sublime or divine state of mind or blissful

[79] The translation is Horner's (*The Middle-length sayings*, I, p. 103), who refers to the commentary.

[80] See e.g. also Beckh[2], *o.c.*, p. 140 who draws also attention to other terminological agreement between Buddhism and the brāhmaṇas: "Das Wort *amṛta-* für das durch brahmacarya zu gewinnende übersinnliche Heil findet sich, wie in den Brāhmaṇa-Texten, so im Buddhismus, und im Veda wird, wie im Buddhismus, dieses amṛta zum heiligen Feigenbaum, dem Aśvattha, in Beziehung gebracht".

[81] K. E. Neumann, *Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddhos* (München, [2]1923), p. 184.

[82] Cf. Horner, *Middle-length sayings*, II, p. XXII.

meditation),[83] the teaching of the dhamma, abstention from unchastity, satisfaction in one's own wife, the Observance, the aryan Way, the whole teaching, being intent, energy. Further on (II, 43) however "energy" is a synonym for the brahmacariya.

Thus chastity, brahmacarya "conduct worthy of a brahman or a holy man",[84] was a great ideal from which the Buddhist monk must not swerve even at the cost of his life. Cultivating a certain contempt for women, the orthodox Buddhists decried sexual intercourse as the 'bestial' habit. A doctrine which sees the source of all evil in attachment to the world cannot but fight this natural inclination. "As long as the desire, however small, of a man for women is not destroyed, so long is his mind attached (to existence)" (Dhammap. 284). "Shun incontinence as if it were a burning charcoal pit" (SuttaN. 2, 14, 21 = 396). SaṁyN. 1, 6, 8 "what is it that stains celibacy (*brahmacariyam*)? ...; it is woman that stains *brahmacariyam*" (here Mrs. Rhys Davids translates: "... the higher life"); further on *tapo brahmacariyañca* are translated by "ascetic ways, the life of chastity".[85] The word has therefore been rightly translated by "chaste" in cases such as Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ch. II: "ceux qui sont chastes et sincères seront placés ni trop près ni trop loin en dehors du maṇḍala".[86]

Occurring beside other grave sins such as onslaught on creatures, taking what has not been given, lying, slanderous speech etc. the negative *abrahmacariya-* expresses the narrower sense of "unchastity" (MajjhN. II, 181). A more detailed passage is MajjhN. III, 33 in which such concepts as "abandoning lies" etc. are explained: *abrahmacariyaṁ pahāya brahmacārī ahosiṁ ārācārī, virato methunā gāmadhammā* "abandoning unchastity, I was one that was chaste, keeping remote (from unchastity), refraining from dealings with women". Curiously enough a parallel passage (ibid. II, 51) does not read: *pāṇātipātā paṭivirato adinnadānā paṭiv. abr. p. musāvādāp.*, but *pāṇ. p. a. p. kāmesu micchācārā p. m. p.*, the person described in this way being qualified as *ekabhattiko brahmacārī sīlavā kalyāṇadhammo* "a one-meal-man, a b. (this word not necessarily in its narrow sense), virtuous and lovely in character". Another passage exhibiting the sense of "unchaste" (in the Buddhist sense) is MajjhN. II, 205, where it characterizes the householder who cannot be 'chaste', intent on study etc. A text such as MajjhN. III, 117 is in harmony with this. Defining the "afflicted brahma-farer" (Horner), i.e. *upadduto brahmacāri*,

[83] It might be remembered that in Buddhist texts "brahmic" means "supreme, highest, religious, holy, sacred, divine, sublime, ideal, etc.".

[84] Thus E. Conze, *Buddhism. Its essence and development* (Oxford, (1951) [4]1960), p. 58.

[85] Mrs. Rhys Davids, *The book of the Kindred Sayings*, p. 53.

[86] Ariane Macdonald, *Le Maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris, 1962), p. 128.

it reads: *brāhmaṇagahapatikesu negamesu c'eva jānapadesu ca mucchati kāmayati gedhiṁ āpajjati āvaṭṭati bāhullāya* "when the brahman householders, the townsfolk and the countryfolk crowd in on him he becomes infatuated, falls in love, becomes envious and reverts to abundance". From places such as MajjhN. III, 254 it appears that a brahmacāri is freed because his craving has been destroyed, that he is "completely perfect" (*accantaniṭṭho*) and "completely secure from bonds ..., the best of devas and men".

Among those passages which may give us a good idea of the compass of the expression is the Sandaka-Sutta (MajjhN. 76, I, 513ff.), in which Ānanda is asked to give a discourse on the Buddha's teachings and speaks of the four antitheses to the higher life. There is the teacher who holds that it does not matter whether actions are good or bad; the teacher who holds that no evil is done by him who acts himself or causes others to act; the teacher holding that there is no cause for either depravity or purity etc. Now, at the end of each section it reads: *so abrahmacariyavāso ayan-ti iti viditvā tasmā brahmacariyā nibbijja pakkamati* "he (an intelligent man), realizing that this is a way of living a non-brahma-faring, goes away uninterested in this brahma-faring".[87] From this sentence it appears that the conduct and way of life recommended by the above teachers is on the one hand included in the methods to attain to a higher life and on the other stigmatized as a 'non-brahmacarya'. Ānanda then proceeds to explain the four comfortless 'vocations' (*anassāsikam brahmacariyaṁ*): the teacher claiming to be all-knowing and all-seeing; the teacher whose doctrine is traditional and scriptural; the rationalist of pure reason and criticism teaching a doctrine of his own reasoning; and, lastly, the teacher who is stupid and deficient. In these ways of life too an intelligent man could not "live a brahma-faring" (*brahmacariyaṁ na vaseyya*). Nevertheless the term *brahmacariya-* is applied to them, as is in the succeeding part of this chapter the way of life recommended by the Buddha himself.

It is interesting to see that already in antiquity the term *brahmacarya-* was differently explained.[88] Thus the author of the Milindapañha, p. 75 T. argues that it would be incorrect to maintain that Buddha has obtained his superior knowledge from the god Brahmā (*Buddha Brahmuno sisso ti*) because his title *brahmacārin-* could be interpreted as "following Brahmā".[89] This interpretation is also found in other Buddhist texts,

[87] Thus Horner, *Middle-length Sayings*, II, p. 194.
[88] *brahmaṁ cariyaṁ brahmāṇaṁ vā cariyaṁ* (Khuddakapāṭha comm. 151).
[89] T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda* (Oxford, 1890), p. 117, adding a not completely correct note – there is no play upon the name of the god in the text, but

e.g. Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra, k. 8, p. 120 c.: "Il y a des êtres qui pratiquent les dix bons chemins de l'acte (*kuśalakarmapatha-*), mais qui n'ont pas tranché le désir sensuel. Ici on fait encore l'éloge de ceux qui observent la conduite du roi Brahmā (*brahmacarya-* dans le sens de "chasteté"). Parce qu'ils ont tranché le désir sensuel, (le sūtra) dit qu'ils sont 'purs, continents et sans défaut'. Il est dit que ceux qui pratiquent purement le brahmacarya n'ont pas de mauvaises odeurs,[90] l'homme qui s'adonne à la luxure, a un corps laid et malodorant. C'est pourquoi on loue ceux qui ont tranché le désir sensuel en disant qu'ils sont sans défaut".[91] "Les dieux qui ont tranché le désir sexuel sont des Brahmā, terme qui s'applique à tous les dieux de la sphère matérielle (*rūpadhātu*); c'est pourquoi la méthode pour trancher le désir sexuel est dite brahmacarya" (ibid. k. 20, p. 211 b).[92] "Aussi, lorsque les hommes cultivent (*bhāvayanti*) la pratique pure des extases (*dhyānaśuddhacaryā*) et chassent le désir sexuel (*rāga*), on dit qu'ils suivent la conduite brahmique (*brahmacarya*)" (ibid. k. 8, p. 116 a).[93]

It is time now to revert to Hinduism. The complete mental and psychical concentration required by Buddha as well as the teachers of Hindu Yoga is closely connected with the concentration of definite other energy or faculties which must be brought about by brahmacarya. Says Patañjali, YS. 2, 38 *brahmacaryapratiṣṭhāyāṃ vīryalābhaḥ* "as soon as one is grounded in continence, one acquires energy". The Yoga-Bhāṣya adds: "By the acquisition of which the yogin increases his unhindered (*apratighān*) qualities. And when he is perfected (*siddhaḥ*) he is able to transfer his higher knowledge to his disciples". The creative power is now no longer dissipated but turned to higher uses, conferring on the yogin the creative will and a new power which carries with it the ability to work creatively in others.[94] This insight has for many centuries been common property. Cf. also Pat. YS. 2, 30. In Kaṇāda's Vaiśeṣika-Sūtras there is

a reinterpretation of brahmacārin – translates this word by "pure in conduct". – The association of *brahmacarya-* with the name of the god Brahmā has not been given up in Buddhist circles: "Some of the most sublime virtues in Buddhism, such as *brahmacariyā* and *brahmavihāra-*, are called after Brahmā" (M. B. Ariyapala, *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956, p. 214).
[90] For the odour of sanctity see e.g. AiĀ. p. 209, n. 2, and especially E. Lohmeyer, "Vom göttlichen Wohlgeruch", *Sitz. Heidelberger Akad., ph.-h. Kl.*, 1919, 9.
[91] The translation is Lamotte's (Lamotte, *o.c.*, I, p. 502).
[92] Lamotte, *ibidem*, p. 467, n. 1.
[93] Lamotte, *ibidem*, p. 466 f.
[94] See also the Tattvavaiśāradī by Vācaspatimiśra, quoted in J. H. Woods, *The Yoga-System of Patañjali* (Cambridge Mass., 1914), p. 187 and Ch. Johnston, *The Yoga Sutras of Patañjali* (London, 1949), p. 73.

an interesting reference to brahmacarya which according to the commentator must be taken in the sense of "observance of dharma in general", and to *gurukulavāsa-* i.e. "residence in the home of a teacher of a pupil (for the purpose of studying the Veda, as productive of invisible fruits (6, 2, 2))". The Vedānta authorities however while stating that the study of select Vedic texts is to be carried out under the discipline of brahmacarya[95] obviously prefer to take the term in a narrower sense.

That brahmacarya did not only remain a time-honoured custom but for many religious leaders was a necessity may, for instance, be illustrated by a reference to Caitanya. Notwithstanding the popularity of the movement which he had initiated and the increasing number of his followers he resolved, in the year 1509, to embrace the ascetic life. It has struck some modern authors that his biography is almost silent about his motives.[96] It may however be suggested, that for his adepts these motives needed no explanation whatever: it simply behoves a man of his type to be an ascetic. "Tant qu'il menait la vie d'un maître de maison, les gens se refusaient en effet à croire au caractère absolument désintéressé de ses idées et de son enseignement. C'est un des traits les plus marquants de la vie indienne, depuis le Buddha jusqu'à nos jours: tout grand chef, qu'il exerce son action dans le domaine religieux, social ou politique, doit, pour assurer le succès de sa cause et venir à bout de l'opposition, rompre ses attaches les plus chères et entrer dans la grande communauté indienne des saints hommes qui s'appellent les sādhu ou saṃnyāsin".[97] "En même temps que l'humilité, Caitanya enseignait, comme vertus cardinales d'un vrai vichnouite, la maîtrise de soi, l'austérité, le renoncement aux mauvaises fréquentations et la chasteté. Il fut lui-même le vivant symbole de l'austérité et de la chasteté et il les enjoignait rigoureusement aux moines vichnouites et prédicateurs de sa secte ... (Il) ne voulut regarder aucune femme, pas même la sienne".[98] In the Īśvaragītā the higher knowledge which leads to the union with the Lord (Śiva) is promised to the twice-born who observes the dharma and leads a life of bhakti and brahmacarya (11, 68; 106). Here the influence of the widespread bhakti movement[99] has led to the additional requirement without however ousting the time-honoured brahmacarya.

According to southern Śivaism 'student life' is not primarily the preparation for the householder's life, but the most important period of life. "The 'student' has to make the best use of his life and to devote it to attain the object of his birth. He is expected to lead a purely religious life and is hence called a *brahmacārī*, which means, 'one who walks in the way of God'".[100] That the element of chastity has, in many circles, remained essential may appear from a definition given by another authority:[101] "brahmacarya is the renunciation of all carnal desires by word, mind or deed, always, at all places and in all conditions".[102]

In order to give an insight into the ideas fostered by religious leaders in modern times some quotations may, to conclude with, be subjoined here. "The ultimate goal of the Hindus being mokṣa (final emancipation), all their institutions are so formed and the very Hindu life so modelled as to facilitate the actual attainment of that goal by easy, steady and sure means. Hence, the life-period of the Hindu is divided into definite sub-periods marking off the several stages of spiritual growth distinctly one from another. The number of such stages or āśramas is the greatest ... in the case of the brahman because he is expected to reach the ultimate goal at the end of his very present life if he would duly follow the śāstraic rules prescribed for him ... (The brahmacārin who) is considered as re-born in the spiritual family of his guru ..., is directly initiated by the guru in the gāyatrī, the holiest of the mantras, which reveals to him the ultimate Truth, and gives him at the same time the necessary clue to right practice in spiritual training to realise that Truth. ... The final end of all spiritual training is the direct realization of the Absolute Self in all and its consequent Mokṣa ...".[103] When asked about brahmacarya, and especially when urged to give his opinion on the question if "life-long celibacy" (*naiṣṭhika-brahmacarya-*) is essential as a method of attaining to self-realisation, Śrī Ramaṇa Maharṣi[104] answered: "Realisation itself is naiṣṭhika-brahmacarya. The vow is not brahmacarya. Life in Brahman is brahmacarya and it is not a forcible attempt at it".[105] These words make it clear to us that the old, literal sense of the term is even yet fully understood and accepted as right by the great mystics.

95 Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 260.
96 See S. Chakravarti, *Caitanya et sa théorie de l'amour divin* (Paris, 1933), p. 48.
97 Chakravarti, *o.c.*, p. 48 f.
98 Chakravarti, *o.c.*, p. 88 f. and p. 89, n. 1.
99 See e.g. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, passim.

100 S. Shivapadasundaram, *The Śaiva school of Hinduism* (London, 1934), p. 157.
101 Brahmananda Swami Sivayogi, *Mokshapradeepam* (Cannanore, Malabar, 1950), p. 230.
102 For the beliefs and practices of emigrants see e.g. C. J. M. de Klerk, *Cultus en ritueel van het orthodoxe Hindoeisme in Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1961), p. 102; 198.
103 Sri Ramananda Saraswati Swaminah, *The Hindu ideal* (Madras, 1959), p. 194 f.
104 *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 335 ff.
105 *Talks with Sri Ramana Maharshi*, published by T. N. Venkataraman (Tiruvannamalai, 1955), p. 628.

"Abstention from theft has a deeper significance than what the phrase literally means.[106] We must realize that nothing belongs to us; consequently, we may not harbour the idea of possession or own attachment to things of this world. When a man becomes steadfast in his abstention from theft, all wealth comes to him" (Pat. YS. 2, 37).[107] Swāmī Vivekānanda, commenting upon the aphorism, remarks: "The more you fly from nature, the more she follows you, and if you do not care for her at all, she becomes your slave".[108] "Abstention from incontinence is chastity in thought, word and deed. A man who becomes steadfast in it acquires energy (*vīrya-*: YS. 2, 38). Such energy is indispensable to a religious teacher. With it comes tremendous force and gigantic will to turn humanity into the path of good".[109]

"Brahmacarya", Rabindranath Tagore[110] argues, "should not be narrowly interpreted as austerity. ... Young people must be insulated from everything that might pervert them, and the object of brahmacarya is to protect growing manhood by disciplining it against the premature awakening of desire and its unhealthy gratification". Disapproving of 'moral instruction' which now has displaced brahmacarya in our schools, which is a "mechanical affair and utter waste of time and effort, as futile as it is disagreeable", the author continues: "brahmacarya gives power instead of mere instruction and considers morality to be the essential ingredient, rather than the superficial ornament, of life".

It may finally be of interest to quote some passages from Mahātmā Gandhi's remarks on this subject. Attaching the utmost value to the three great virtues of truth (*satya-*), ahiṃsā and brahmacarya, Gandhi considered Truth – which he identified with God – inseparable from the two other virtues, viz. universal love and self-restraint in all things. "My meaning of brahmacarya is this: 'One who never had any lustful intention, who by constant attendance upon God, has become capable of lying naked with naked women, however beautiful they may be, without being in any manner whatsoever sexually excited: such a person should be

[106] See also J. Gonda, *Four studies in the language of the Veda* ('s-Gravenhage, 1959), ch. III.

[107] It has always been taught in India that those who lead the higher life should not cling to worldly possessions. The educative value of mendicant life is already asserted in the ŚB. (11,3,3,5): "when, having made himself poor, as it were, and become devoid of shame he begs alms, then he redeems that part of his which is in death". This must mean that he frees himself from death and from fear of death, that he becomes able to lead the free life of the man who knows what is renunciation.

[108] *Complete works of Vivekānanda* (Calcutta, 1907), [10]1957, I, p. 263.

[109] Swami Prabhavananda, *The spiritual heritage of India* (London, 1962), p. 249.

[110] Rabindranath Tagore, *Towards universal man* (London, 1961), p. 71 f.

incapable of lying, incapable of doing harm to a single man or woman, free from anger and malice and detached in the sense of the Gītā'".[111] These words written towards the end of his life are in accordance with Gandhi's explanation of the vows to be observed in his Satyāgraha Āśram in the year 1915: "it is wellnigh impossible to observe the vows of truth (*satya-*) and of ahiṃsā unless 'celibacy' (*brahmacarya-*) is also observed: "one has so to control one's animal passions that they will not be moved even in thought".[112] Knowing the vicious dissipation of energy entailed by the unbridled pursuit of lust he made, in the year 1926, an attempt to be more explicit: "If abstinence is practised with the desire to strengthen the bond of love, to purify it, to conserve the vital energy for a better purpose ..., it will promote equanimity, and strengthen the bond of affection. ... Marriage must be considered as a sacrament imposing discipline upon the partners, restricting them to the physical union only for the purpose of procreation. ... The observance of the law of continence is impossible without a living faith in God, which is living Truth".[113] Without brahmacarya all education will come to naught. Avoiding lustful contact with women is only the beginning. The perfection is reached when the brahmacārī refuses to be ruffled or angry, no matter what provocation is offered him. For anger is the destruction of *vīrya-*, the vital essence.[114] Understanding that the etymological sense of the term gives the clue to the purpose for which this virtue was ordained Gandhi observed: "Attainment of brahmacarya in the sense here meant means mastery of the science of life".[115] "He is a true brahmacārī who does not fritter away his energy. He will therefore always control his speech".[116] "What is brahmacarya? It is the way of life which leads us to Brahma (God). It includes full control over the process of reproduction. The control must be in thought, word, and deed. If the thought is not under control, the other two have no value. ... The brahmacārī of my conception will be healthy and will easily live long. ... Mental and physical work will not cause fatigue. ... He will exhibit all the attributes of the steadfast one described in the Gītā. ... Is it strange that one who is able completely to conserve and sublimate the vital fluid which has the potentiality of creating the human beings, should exhibit all the attributes described above?" Emphasizing that all disci-

[111] D. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma, Life of M. K. Gandhi*, VII (New Delhi, 1953 (1962)), p. 324.

[112] *Ibidem*, I, 1951 (1960), p. 169 f.

[113] *Ibidem*, II, 1951 (1961), p. 225 f.

[114] *Ibidem*, II, p. 265.

[115] *Ibidem*, IV, 1952 (1961), p. 59.

[116] *Ibidem*, VI, 1953 (1962), p. 164.

plines (ahiṃsā, satya, brahmacarya, etc.) are one, Gandhi continues: "It is not possible to enunciate one grand principle and leave the rest to follow of itself. ... This enables one to realize the full meaning and significance of brahmacarya".[117] Elsewhere he defined the idea under consideration as "realization of brahman". "It means control of the senses in thought, word and deed. So long as thought is not under complete control of the will, brahmacarya in its fulness is absent".[118] Such brahmacarya – which in practice means total self-control – is impossible to attain by mere human effort. Those who desire to observe it with a view to realizing God need not despair, provided their faith in God is equal to their confidence in their own effort (cf. BhagG. 2, 59).[119]

These quotations need no comment. They show that the important conception of brahmacarya may be quoted also in defence of the thesis that not all Vedic terms of religious or *weltanschauliches* import have disappeared in Hinduism or have so changed in meaning that they are hardly recognizable.

[117] *Ibidem*, VIII, 1954 (1963), p. 1 f.
[118] M. K. Gandhi, *The story of my experiments with truth* (Autobiography), ed. (Washington, 1954), p. 259.
[119] Gandhi, *Story of my experiments with truth*, p. 260.

X. DĪKṢĀ

A. INTRODUCTORY

Like the preceding chapters the following pages are not intended to give a comprehensive survey of all phenomena connected with a definite ceremony, *in casu* the various rites of 'initiation' or 'consecration'.[1] The history of the Indian dīkṣā and allied phenomena remains to be written. What will, here again, be emphasized is a number of facts and phenomena which may be of some interest from the point of view of the central theme of this volume, 'change' and 'continuity' in the history of Indian civilization. It must therefore be noticed that this chapter also is primarily intended to counterbalance, in a way, some exaggerated notions regarding the wide gulf between Vedism and Hinduism. As the rites under consideration have been described in several handbooks which will be referred to in footnotes no attempt has been made to describe them in full. If on the other hand the author seems, also in this chapter, to have repeated too often accounts of ritual acts or other religious phenomena which are essentially similar or in their development follow identical patterns, it is because he wishes to bring out from their very frequency and repetition their great antiquity and their survival on the one hand and their elasticity, adaptability and power of combining themselves with other elements on the other.

It is needless to expatiate upon the world-wide meaning of 'initiation' and 'consecration'[2] as a new birth since this theme has in the last decen-

[1] For general information see B. Lindner, *Die Dīkṣā oder Weihe für das Somaopfer* (Leipzig, 1878); W. Caland et V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 11 ff.; A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, 10, p. 358 ff.; H. Hubert and M. Mauss, *Année sociologique* 2, p. 53 ff.; J. W. Hauer, *Die Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 65 ff.; H. Lommel, "Wiedergeburt aus embryonalem Zustand in der Symbolik des altindischen Rituals", in C. Hentze, *Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung*, I (Zürich, 1955), p. 107 ff.
[2] For 'the consecrated' see also Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, ch. 29. For the significance of initiation and consecration in 'religions de salut' see also A. Abel etc., "Religions de salut", *Annales du centre d'Étude des Religions*, 2 (Bruxelles, 1962).

nium been repeatedly and very ably discussed.[3] The initiatory birth, which implies death to profane existence, enables man to gain sacred knowledge and wisdom, a higher stage of existence and access to heavenly life. These are conceived as the fruit of initiation and it is indeed significant that in connection with the awakening of higher consciousness obstetric symbolism does not fail to turn up. The upanayana which makes a man as if born again (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 1, 16ff.; Manu 2, 147f.; 2, 169 etc.) and which is, on the fourth day, followed by the medhājanana "the generation of intelligence" by virtue of which the student's intellect was made capable of mastering the contents of the Veda, enabled the young Aryan to study that corpus which alone confers the highest bliss upon the twice-born (Yājñ. 1, 40). The man who has undertaken the dīkṣā is reborn from brahman and hence proclaimed as such, even if he were a kṣatriya or a vaiśya (ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 6). The Buddhist Kassapa said of himself: "Natural son of the Blessed One, born of his mouth, born of the Doctrine, fashioned by the Doctrine" (SaṁyNik. II, 121).

An interesting feature is that most forms of the Indian dīkṣā discussed in this chapter are to be undertaken, not by a priest, but by a private person who in so doing has his own objects and interests in view, although these are of course in harmony with the ideals and practices of his group and are therefore approved of or considered meritorious by his fellow-men. A Vedic priest and many officiants in non-Vedic cults are not ordained or consecrated.[4] Any learned brahman who has specialized in a branch of the Veda may be invited to act as a priest, but the institutor of

[3] In addition to other publications quoted in other notes, mention may be made of M. Eliade, *The Sacred and the profane* (New York, 1961), p. 197 ff.; the same, *Naissances mystiques* (Paris, 1959) (English edition, *Birth and rebirth.* New York, 1958).

[4] The Vedic sacrifices were in the great majority of cases performed for an individual. However, the sattra or prolonged sacrificial session formed an exception, in that it saw carried out for the common benefit (cf. also ŚB. 4, 6, 8, 13; 15) of all the priests taking part in it. However, the advantageous results of a sattra could only be secured if all the members, being brahmans, actually engaged underwent the dīkṣā and so they did. (For some particulars see A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 153 ff.; A. B. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy*, Cambridge Mass., 1925, p. 349 ff.). The dīkṣā is not different from the dīkṣā of the yajamāna (see also ŚB. 4, 6, 8, 1 ff.), but the fact that the pratiprasthātar, i.e. an assistent of the adhvaryu, has the latter undertake the dīkṣā after the adhvaryu has performed the usual acts necessary to assist the brahman who plays the part of yajamāna (institutor), the brahman priest, the udgātar and the hotar (the three other principal celebrants), shows again that this rite has nothing to do with the ordination of priests. In a chapter of the ŚB. discussing the dīkṣā for sattras it reads (ŚB. 4, 6, 8, 18): "Now then the sattra is explained by which the gods quickly drove out evil (*pāpman-*), and gained the supreme authority which they now wield ... and in like manner will these sacrificers, by having one householder ... quickly drive out evil and be born again (*prajāyante*)".

the sacrifice has to be 'consecrated' i.e. subject himself to the complicated ritual of the dīkṣā. This 'consecration', which presupposes that the sacrificer has at an earlier date undertaken the upanayana or 'Jünglingsweihe', may be considered a temporary state of higher sanctity. It must be emphasized that it is only the initiated institutor of a Vedic sacrifice who derives the benefit of its performance and that this person declares in the intention which he is to formulate before the beginning of the sacrifice[5] that he desires to gain heaven (*svargakāma-*).[6] Since the sacrificer is already "twice-born" by virtue of the upanayana, this means that the purpose of the dīkṣā is to 'regenerate' him so that he can share in the sacred. It is indeed a more complete participation in that which is sacred, a more or less radical change[7] in the initiand's existential status what is pursued by the type of 'initiation' represented by the dīkṣā. Instead of upanayana and the renewable dīkṣā we find in the monastic orders an ordination proper – sometimes called dīkṣā – which is to be preceded by a noviciate beginning with a ceremony which is a parallel of the upanayana, and in various Hindu sects and communities an admission to full membership,[8] to priesthood or guruship, which is also known as dīkṣā. Another striking feature is the close parallelism between rites called *dīkṣā-* and other ceremonies of an initiatory character, for instance the upanayana and the other rites in connection with the study of the Veda, and the ceremonies in connection with the consecration of a king. To avoid repetition some more detailed references to the similarities between dīkṣā and the study of the Veda will be given towards the end of this section and in the third section of this chapter.[9]

At first sight the Vedic dīkṣā[10] is widely different from the complex of ceremonies indicated by the same term in Hindu circles. The Vedic sacri-

[5] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 1 f.

[6] As is well known this term is frequently used in connection with the performance of rites. For the "unmittelbarer Gottesumgang" of those consecrated see also F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 374 f.

[7] For the consecration as "change" compare also J. de Vries, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte*, II (Leiden, 1937), p. 134 f. (the ancient German mead was supposed to transform those who drank it ritually). Hence also the view expressed AiB. 7, 22 f.: "he who has recourse to the sacrifice has recourse to brahma; sacrifice is brahma; being consecrated he (a kṣatriya) attains brahmanhood". That is to say, consecration temporarily converts a kṣatriya into a brahman.

[8] "From the morphological point of view we could consider these initiations to be the Indian counterpart of initiations into secret societies in the primitive world", M. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 104.

[9] See further on, p. 350 ff.

[10] For a more detailed description see A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 300 ff.

ficer has, after some preparation, to submit himself to a consecration (*dīkṣā-*). The ceremonies take place in a hut which is specially erected for this purpose and which is completely wrapped round, because "the world of the gods is separated from that of men". The sacrificer enters the tent after having bathed, donned a new garment, anointed himself, etc. The adhvaryu priest consecrates him with a black antelope's skin on which he sits down crawling; according to the tradition this object contains holy power. He moreover wears a girdle which is a source of power (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 10), a staff etc. The adhvaryu proclaims him three times consecrated. In studying these rites and in attempting to trace their history we should never forget that the Vedic authorities are far from agreeing with one another in all details. We consider ourselves relieved of the trouble to enlarge upon this point with regard to the upanayana and Vedic studentship because the surveys of this complex of ritual acts as given in the handbooks will enable the reader to form an opinion.[11] On the variants in the performance of dīkṣā some remarks may however be inserted. In spite of the systematic precepts of the texts on which we will focus attention it is clear that they do not exactly coincide. Particular acts and mantras which occur in part of our sources are wanting in other texts. Variants are not rare. For instance, with regard to the uṣṇīṣa[12] opinions are divided: "L'uṣṇīṣa, dans Baudh. seulement; Śālīki ne parle que des pans du vêtement, et Āp., Hir., Mān. et Kāty. n'admettent pas qu'on emploie autre chose. Bhār. permet l'option ...".[13] Besides, the order of the rites is not everywhere the same. According to ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 15 the oblations of ghee may also be offered before the acts prescribed in 10, 3, 8; "according to some they are to be muttered before this iṣṭi". Beside these minor points of difference which are very common in any ritual prescriptions, there are some departures from the scheme presented by Caland-Henry which being of greater importance seem to show that various forms of dīkṣā must have existed side by side. We will have to revert to them.

Moreover, there does not, on closer examination, appear to have existed a hard-and-fast line between the ritual acts known as *dīkṣā-* and ceremonies called otherwise. As remarked by Hauer[14] and others the occurrence of *dīkṣita-* in connection with the *brahmacārin-* (AV. 11, 5, 6 *brahmacāry eti samidhā samiddhaḥ ... dīkṣito dīrghaśmaśruḥ* "the Veda student goes kindled with fuel ... consecrated, long-bearded") points to a close connec-

[11] For the upanayana see also the preceding chapter.
[12] See p. 371.
[13] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 19, n. 4. See also further on, text following n. 83.
[14] Hauer, *Anfänge*, p. 65.

tion or similarity between the 'Jünglingsweihe' and 'Opferweihe', or rather those ritual occasions on which one form of dīkṣā or other was requisite. As will be stated elsewhere *dīkṣā-* was also used instead of *vrata-* "vow, observance".

In this connection it is interesting to notice that Nyāya authorities give three different meanings of *dīkṣā-*:[15] 1) *niyamaḥ, yathā dvādaśa yāgāṅgadīkṣāḥ ity adau*, i.e. "a voluntary or self-imposed religious observance, such as the twelve consecrations or initiations in connection with the divisions of the ceremonies in which oblations are presented, etc."; *dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭyā saṃpannaḥ saṃskāro dīkṣā* also "a sanctification involving a sacrifice before the consecration"; 2) *upanayanasaṃskāra iti dharmajñāḥ* "the authorities on dharma say that it is equivalent to the 'sacrament' of being introduced, as a student, to the study of the Veda"; 3) *abhīṣṭadevamantragrahaṇe tadupadeśa iti tāntrikā āhuḥ* "the followers of the tantric doctrines say that (a dīkṣā) is "instruction or initiation by him (the god) in the mastering of the mantra of the favourite god"; *atrocyate dīyate vimalaṃ jñānaṃ kṣīyate karmavāsanā / tena dīkṣeti sā proktā munibhis tantravedibhiḥ*; notice the 'etymological explanation': the transference of stainless knowledge and the destruction of the impressions left on the mind by the karman are the twofold function and significance of *dīkṣā-*. It is moreover interesting to notice that the term *dīkṣā-*[16] denoting in general an initiation, or a consecration for a particular religious ceremony, and being also used for special initiatory or consecratory ceremonies such as the receiving of the initiatory mantra or the complex of rites preliminary to a sacrifice, may also occur in the sense of a (consecratory) religious rite in general and saṃskāras in particular. Thus Kāl. R. 3, 33 *athāsya godānavidher anantaraṃ vivāhadīkṣāṃ niravartayad guruḥ* "then after the ceremony of the cutting of the hair had been performed, his father performed the marriage rites". Here an Indian scholar[17] added the following note: "*dīkṣā-* is the assumption of a particular observance or observances during the performance of a ceremony. A sacrificer is said to take the *yajñadīkṣā-* i.e. the vow to observe particular rules of conduct till the end of the sacrifice. So the young prince taking up the *vivāhadīkṣā-* binds

[15] Bhīmācārya Jhalakīkar, *Nyāyakośa or Dictionary of technical terms of Indian philosophy* (Poona, 1928), p. 656.
[16] There would be no point in a discussion of the *avāntara- dīkṣā-*, "the intermediate consecration" on the first upasad day in which the sacrificer draws tighter his girdle, clasps more firmly his fist, and only drinks warm milk (see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 66 f.; Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Apāstamba*, II, p. 194 f.).
[17] Pandit, quoted by M. R. Kale, *The Raghuvaṃśa of Kālidāsa*, I (Bombay, 1925), p. 77.

himself to live in the condition of a married man until he should enter the vānaprasthāśrama". Cf. also Kāl. Kum. 7, 1 (= *vivāhasaṃskāraḥ*, Mallinātha).[18]

Lexicographers distinguish also between three types of *upanayana-*:[19] *sa ca saṃskāraḥ trividhaḥ nityaḥ kāmyo nimittikaś ca.* The first is the usual practice of introducing a young brahman, aged eight, to a guru, the second the special initiations for a person who wishes to acquire *brahmavarcasa-* etc., and the third is defined as *punaḥsaṃskāraprayojakapāpāpanodanārthaṃ prāyaścittātmakaḥ* i.e. "(a ceremony) of the character of an atonement for the expiation[20] of evil leading to the repetition of a 'sacrament", i.e. the so-called *punarupanayana-*, when the first has been vitiated by partaking of forbidden, i.e. ritually impure food, going to certain countries etc.[21]

It is worth mentioning that punarupanayana is also required when a person who has studied e.g. the Ṛgveda wants to apply himself to learning the Atharvaveda (Haradatta on ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 1, 10).[22] In other cases the study of a particular text is to be preceded by what is usually called a *vrata-* – thus Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, commenting on GGS. 3, 1, 26 remarks: "the *upanayana-* has been declared for the study of the Sāvitrī, the *godānavrata-* for the study of the Vedic verses sacred to Agni, Indra, etc., the *vrātikavrata-* for the study of the Āraṇyaka etc." – or, in the Mānavagṛhyasūtra,[23] *dīkṣā-*.

We should not forget that the Vedic upanayana[24] was not only an "educational saṃskāra"[25] or a course of instruction[26] and education. It could also serve the fulfilment of certain desires. One should, JGS. 1, 12, states, initiate a young brahman who is desirous of 'spiritual lustre' (*brahmavarcasakāmam*) in his 5th, and a brahman who desires to live

[18] We need not discuss here such esoteric interpretations as occur ChU. 3, 17, 1.
[19] Tārānātha Tarkavachaspati, *Vachaspatyam*, II (Varanasi (Benares), 1962), p. 1216.
[20] W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Praha, 1939), passim.
[21] I refer to P. V. Kane, History of Dharmaśāstra, II (Poona, 1941), p. 392 f.
[22] Compare also Kane, *o.c.*, p. 392.
[23] See further on, p. 329 f.
[24] We cannot discuss here the question as to how far women were in ancient times qualified to undertake upanayana like boys. In exceptional cases the possibility has, as far as we are able to see, existed. See A. S. Altekar, *Position of women in Hindu civilization* (Benares, 1956), p. 397 (index). The 'classical' point of view is voiced by Manu: for girls marriage should be regarded as the substitute for upanayana – the text, 2, 67, using the expression *saṃskāro vaidikaḥ* – and the service of the husband as equal to living in the house of the guru. Compare however also ŚB. 1,3,1,13 and similar passages.
[25] R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 291.
[26] Cf. R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education* (London, 1947), p. 71 ff.

long in his 9th year. Other texts (BaudhGS. 2, 5, 5; ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 20ff.; cf. VaikhGS. 2, 3) make, in this connection, mention of persons desirous of manly vigour, of food, of strength, of cattle, of intelligence, of prosperity, of getting rid of a rival, of all objects. In itself, these 'secondary intentions' are nothing exceptional in Vedic rites. While expressing, on the other hand, the conviction that an initiatory ceremony, if modified in a definite way, may be conducive to the realization of various worldly hopes and ambitions, they may have helped the masses to establish, or to acknowledge, connections between this saṃskāra and other brahmanic or non-brahmanic rites and to imitate or adapt them with a view to the specific purposes of particular groups.

Moreover, descriptions of the upanayana ceremony too often fail to mention that there existed special upanayanas required for the study of medical science (Āyurveda), although a student of medicine, as a *dvija-*, should have already undergone such a saṃskāra. The āyurvedic upanayana (see Suśruta, ch. 2: *śiṣyopanīya- adhyāya-*) emphasizes physical and moral qualifications, properly formed bodily organs, cleanliness, good manners, courage, intelligence, patience and other qualities.[27] The solemnity[28] involved the construction of an 'altar' (*sthaṇḍila-*), offerings to the deity, to the brahmans and to the physicians. As in the upanayana proper there is a homa, Brahmā, Prajāpati, the Aśvins, Indra[29] and the ṛṣis who were associated with medicine are invoked.[30]

By the oath taken at the conclusion of the ceremony by the candidate at the invitation of the preceptor and in presence of Agni as a witness (§ 6 *agniṃ triḥ pariṇīyāgnisākṣikam*) the first-mentioned commits himself to a way of life in accordance with the injunctions stated. Agni's function as a 'witness' is Vedic.[31] The injunctions imposed on the candidate are in part similar to the advice given to the snātaka – the Veda student who is to return home – with regard to a dignified demeanour, and in part appropriate to the occasion: the physician must observe certain rules, be a man of strict morals etc. There are moreover some life-long vratas (no sexual intercourse with a śūdra woman etc.: GGS. 3, 2, 55ff.). The oath itself has

[27] Suśr. 2, 3 *brāhmaṇakṣatriyavaiśyānām anyatamam anvayavayaḥśīlaśauryaśaucācāravinayaśaktibalamedhādhṛtismṛtimatipratipattiyuktaṃ tanujihvauṣṭhadantāgram ṛjuvaktrākṣināsaṃ prasannacittavākceṣṭaṃ kleśasahaṃ ca bhiṣak śiṣyam upanayet. ato viparītaguṇaṃ nopanayet.*
[28] For a description see Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 345 f.
[29] Indra who is sometimes associated with the Aśvins was also a great helper, who e.g. cured Apālā (ṚV. 8, 91).
[30] Not in the text as edited in the Caukhambā series 1954.
[31] Cf. Pandey, *Hindu saṃskāras*, p. 58 ff.

its Vedic counterpart in the great royal consecration (Mahābhiṣeka): the king must swear to his priest to be true, at the cost otherwise of all his merit in sacrifice and gifts to the priests since the beginning of his life, his good deeds etc. (AiB. 8, 15).[32] This oath is to be taken by a kṣatriya who desires to win all victories, and to attain superiority and supreme authority. One sentence forming part of the oath handed down by Suśruta is worth quoting (§ 7): *ahaṃ vā tvayi samyagvartamāne yady anyathādarśī syām, enobhāg bhaveyam, aphalavidyaś ca*: a self-imprecation in case the candidate nurses wrong feelings with regard to his preceptor.[33] It may be remembered that the teacher of the Veda was not to impart knowledge to a student who did not honour him (Nirukta, 2, 4) or who proved false to him or was disposed to find fault (Yājñ. 1, 28). According to some authorities (*ity eke*, § 5) a śūdra, who is *kulaguṇasampanna-*, may without mantras and upanayana study medicine.

There was also a sort of initiation implying the use of a Vedic mantra for 'military students' when they received their weapon.[34] Hence also the expression Mbh. 7, 72, 16 cr. ed. *raṇadīkṣābhir dīkṣitāḥ*. Interestingly enough the term under discussion may alternate with *nīrājana-* "lustration". In AVPar. 49, 3, 9 the terms *hastidīkṣā-* and *aśvadīkṣā-* refer to the ceremonies described in the chapters 17 and 18 and there designated as *hastyaśvānāṃ nīrājanam*.[35]

That there were on the other hand comparable rites which did not bear the name *dīkṣā-* may appear from AVPar. 13, the so-called *hiraṇyagarbhavidhiḥ*. The royal sacrificer, who is shaven etc., is washed over a golden vessel with water containing the five products of the cow; he is shut up in a golden vessel and left to meditate upon Hiraṇyagarbha. This rite – which showed exceptional vitality, because it was still in use in the XIXth century[36] – was to make the sacrificer appropriate to himself the indestructibility of gold and participate in immortality.

That the concept of dīkṣā might at an early date be closely connected with witchcraft or be 'used in the magical sphere'[37] is clear from AV. 8, 5,

[32] For the oath in the Veda see Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 395 f.
[33] Respect for the guru is also enjoined upon a Veda student, a Jain or Buddhist monk etc.
[34] I refer to Mookerji, *o.c.*, p. 347. Compare also Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 81 ff.
[35] For lustrations see e.g. Varāh. BS. ch. 44. Cf. J. J. Meyer, *Trilogie altindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation* (Zürich-Leipzig, 1937), III, p. 335.
[36] See the bibliographical references furnished by Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 150, n. 47.
[37] The formal preparation of magicians, shamans and medicine men "resembles in its main features the ritual of initiation whereby young men at puberty or thereabouts are introduced to their duties and responsibilities as members of the community. Isolation and seclusion, ordeal and purification, are features common to both sets of rites. The

15 – a hymn against witchcraft – *yas tvā kṛtyābhir yas tvā dīkṣābhir yajñair yas tvā jighāṃsati* "whoever desires to slay you with witchcraft, with 'consecrations', with sacrifices". "Es wurden also Weihen vorgenommen zur Erlangung von geheimer Kraft, die dann zum Schaden der Widersacher losgelassen wurden".[38] It hardly needs observing that 'magical' use of Vedic rites and 'magical' application of ritual which in other connections impress us as being purely 'religious' is far from rare.[39] The particular character of the dīkṣā meant in the above text may perhaps be understood from the employment of the so-called hotar formulas and the rites belonging to them – which may also occur in a dīkṣā[40] – in conjurations and other magical performances: in that case the offering is made on salt ground or a break in the earth,[41] and in place of the ordinary *vaṣaṭ-*call such words as *khaṭ* or *phaṭ* are used. Henry[42] was right in stating that "les conjurateurs du rite atharvanique ne pressurent point le soma; mais ils se soumettent néanmoins à une consécration préliminaire tout à fait analogue à la dīkṣā sacrificielle de la grande liturgie". In this case it is not a yajamāna but the performer of the magic rite who (Kauś. 47, 12-22) ties a girdle which has been duly prepared round his waist, takes a staff which is identified with Indra's vajra, with which he intends to overpower the enemies, pronounces consecratory formulas, fasts for three days, and performs on the first day of the moon's wane magical acts etc. etc. This complex of acts is in Keśava's Paddhati explicitly indicated as a dīkṣā: "die Weihe dessen, der die Behexung halten will".[43]

One might subjoin here the rite described in ChU. 5, 2, 4 ff. – "the 'mixed potion' incantation for the attainment of greatness"[44] –: "if one should wish to reach greatness, let him on the night of a new moon perform the preparatory consecration ceremony (or initiatory rite: *dīkṣitvā*) and on the night of the full moon mix a potion of all sorts of herbs with sour milk and honey". According to Śaṅkara[45] the performer of the rite should

likeness between the two often extends to details, such as the simulated death and rebirth of the novices and their acquisition of a new name ... Such resemblances are not fortuitous" (H. Webster, *Magic. A sociological study*, Stanford, Cal., 1948, p. 221). It is the fundamental purpose of all these rites to place their recipients *en rapport* with power.
[38] Hauer, *Anfänge*, p. 67.
[39] See my *Ṛgvidhāna* (Utrecht, 1951), p. 3 ff.
[40] See further on, p. 329.
[41] See ĀpŚS. 14, 13, 13 f.
[42] V. Henry, *La magie dans l'Inde antique* (Paris, 1904), p. 223 f.
[43] W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberritual* (Amsterdam Academy, 1900), p. 160.
[44] R. E. Hume, *The thirteen principal Upanishads* (Oxford, ²1934), p. 229. Cf. also BĀU. 6, 3.
[45] See Chāndogyopaniṣad-Śaṅkarabhāṣyasahitā, Gorakhpur² saṃv. 2011, p. 465.

on the day of the dīkṣā have passed through the ethical preparation, austerity, trustfulness and chastity: *bhūmiśayanādiniyamaṃ kṛtvā tapo-rūpaṃ satyavacanaṃ brahmacaryam ity ādidharmavān bhūtvety arthaḥ. na punar daikṣam eva karmajātaṃ sarvam upādatte, atadvikāratvān manthākhyasya karmaṇaḥ*. It is clear that a dīkṣā is here prescribed in order to perform a magical rite intended to attain an ideal (supremacy etc., 6) successfully.

An interesting use of dīkṣā occurs also in AV. 14 (nuptial hymns), 2, 52 *uśatīḥ kanyalā imāḥ pitṛlokāt patiṃ yatīḥ / ava dīkṣām asṛkṣata svāhā* "eager, these young girls, going to a husband from the father's world have given up (relinquished) the consecration; svāhā!" According to Kauś. 75, 24f. this verse is used in connection with the heating of the water for bathing the bride, the important preparatory performance which is the first of the series of sacramental acts constituting the wedding ceremonies. Apparently the bride's girlhood or puberal period passed in her parental home are regarded as a dīkṣā. Just as a sacrificer is by means of a dīkṣā enabled to enter a higher state or niveau of existence, thus the bride is now duly prepared to enter upon a new stage of life. One would however expect the wedding to be considered the consecration of the bride to the married state, the more so as in the six stanzas which follow (53-58), and which according to the scholiast[46] are likewise used in connection with the heating of the bath-water, those speaking are said to "unite this woman with the splendour, energy, fortune, glory, milk and 'sap' which is in the kine". There is of course the possibility of translating *ava ... asṛkṣata* (52) by "have shaped (produced) themselves". If, what is probable, *dīkṣām* is also to be supplied in 53-58,[47] Bṛhaspati is said to have produced dīkṣā which since is maintained by all the gods. The repeated use of st. 53ff. when, at the end of the wedding ceremony, the bride is sprinkled with fragrant powders, may then – to round off these guesses – be regarded as due to reinterpretation of *avasṛṣṭām* ("dismissed, given up"). Anyhow, dīkṣā is once again used in a Vedic text to indicate a consecration other than the yajamāna's.

A peculiarity of the Atharvavedins is for instance also the so-called twelve good performances enumerated GB. 1, 3, 21. These works should not be carried out during the state of dīkṣita but in order to secure their fruits one should mutter six bipartite formulas (VaitS. 12, 1f.). GB. 1, 3, 21 runs as follows: ... *dvādaśa vai vasūni dīkṣitād utkrāmanti. na ha vai dīkṣito 'gnihotraṃ juhuyān na paurṇamāsena yajñena yajeta; nāmāvāsyena*

[46] See also Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṁhitā*, p. 764.
[47] See Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*

nāsmin[48] *vasīta; na pitṛyajñena yajeta; na tatra gacched yatra manasā jigamiṣed* etc., the formulas (VaitS., l.c.) being *agnihotraṃ ca mā paurṇamāsaś ca yajñaḥ purastāt pratyañcam ubhau kāmaprau bhūtvākṣityā sahāviśatām* etc.[49]. The first formula belongs to the cases one and two *na ... juhuyāt* and *na yajeta*. "Auch am Ende der Dīkṣitaschaft soll der Opferherr die genannten Sprüche hersagen, um sich die Frucht der Handlungen, obschon er sie unterlassen hat, dennoch zu sichern: *vasusaṃpattaye*".[50]

A ritual text may limit itself to a short reference to some details and prescriptions peculiar to the school to which it belongs. Thus ŚŚS. 5, 4, 1, while prescribing the formulas occurring ĀpŚS. 10, 8, 7 in a somewhat different form and order, leaves the yajamāna the option to offer the libations himself, a proceeding rejected by the Kauṣītakins (KB. 7, 4), because the āhutis have already been offered by the adhvaryu. The contents of ŚŚS. 5, 4, 3-4 are unknown from elsewhere:[51] "At a soma-sacrifice which is preceded by one dīkṣā (day) the solemn addressing (of the fires falls to the share of the sacrificer), of the āhavanīya with the formula: 'I approach the mind as dīkṣā'". These words *mano dīkṣām upaimi; vācaṃ d. u.*, and *prāṇaṃ d. u.* which do not occur elsewhere, attest to a peculiar interpretation of the consecration.

That it would be wrong to apply the term *dīkṣā-* exclusively to the ritual preparation of the sacrificer as described by Caland and Henry may be inferred from those instances – few in number, it is true –, in which the dīkṣā is not preparatory to a soma sacrifice but occurs after a sacrifice, or in which the observances described as dīkṣā fill the period between two sacrifices. See e.g. ĀpŚS. 22, 3, 16f. where the 'taboos' to be observed during a year after the performance of an ekāha, viz. washing the feet, eating meat, coition, speaking untruth, sleeping on a bed, anointing are called the dīkṣā. The same authority (8, 4, 4ff.) prescribes similar dīkṣā observances (*antarālavratāni*) for the periods intervening between the cāturmāsya sacrifices (*inter alia*, one should sit on the earth, not on a seat; one lets one's hair grow). BaudhŚS. 26, 3: 274, 14 dealing with the shortened form of the rājasūya uses the term *dīkṣā-* with reference to the period after the unction and daśapeya festivals: *ardhamāsena saptadaśo daśapeyo, 'rdhamāsaṃ dīkṣito dīkṣitavratī.*[52]

[48] Thus Caland instead of *asmin.*
[49] See Caland, in *Z.D.M.G.* 58, p. 506 ff.
[50] Caland, *o.c.*, p. 507.
[51] Caland, *Śāṅkhāyana-śrautasūtra*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra (Nagpur, 1953).
[52] See also J. C. Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 14.

This is not all. As shown by Dr. Heesterman[53] the vrātya is not only put on a par with the dīkṣita of the soma ritual, but also in a way his predecessor. His ritual – which does not fit in with the ritual system of the brahmans – can be connected with certain features of the śrauta ritual which seem to be older than the products of the brahmanic systematization represented by the 'classical' form of the rites. The above relation means that the vrātya – who can no longer be regarded as having been beyond the pale of brahmanic religion and society and whose rituals seem to have celebrated the uniting of a group at the beginning as well as at the end of 'raiding expeditions' – in many respects behave like the dīkṣita.[54] PB. 17, 1, 9 even calls the vrātya's speech *dīkṣitavāc-*; BaudhŚS. 18, 24: 371, 12 considers it the manifestation (*rūpa-*) of the speech of the dīkṣita (*dīkṣitavāda-*). PB. 24, 18, 5-7 hands down three stanzas, not recorded elsewhere, which extol the dīkṣā of the vrātya leader Budha. Like the dīkṣita the vrātya is ritually 'impure';[55] for instance, the vrātya's as well as the dīkṣita's food is not to be accepted. As already noticed by Hauer[56] BaudhŚS. 18, 24: 371, 8 equates the equipment of the vrātyas with that of the dīkṣita (garment, hide, turban, staff). In both cases this equipment is to be given up at the end of the sacrifice. It is instructive to see that the term dīkṣā can also apply to the ritual habits of the vrātyas who are neither brahman nor vaiśya (PB. 17, 1, 2), neither brahman nor kṣatriya (JB. 2, 223); practising neither Veda study nor worldly occupations they wander about in quest of heaven, like the dīkṣita who has left this world but not yet reached heaven (TS. 6, 1, 1, 1; MS. 3, 6, 1 *devatām eṣa upaiti yo dīkṣate*). The vrātya also is in "the ambiguous condition of the consecrated".[57]

The dīkṣā of the daśapeya is in the White Yajurveda substituted by a wreath of twelve lotus flowers which the sacrificer hangs round his neck. Cf. KātyŚS. 15, 8, 8f. *teṣāṃ srajaṃ pratimuñcate. teṣāṃ puṇḍarīkāṇāṃ srajaṃ mālāṃ kṛtvā pratimuñcate yajamānaḥ*. As the lotus is a visible representation of the womb of creation,[58] this equation sheds an interesting light on the significance of the dīkṣā. Compare also JB. 2, 200 ... *dvādaśapuṣkarāṃ srajaṃ pratimuñcati. āpo vai devānām patnaya āsan. tā mithunam aicchanta. tā devā upāyan. tā garbham adadhata. tataḥ puṣkarāṇy ajāyanta. satyaṃ va āpaḥ. satyaṃ dīkṣā. satyasyaiva tat satyaṃ yat puṣkarāṇi. satyasyaivāsmai tat satyena tapo dīkṣāṃ pratimuñcati.* A remarkable fact is also that the *diśaḥ* "the quarters of space" are called a dīkṣā (see TB. 3, 7, 7, 4ff. and esp. 6, in connection with the dīkṣā of Keśin Dārbhya).[59] Entering upon each of them the royal sacrificer becomes their dīkṣita; here the idea of ritual rebirth, once again, combines with the idea of ascension to heaven or mastering the whole of the universe:[60] *jyotir abhūvaṃ suvar agamam* (TB. 3, 7, 7, 4).

As is well known various ritual acts can, so to say, be performed 'metaphorically', or rather, various important performances can be homologized with ritual acts. Thus in an exaltation of the entertainment of guests (AV. 9, 6) it reads (st. 3) "when the lord of guests meets with his eyes the guests, he looks at a sacrificing to the gods". This must mean: meeting the eyes of one's guests is – if properly done – homologous to the attendance at a sacrifice. The utensils used to prepare the entertainment are identified with the sacrificial utensils. In a similar way greeting (*abhivadati*) guests is said to be an entering upon consecration (st. 4 *dīkṣām upaiti*). The arrival of a guest is not to be regarded with indifference. Greeting was a religious act, intended to intercept the first onset of the alien power in which the stranger participates; it was a measure of precaution.[61] By saluting or welcoming the stranger one enters into the right relation with him, being able to deal successfully with the uncommon situation. The conclusion may be ventured that the use of the term dīkṣā points, in this connection, to something similar. In ChU. 3, 17, 1 hunger and thirst preceding eating and drinking are identified with the dīkṣā, the eating etc. with the upasad ceremonies. The author intends to teach a sacrifice which can be performed in spirit, without any ceremonial. At the end of the MNārU. (543ff.) an interesting attempt is made to interpret

[53] Heesterman, "Vrātya and sacrifice", *I.I.J.* 6, p. 1 ff., esp. p. 11 ff.; 29 ff.
[54] As already observed by Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 15 f. there appear to have been unmistakable relations between the vrātyas and the Pañcāla Keśin Dārbhya whose peculiar ideas on consecration are referred to in another section of this chapter (p. 374).
[55] For details see Heesterman, *l.c.*
[56] Hauer, *Der Vrātya*, I (Stuttgart, 1927), p. 193.
[57] Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 9.
[58] See my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 104 (with a bibliography in n. 52).

[59] See e.g. Caland, *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl* (Amsterdam Academy, 1919); A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of names and subjects* (Varanasi, 1958), I, p. 187 and p. 374 of this chapter.
[60] Heesterman, *Royal consecration*, p. 104 f. – It may be remembered that ideas such as spiritual rebirth, quest of immortality etc. are, in the modern West, often misunderstood. "Devenir immortel", Mrs. A. David-Néel, *Immortalité et réincarnation* (Paris, 1961), p. 24 says, "... ne signifie pas nécessairement une très longue existence du corps physique ...", (but primarily) "s'unir avec le 'Principe Eternel' et, par conséquent, s'élever au-dessus de la nature".
[61] See e.g. O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, I (Berlin-Leipzig, 1917-1923), p. 412 ff.; Bächtold-Stäubli, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, III, 1197 ff.; R. Thurnwald in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, IV, 572; G. A. Barton, in Hastings' *ERE* XI, 107; R. B. Ekvall, *Religious observances in Tibet* (Chicago, 1964), p. 199 ff.

the sacrifice, its acts and elements in the light of the mental cult of the brahman seeker who renounces the world. When the man who knows thus performs an act of worship his ātman is the yajamāna, his faith his wife, his body the fuel etc. and then (544) *yāvad dhriyate sā dīkṣā* "pour lui, dès lors, exister c'est être consacré".[62]

In a homology of elements of the sacrificial worship with parts of the body of the yajamāna it reads (GarbhaU. 20) ... *yajamānāya buddhiṃ patnīṃ nidhāya dīkṣā saṃtosaḥ ... śiraḥ kapālaṃ keśāḥ darbhāḥ* etc. (*tadbuddhiṃ patnītvena saṃbhāvya buddhau patnīdṛṣṭiṃ kṛtvety arthaḥ; yajamānasyeti sarvatra anuṣajyate; saṃtoṣaṃ tatsaṃtoṣo eva dīkṣā* ..., comm.). Compare Deussen's text:[63] "Der Ātman ist der Opferherr, das Manas der Brahman-Priester, die Begierden usw. sind die Opfertiere, Ausdauer und Genügsamkeit sind die Opferweihe ...". These passages help us in understanding what the dīkṣā idea meant to those who reflected upon the deeper sense of the ritual.

More or less esoterical homologies between elements of the dīkṣā and the dīkṣita on the one hand and important entities on the other occur already in JB. 2, 53-68. Cf. ch. 54 end: *tad u hovāca śāṭyāyanī rathantareṇa dīkṣe, vāmadevyena dīkṣe, bṛhatā dīkṣa ity eva dīkṣata. atha vimuñceta bṛhatā vimuñce, vāmadevyena vimuñce, rathantareṇa vimuñca iti. saiṣā dīkṣāyai yuktiś ca vimuktiś ca. sa ya evam etāṃ dīkṣāyai yuktiṃ ca vimuktiṃ ca veda vasīyān eva bhavati.* In ch. 62 and 63 the sun (*ya eṣa tapati*) and the puruṣa in the eye are declared to be the dīkṣita, and the text arrives at the conclusion: *sa haivaṃvid dīkṣamāṇo ... indriyaṃ jyaiṣṭhyaṃ śraiṣṭhyam abhi dīkṣito bhavati.*

A similar value may be attached to attempts, however naive and unscientific in our eyes, to fathom the meaning of the term etymologically.[64] GB. 1, 3, 19-23 furnishes us with some remarks on the consecration of a sacrificer who is to perform an agniṣṭoma:[65] *atho dīkṣā. kasya svid dhetor dīkṣita ity ācakṣate, śreṣṭhāṃ dhiyaṃ kṣiyatīti.* The term is explained as: "one possesses the best (product of inspiration)". This view is however not in harmony with ŚB. 3, 2, 2, 30 where *dīkṣita-* is explained as *dhīkṣita-*.[66]

[62] J. Varenne, *La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* (Paris, 1960), I, p. 139.
[63] P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda* (Darmstadt, 1963), p. 610.
[64] Compare in general my paper "The etymologies in the ancient Indian brāhmaṇas", *Lingua*, 5, p. 61 ff.
[65] The dīkṣā is in this passage treated in close correspondence with VaitS. 11, 17 ff. See also W. Caland, *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda übersetzt* (Amsterdam Acad., 1910), p. 33.
[66] See J. Eggeling, *The Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa translated*, II (Oxford, 1885), p. 47, n. 1.

Mānavagṛhyasūtra 1, ch. 23 contains a number of interesting ritual practices called *dīkṣāḥ* (translated by "observances"[67]) and intended to be carried out before the study of special sections of the ritual. This chapter therefore continues and completes the paragraphs on vratāni as far as they concern the study of special texts (1, 4, 12ff.). As already observed the gṛhyasūtras generally use the term *vrata-* in this connection; although they differ considerably with regard to the number and the names of these vratas, they agree that their significance is that they render a student capable of the study of special Vedic texts.[68]

The first "observance" mentioned is the *cāturhautṛkī-* which lasts one year.[69] Cf. also VGS. 7, 1 (the chapter dealing with *vedavratāni*) *atha cāturhautṛkī dīkṣā saṃvatsaram.* As an obligatory ritual act oblations with the caturhotar formulas are prescribed (MS. 1, 9, 1: 131, 3 "The earth is the hotar, the sky the adhvaryu etc.").[70] This rite is explained MŚS. 5, 2, 14,[71] from which it *inter alia* appears (§ 22) that one who even after his study does not thrive, shall go to the forest, make a learned brahman sit beside him, tie up a bundle of darbha grass, and then recite loudly of his own accord (?)[72] the caturhotar-formula. "After he has given up this observance (in the same way as he undertook it), he (i.e. the teacher) should make him repeat two chapters from the beginning" (MGS. 1, 23, 3). It is clear that the term dīkṣā here applies to a much less complicated ceremony which however is likewise intended to prepare the person who undertakes it for the study of sacred texts and to make him a recipient of its fruits. Now it is not without interest that a rite the characteristic element of which is a series of oblations accompanied by the caturhotar formulas should have been described as a dīkṣā. The so-called hotar formulas[73] which are required in many ritual contexts identify the priest with divine powers etc. Since each of them represents a complete sacrifice – which is not actually executed but considered to have taken place as a mental process –, they are termed offerings. Normally they are assigned to the sacrificer, but they can also be employed independently. Thus a man who wishes cattle must for twelve nights drink hot water and sleep on the ground; early next morning he goes east, says the daśahotar and

[67] Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 102.
[68] See Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 307 f.
[69] i.e. one has to restrain from food: MS. 1, 9, 6: 138, 12; ĀpŚS. 14, 13, 1.
[70] For full detail see Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 103 f.
[71] For a translation see J. M. van Gelder, *The Mānava Śrautasūtra* (New Delhi, 1963), p. 181 f.
[72] See Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 103, n. 4.
[73] See Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 165 f.; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 356.

offers ghee with the caturhotar formulas.[74] The formulas are of the nature of upaniṣads and must be due to the desire to substitute mental processes for ritual action.

The study of (eight chapters of the Agnicayana; cf. MGS. 1, 21, 13; 23, 5ff.) is in a similar way introduced by an undertaking of the Agni dīkṣā (*āgnikī dīkṣā*, comm. on MGS. 1, 23, 5), which likewise consists in the performance of libations accompanied by mantras. It may be observed that these ceremonies are in the same texts, quite intelligibly, also called *vrata-* "observances" (see also VGS. 7, 3; 5): MGS. 1, 23, 7 it reads *vrataṃ pradāyādito 'ṣṭāv anuvākān anuvācayet* "after he has given up this observance (similarly § 3) the teacher should make him repeat eight chapters from the beginning". The Agni dīkṣā the description of which is continued in §§ 8ff.: "he should fetch water ...; he should lie down on the ground ...; he should not descend into water ...". When the time of the observance is over, the guru should make the 'initiate' recite the Vātsapra hymn (ṚV. 10, 45). Then he should entertain brahmans with cakes smeared with ghee.

The Aśvamedha dīkṣā – i.e. *aśvamedhāvasthāpanaṃ tadadhyayanaprayojanaṃ yasyāḥ sāśvamedhikī* (comm.) – which is taught 1, 23, 14ff. lasts twelve nights.[75] This rite which includes also the fetching of grass for the horse is intended to prepare the study of a number of other chapters, *inter alia* those accompanying the offering of the different parts of the sacrificed horse (MS. 3, 16, 1ff.; TS. 5, 5, 11-24). When one is about to study the "secret doctrine" (*rahasyam*) one offers a pravargya (MGS. 1, 23, 21). It is not devoid of interest that the Traividyaka 'observance' – *traividyakaṃ tan na dīkṣāviśeṣaḥ* (comm.), a vrata preceding the study of three chapters (one from each Veda?) – is (§ 24) said to be described together with the upanayana.

Attention may also be invited to the dīkṣā of the Agnicayana[76] or "building of the fire-place" (ŚB. 6, 6-8) which is characterized by a number of divergences. In addition to a cake presented to Agni and Viṣṇu it requires a vaiśvānara cake (ŚB. 6, 6, 1, 2). There are seven special and grabhaṇa libations (6, 6, 1, 15), with reference to which mention is made of practices peculiar to "some authorities" (id. 22). The sacrificer has to make a fire-pan (*ukhā-*) which is kept filled with fire, from the time of the consecration; he has to carry it about for a year and to perform various

[74] See ĀpŚS. 14, 13, 1 ff. and Caland's notes (*o.c.*, II, p. 386).

[75] For the same duration of the dīkṣā of the sacrificer who wishes to perform the aśvamedha see P. E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha* (Paris-Louvain, 1927), p. 54, § 239.

[76] A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Straszburg, 1897), p. 162.

rites, striding the Viṣṇu strides[77] and adoring the fire in the pan. That is to say, the sacrificer who desires to derive the full benefit from the initiation, and the Agnicayana generally, must not only keep up the "Agni of the fire-pan" (*ukhya Agni*) during the year of the initiation, but must also carry him at least for part of every day during that period. For the explication of the rite compare e.g.: "In like manner (i.e. as the gods who strode the Viṣṇu strides) the sacrificer, having changed himself into that same (Agni) strides through these worlds" (ŚB. 6, 7, 2, 11); "the fire is the sacrificer's divine body" (ŚB. 6, 6, 4, 5); "the dīkṣita is Agni" (ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 1); "it is from these (the pan and the requisites belonging to it) that he who is born is born, and from them he thus causes him (Agni) to be born" (ŚB. 6, 6, 2, 16); "Prajāpati as well as the sacrificer are poured, as seed, into the fire-pan as the womb, for the fire-pan is a womb" (ŚB. 10, 4, 1, 1-2).

The belief is indeed testified to that any victim "is poured as seed into the fire as its womb, from out of which it is produced again" (ŚB. 11, 1, 2, 2). That is to say, the victim which is offered into Agni is through this god born again. By means of a definite mantra (VS. 23, 18) one lays the vital airs into the victim, so that it is a living one (ŚB. 13, 2, 8, 2). The same effect is achieved by cleansing the openings of the vital airs of the victim (ŚB. 3, 8, 2, 4): then also "that food of the gods becomes truly living". Cf. also TS. 1, 3, 10 c d "may Indra's expiration be set in every limb" etc.[78] Man himself gives himself up to the gods when he as a sacrificer undertakes his observance (*vratam upaiti*); and when he performs the sacrifice he redeems himself by the sacrifice from the gods (ŚB. 11, 1, 8, 4f.); that sacrifice becomes his self in yonder world (ibid. 6). "Thus the sacrificer who knowing this performs that offering of redemption comes into existence in yonder world with a complete body" (*ibidem*). That is to say, the sacrifical animial represents him in the world of the gods. After death his body, being cremated, is likewise born again and enters heaven in a living state (ŚB. 11, 2, 1, 1).

Special attention must finally be drawn to the unmistakable analogies between the soma dīkṣā and the rites performed in connection with the 'consecration' of a king.[79] Like the normal sacrificer the king in the rājasūya is to be ritually reborn out of the sacrifice. It is explicitly stated (ĀpŚS. 18, 8, 1; HŚS. 13, 3, 1) that the rājasūya is performed by a ruler who is *svargakāma-*, i.e. who wants to obtain access to heaven. The

[77] See my *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 55 ff.

[78] Cf. also J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer* (Erlangen, 1886), p. XX.

[79] Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 7; 15; 56; 61; 91; 97 ff.; 111; 218.

central moment, the unction festival, is preceded by a year which is marked as a year-long dīkṣā. During this year the king is a dīkṣita. The conduct prescribed for him during another year which is to pass between this unction and the hair-cutting festival can also be regarded as a dīkṣā; the king, like the normal dīkṣita should sleep in the hut and abstain from a number of activities (LāṭyŚS. 9, 2, 17ff.). Several of the iṣṭis to be performed as part of the rājasūya ceremonies occur also in the dīkṣā rites. Like the normal dīkṣā the *maitrabārhaspatya iṣṭi* (rājasūya) is to accomplish the ritual rebirth of the sacrificer. The preparation of the king for the unction (clothing, purification, eating, being proclaimed) resembles the dīkṣā rites. In the unction ceremony the tiger skin plays a part analogous to that of the black antelope skin in the dīkṣā. It has moreover be observed[80] that for instance the use of the horn of the antelope in the dīkṣā is in a way parallel to its use for the wiping of the mixture used for the anointing of the king (ŚB. 5, 4, 2, 4). Recently the supposition has been ventured[81] that "the rājasūya sacrificer is the forerunner of the common yajamāna of the classical Soma sacrifice" so that the royal unction is not only closely akin to, but even at the base of the dīkṣā. If this supposition of the greater originality of the royal consecration and the, at least in some respects, secondary character of the dīkṣā of the yajamāna would in the main be correct, it might be considered to corroborate the Aryan origin of this type of initiation or consecration. It would indeed be strange, if a rite which is to consecrate a ruling prince should have been borrowed from foreigners, 'barbarians' or those non-Aryan communities which were, to a certain extent, in course of being assimilated. However, I fail to see how we could adduce cogent arguments in favour of the above suppositions, because the royal ritual, in which an archaic cyclical pattern is still discernible,[82] may have developed as well on the basis of a more general (cyclical) ritual in vogue among those prominent Aryans who could afford to have it executed.

Whereas therefore the relative terminology (*dīkṣā*) etc. was applied to a considerable variety of initiatory rites, it should be remembered that the description of the 'normal' śrauta dīkṣā like that of the saṃskāras such as upanayana in the sūtras and smṛtis is far from uniform.[83] Sometimes

[80] Not quite exactly, A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 301.

[81] Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 36.

[82] See Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6, p. 15.

[83] See above, this chapter, text in connection with notes 12 and 13. For different customs and practices connected with the upanayana as taught in the dharma texts see S. Ch. Banerji, *Dharma-sūtras* (Calcutta, 1962), p. 76 ff.

texts give alternative rules, or refer with a tone of disapproval to the opinion of other authorities: elsewhere they modify or omit prescriptions taught by other experts; then again they introduce innovations, adopt customs hitherto rejected or designate ritual practices as obsolete (*utsanna-*; cf. e.g. ŚŚS. 17, 6, 2). Sometimes also a rite was typical of a definite region (cf. TB. 1, 8, 4, 1f). Incidentally we hear of individuals or groups with practices peculiar to themselves: thus Keśin Dārbhya subjected himself to a dīkṣā ceremony while seated on darbha (ritual grass) and parṇa-leaves (JB. 2, 53).

Moreover, a closer examination of the relevant rites shows that all Vedic initiation rites are composed of a number of ritual acts each of which expresses a definite ritual idea (purificatory or eliminatory rite etc.). A considerable part of these elements are not peculiar to a special type of dīkṣā or to the Jugendweihe, but occur in several rites, e.g. in dīkṣā of the śrauta ritual, in the upanayana of the gṛhyasūtras, or also in some other saṃskāras. Postponing a more detailed discussion of the relevant acts and of the accompanying mantras – to which the same remark must be said to apply – to one of the following chapters, attention may be drawn here to preparatory hair-dressing, bath and adorning or anointing, to the dress, the sacrifice, the rôle of the antelope skin, the girdle and the sacred grass, and in connection with these to the accumulation of special power in the initiand, to the observance of certain taboos and the proclamation of the person concerned as consecrated and the formal departure of the student, etc. etc.[84] Whereas the Veda student – like the Buddhist monk etc. – had to go to the village to beg his food which he should announce or present to his guru saying: "(These are) the alms", the latter accepting them with the words: "Good alms (they are)" (HGS. 1, 7, 15f.; GGS. 2, 10, 44, etc.), the sacrificer in a soma ritual had to send emissaries to collect by begging valuable goods which were to be distributed as dakṣiṇās (KS. 23, 6; ĀpŚS. 10, 48, 4ff.): the so-called saniyācana ceremony. "Das Opfer gedieh den Göttern nicht: da stellten sie es durch die

[84] In a review of Oldenberg's "Religion des Veda" Barth (A. Barth, in *Journal des savants*, Paris, 1896, p. 479) aptly remarked that "les autres observances qui accompagnent le culte ... ressemblent fort à celles de la dīkṣā, la cérémonie par laquelle on se prépare à tout grand sacrifice", continuing "toutes celles ont pour objet, d'une part, d'acquérir des qualités magiques, de s'incorporer en quelque sorte des énergies ... par lesquelles on aura prise sur les dieux, sur les hommes et sur les choses; d'autre part, de se préserver de toute puissance mauvaise, de chasser ou de se soumettre les démons". One might add that this is also the twofold aim of the saṃskāras (as far as their more popular or materialistic aspects are concerned); and so also of the upanayana which is considered the main saṃskāra (see especially R. B. Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras*, Banaras, 1949, p. 39 ff.).

Dakṣiṇās her: indem der Geweihte sich seinen Unterhalt beschafft, stellt er das Opfer her ..." (KS.[85]). This rite may probably be related to similar activities in the royal ritual.[86] Vādhūla[87] informs us that emissaries of the king who had the aśvamedha executed robbed those vaiśya subjects of their possessions who could not answer certain questions on that great royal sacrifice. These looted valuables then served as dakṣiṇās.

The conclusion seems to be warranted that these ceremonies were composed of a number of separate rites and that once they were brought into vogue they were subject to variation, extension, accretion and mutual influence. Whereas each brahmanic community could, if so desired, draw on tradition or popular usage or reject ritual practices of other groups, the influence of similar rites performed in the same community manifestated itself no less than the efforts of the specialized brahmans to fix and systematize the practices of the 'school' or tradition to which they belonged.

There can indeed be no doubt whatever that these rites had, before their apparent fixation in the texts known to us, undergone a long and complicated process of development some stages of which are still visible.[88] It is even probable that in some cases previous stages, and even comparatively crude stages, of śrauta rites have been preserved.[89] An argument in favour of the supposition that the dīkṣā ceremony has been made up of a considerable variety of elements, different in origin and ritual connection, may also be derived from the different order of its main stages. For instance, according to some authorities the dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi precedes the dīkṣā proper, according to others it follows, or is to be inserted elsewhere.[90] The Kaṭhas were of the opinion that the meal had to precede the hair-cutting, the Mānavas prescribed it before the putting on of another garment (cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 6).[91]

There may, further, something be said for the assumption that those elements which the various initiatory and consecratory rites – e.g. dīkṣā and upanayana – have in common may, generally speaking, be comparatively ancient, the more so as part of them were because of the archaic simplicity of their symbolism and the occurrence of analogous practices

[85] The translation is Caland's, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 158.
[86] See also Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 3, p. 248 f.
[87] See W. Caland, in *Acta Orientalia*, 4, p. 186 ff.
[88] Cf. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 107 ff.
[89] See especially the article on Vrātya and sacrifice, by Heesterman, in *I.I.J.* 6 (1962), p. 1 ff.
[90] For details: Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 15, n. 1.
[91] For the special rites for those who followed the Atharvaveda see section C.

in other civilizations in all probability rites of long standing. The above considerations are however not to argue that all ancient ritual was either reformed and absorbed or abolished and superseded by the standardizing and systematizing activity of the brahmanic schools. We should by no means exclude the possibility of rites and practices surviving beside the 'official' brahmanic ritual in marginal milieus which passed their religious beliefs and ceremonials on to those later communities which are responsible for the development of theistic, tantrist and other typically Hinduist currents of religious thoughts and traditions of ritual practice. It may safely be contended, not only that in the 'religion of the tantras' and the allied documents many ancient and 'popular' rites and practices were so to say reorganized and adapted to the ideas and conceptions of these schools of thought, but also that the inclusion of practices occupying a prominent place in full-fledged Tantrism was not limited to 'purāṇic' rites only. The Vedic texts themselves testify to the existence of 'popular rites' and of practices and interpretations which do not seem to fit in with their own schemes of 'classical' Vedic ritualism.[92] The main fundamental ideas may, moreover, appear in different garbs, the same aspirations realized by different ritual methods. These ritual methods were outside the brahmanic schools continually subject to change and reorganization. We should object to the implicit assumption that the classical Vedic Soma dīkṣā was anything other than a special standardized form of a ritual technique, need for which was, because of the force of the underlying ideas, generally felt.

It would be naive to suppose that the question as to how far the dīkṣā as described in the ritual texts has always formed an integral element of the Soma sacrifice may be discussed in a few lines. Hillebrandt's view – for which he does not adduce arguments – that "die Weihe kein ursprünglicher Bestandteil des Somaopfers (ist), sondern einer der vielen Zusätze, um die dasselbe im Lauf der Geschichte des Rituals bereichert worden ist"[93] is in any case not free from superficiality and inadmissible simplification. As the tendency to undertake 'consecratory rites' before entering into contact with the divine powers is common to many religions and as these rites often are composed of cathartic, apotropaeic, purificatory and unificatory[94] rites,[95] as, further, these elements are, besides the re-

[92] See e.g. E. Arbman, *Rudra* (Uppsala, 1922), esp. ch. IV; J. Gonda, "The study of ancient-Indian religious terminology", *History of religions*, I (Chicago, 1961), p. 243 ff.
[93] Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II (Breslau, ²1929), p. 319, n. 1 and 349, n. 4.
[94] "Einigungsriten", cf. the Greek ἕνωσις.
[95] Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, p. 176 ff.

birth and regeneration motives, clearly discernible in the Vedic soma dīkṣā, there is in my opinion room for the supposition that at least part of the ritual acts which enter into the composition of the classical dīkṣā[96] had always belonged to a soma sacrifice. If I am not mistaken one of the results of a comparative study of the Vedic initiatory and consecratory rites is that there is something to say for the thesis that some traditional rites were, in brahmanic circles, adapted, enlarged, combined, legalized, systematized and subjected to a theoretical interpretation, while other practices being rejected by the same authorities were to survive and develop in other milieus.

B. ORIGINS

Part of the practices and prescriptions relating to the Vedic ritual can be cogently explained by the theory that it contained a 'magico-ecstatic' element which aimed at the attainment of control over certain powers and potencies conducive to the benefit of the sacrificer, his family and possessions. The dietetic regulations, austerities and abnegations involved in the Vedic dīkṣā point in the same direction.[97]

Although the relative texts are perfectly clear and the particulars which they furnish us leave little to be desired and although Sylvain Lévi,[98] basing himself on these texts, has already over sixty years ago understood the true nature and some essential details of the Vedic dīkṣā very well, this element of the ancient Indian religion has given rise to misinterpretations and unconvincing theories. Nowadays however there can be no doubt that the Vedic dīkṣā was intended to bring about a preliminary

[96] To these elements no doubt belonged rites and practices which have also survived in gṛhya ceremonies. I am afraid I have my doubts about the correctness of the view that in comparison with śrauta rites gṛhya rites are generally speaking secondary (cf. also R. Gopal, in *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal* 1 (Hoshiarpur 1963), p. 296 f.: "The Cuḍākarman of the Gṛhyasūtras seems to have been developed on the pattern of the tonsorial ceremony of the sacrificer described in the Brāhmaṇas, for there are many striking similarities between the two". There are other possibilities of explaining these similarities; see section C.

[97] See also S. K. Belvalkar and R. D. Ranade, *History of Indian philosophy*, II (Poona, 1927), p. 405. This is not to subscribe unreservedly to the view of these authors that "the real origins of the systematized theory of the Yoga are accordingly to be traced to this early Vedic ritual, which, as we saw, was a blend of certain simpler forms of nature-worship with certain animistic or totemistic ideas borrowed from the practices of the neighbouring non-Aryan peoples".

[98] S. Lévi, *La doctrine du sacrifice dans les brāhmaṇas* (Paris, 1898), p. 102 ff. Cf. also P. Oltramare, *L'histoire des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, I (Paris, 1906), p. 30.

sanctification of the Aryan man who wished to perform a soma sacrifice, that it was a means of obtaining a new birth and a higher stage of existence. "The sacrificer is really intended to be born in the heavenly world" (ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 12). "He who is consecrated approaches the gods and becomes one of the gods" (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 8: *yo dīkṣate sa devatānām eko bhavati*);[99] "he enters into the divine state" (MS. 3, 6, 1: 60, 2 *devatām eṣa upaiti yo dīkṣate*); "the world of men being concealed (separated) from the world of the gods, this ceremony places him who undertakes the dīkṣā outside the world of men ..." (MS. 3, 6, 1). In ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 17 the *dīkṣita-* is expressly stated to become Viṣṇu, who, with Agni, is lord and guardian of the dīkṣā (AiB. 1, 4, 10):[100] *yad aha dīkṣate tad viṣṇur bhavati.* This fact may be of some interest towards gaining a correct insight into the nature of the dīkṣā, because Viṣṇu, who also prevents the defects in the sacrifice from producing any evil consequences (AiB. 3, 38) is the god who keeps the ways between earth and heaven open.[101]

The *dīkṣita-* is furnished with a new body and – the texts emphasizing "the embryological and obstetrical character of the rite with plentiful imagery"[102] – is homologized with one in the course of being reborn.[103] "Him to whom they cause to undertake the dīkṣā, the sacrificial priests make into an embryo again" (AiB. 1, 3, 1). "Just like the mythical *Urbild* Prajāpati, having become an embryo, sprung forth from that sacrifice, so does he become an embryo and spring forth from that sacrifice" (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 11). Cf. also ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 15.

Now the sacrificer has two bodies, one of which being material and mortal is to be offered: "he who consecrates himself offers himself to all the deities" (AiB. 2, 3, 9 *sarvābhyo vā eṣa devatābhya ātmānam ālabhate yo dīkṣate*; cf. 2, 9, 6; ŚB. 3, 3, 4, 21). He is explicitly called an "oblation" (*haviḥ*; KS. 23, 6: 81, 4). Cf. also ŚB. 11, 2, 3, 6. Hence also the rule that the material body should, by cutting hair and beard etc., be made ritually pure (TS. 6, 1, 1, 2). The nails of the right hand are, *more deorum*, cut first, "for in human practice those of the left hand are cut first" (ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 4). The dīkṣita abolishes his biological existence in order to enter upon

[99] Cf. also ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 1 "he elevates himself from this world to the worlds of the gods".

[100] See also *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism* (Utrecht, 1954), p. 113.

[101] Hence also the oblations usually offered to Agni and Viṣṇu before the dīkṣā proper: see W. Caland-V. Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma* (Paris, 1906), p. 15. This is not to endorse Hillebrandt's (A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, II (Breslau, ²1929), p. 319, n. 1) thesis, that the dīkṣā originally belonged to the cult of Viṣṇu.

[102] M. Eliade, *Birth and rebirth. The religious meanings of initiation in human culture* (New York, 1958), p. 54.

[103] For details see Lévi, *o.c.*, p. 103 ff.; Eliade, *o.c.*, p. 54 f.

an embryonic, and at the same time primordial, situation.[104] The body acquires a suprahuman power; being kindled through the dīkṣā it is enveloped by flames (TS. 7, 4, 9, 1 and comm.). Beliefs and practices which in another context would impress us as purely magical appear in this connection: the man who consecrates himself must be silent lest the sacral power should be lost (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 38; TS. 6, 1, 4, 3; MS. 3, 6, 8). "Let him not converse with every one; for he who is consecrated draws nigh to the gods, and becomes one of the deities. Now the gods do not converse with every one ..." (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 10). He may not rise and greet any one (see e.g. also JB. 2, 63; ĀpŚS. 10, 12, 14), because *pratyuttheyā abhivādyās ta enam āviṣṭā bhavanty atharvāṅgirasaḥ* (GB. 1, 3, 19).[105] The food of the dīkṣita must not be eaten, nor his name pronounced, because *tasya ye 'nnam adanti, te 'sya pāpmānam adanty athāsya ye nāma gṛhṇanti te 'sya nāmnaḥ pāpmānam apāghnate* (GB. l.c.; cf. MS. 3, 6, 7; TB. 5, 6, 10). The bath which is one of the elements of the dīkṣā is clearly meant to be a purification: ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 12 "cleansed and pure I go forth from them (the waters)".

The state of sanctity of a consecrated yajamāna and his wife is clearly indicated by a considerable number of other 'taboos'.[106] They must for instance speak the truth, not falsehood: speaking the truth (*satya-*), which according to Mbh. 12, 316, 12f. conduces to the greatest good of beings[107] is conformity with the divine, the eternal or ultimate reality. Besides, the gods are expressly identified with *satyam*: ŚB. 1, 1, 1, 4; 3, 3, 2, 2; 3, 9, 4, 1 *satyam eva devā amṛtaṃ manuṣyāḥ*;[108] AiB. 1, 6, 7 *satyasaṃhitā vai devā amṛtasaṃhitā manuṣyā iti*; KauṣB. 7, 3 "this exclamation is the speech of the consecration, and it is verily truth; 'he who speaks the truth, is con-

[104] "This theme of going back in order to abolish the historical duration that has already elapsed and to begin a new life, with all its possibilities intact, has so obsessed humanity that we find it in a great many contexts and even in highly developed soteriologies and mysticisms" (Eliade, *o.c.*, p. 55; see also Kosmogonische Mythen und magische Handlung, in Paideuma 6 (1956), p. 194 ff., by the same author).

[105] Cf. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, III, 1197. "Fast allgemein verbreitet ist die Vorschrift, dass man bei irgendwelchen Zauberhandlungen nicht grüssen soll; dadurch würde eben das Gebot des Schweigens verletzt und den Zauber unwirksam gemacht". "Das Schweigen dient ... als Mittel magischer Konzentration analog den Enthaltsamkeitsriten ... Es hat ferner den Zweck des ungestörten und wirksamen Verlaufes einer zauberhaften Handlung" (F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion*, Stuttgart, 1961, p. 334). See e.g. G. Mensching, *Das heilige Schweigen* (Giessen, 1926).

[106] Enumerated in Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 20 ff.

[107] See also P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 10 for other references; and compare H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951-59), p. 13 ff.

[108] Cf. also ŚB. 1, 1, 2, 17.

secrated'"; BaudhŚS. 6, 6, 1; NāradaS. 1, 215. *Satya-*, i.e. "being and behaving in conformity with truth and reality" is moreover TU. 1, 1 closely associated with brahman and with ṛta with which it was also in older texts intimately connected. As is well known the man who holds to his word and abides by truth acquires extraordinary power.[109] Other people must greet him, but not touch the dīkṣita, nor mention his name. The name being identified with its bearer, divine powers are often not called by their name.[110] Direct contact which in itself may have either good or ill effects – it may e.g. cause the "infusion of fresh energy or impart an energy" of wicked effect –, is often a simple technique employed to put oneself in possession of, or to have a share in, the specific power of a power-bearer (relic, idol, amulet);[111] in this case it would cause the 'discharge' of the divine power of the dīkṣita. It was for the same reason that the latter had to avoid vomiting and spitting; if such a loss of body-fluid happened to him he had to recite a formula (ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 11) by virtue of which it returned to his body. For the dīkṣita (who is to become one of the deities) a shed is constructed with the top-beams running from west to east, because the east is the quarter of the gods (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 6ff.; cf. TS. 6, 1, 1, 1). "The shed is enclosed on every side, lest it should rain upon the sacrificer, while being consecrated" (ŚB. 3, 1, 1, 8). Here Lindner[112] quotes the words 3, 1, 1, 2 (?) *yad vai dīkṣitam abhivarṣati divyā āpo 'śāntā ojo balam dīkṣām tapo 'sya nirghnanti* "when it rains upon the man who undertakes the consecration, the divine waters, because they are not appeased,[113] destroy his creative (inaugurative) power, his strength, consecration and austerity".

Omitting the other taboos and obligations, I mention only the case covered by the direction given TS. 3, 1, 1, 2 "if one who is consecrated sees anything which is ritually impure, the consecration departs from him"; he must then pronounce the formula: "the mind is unbound, the eye is strolling;[114] the sun the best of lights; O consecration, do not forsake me"; "then the consecration does not depart from him".

Lévi, after quoting MS. 3, 6, 7 "in truth, man is unborn; it is through sacrifice (*yajñena*) that he is born", was quite justified in recalling that the

[109] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 295.

[110] Now see Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 275 (with literature).

[111] See e.g. Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 230 ff.; H. Wagenvoort, *Roman dynamism* (Oxford, 1947), p. 13 ff.

[112] B. Lindner, *Die Dīkṣā*, Habil. Schrift (Leipzig, 1878), p. 9.

[113] D. J. Hoens, *Śānti*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1951), passim.

[114] "Suivant le sens étymologique de *daridra-* "vagabond", l'oeil n'a pu s'empêcher de voir ce qu'il voyait, son péché est donc excusable" (Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 22, n. 10).

funeral rites were so to say a continuation of this consecration. Says ŚB. 11, 2, 1, 1: "man is born three times, first from his parents; a second time when he sacrifices ...; a third time when he dies and they place him on the fire, and when he thereupon comes into existence again".

There is another point worth remembering. A sacrificer who is not a brahman is nevertheless spoken of as one: ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 6 "he who consecrates himself is born from brahman; that is why he (the adhvaryu) proclaims also a noble man or a member of the third estate a brahman".[115] Thus the result of the consecration in the case of one who was not a brahman, was to convert him, for the time being, into a brahman.

As is often the case in dealing with problems like the one under consideration the learned discussion on the character and the origin of this complex of sacral acts has produced different hypotheses and some controversies which, though containing elements which prove to be untenable, are generally speaking on reconsideration not in all respects so mutually exclusive as their authors might have held them to be. Oldenberg[116] saw that the dīkṣā has affinities with ceremonies which all over the world have been used to bring about that feeling of ecstasy which makes man akin to the divine. He moreover emphasized the element of *tapas* "austerity, 'asceticism'",[117] inferring from this association of dīkṣā and the eminently creative tapas that the former belongs "zu einem Kreis von Observanzen, die von der Anwendung der Erhitzung zur Erreichung übernatürlicher Erfolge ausgehen". Oldenberg was however well aware of the interpretation of the dīkṣā as a new birth which is emphasized in the brāhmaṇas, an interpretation which he considered to be "leicht mit dem Tapasmotiv vereinbar". Recent studies[118] have shown that Oldenberg was on the

[115] For other particulars see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 20.

[116] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart, ^{3}1923), p. 397 ff. Cf. also J. W. Hauer, *Anfänge der Yogapraxis* (Stuttgart, 1922), p. 65 ff.

[117] Oldenberg's translation "Kasteiung" is as misleading as that preferred by A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 300, who seems to follow Oldenberg in this point. It cannot however be maintained that VS. 4, 2; 7 the dīkṣā is "explicitly declared to be a tapas" (Oldenberg): *dīkṣātapasos tanūr asi*; *dīkṣāyai tapase 'gnaye svāhā*. Nor do ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5; ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 admit of this conclusion. – Cf. also V. Henry, "Physique védique", in *J.A.* 10, VI (Paris, 1905), p. 385 ff. and especially p. 390 ff. (on the creative aspects of heat or tapas: p. 393 f. "... quand le Gop. Br. à son début nous montre ... le Brahma neutre 's'évertuant, s'échauffant, entrant en effervescence' pour tirer les êtres de sa substance (*tad abhyaśrāmyad abhyatapat samatapat*), il n'est nul besoin, il serait plutôt gênant d'introduire dans son processus une autre notion que précisément celle d'effervescence qui suffit à tout expliquer"). See now also my remarks on the creative aspects of heat in connection with the facts collected by C. J. Blair, *Heat in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda* (New Haven Conn., 1961), p. 63 ff.: *I.I.J.* 8, p. 60 ff.

[118] See especially Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, passim.

right way, although we may now hold different views with regard to the importance of the element of ecstasy proper.

The texts being silent on ecstasy proper, V. Henry,[119] criticizing Oldenberg's theory, argued that "l'approche des dieux est omineuse: aussi le sacrifiant se prémunit-il contre elle (this is to a certain extent or from a certain point of view right) en devenant lui-même, par la dīkṣā "l'un des divinités"; mais comment la dīkṣā lui confère-t-elle cet exorbitant privilège, sinon précisément – son rituel en fait foi – en accumulant en lui la plus grande somme possible de cette chaleur qui est l'attribut insigne des personnages thermiques que sont les dieux supérieurs?" and made a – not completely convincing – attempt to explain the dīkṣā on the basis of the fact that 'heat' is a 'principle of life'. This view, which in itself is disputable, stands or falls with the acceptability of the 'original sense' of dīkṣā.

The theory of the Vedic dīkṣā suggested by Hillebrandt[120] has rightly been criticized by Keith[121] and other scholars. Relying on the etymological explication '*dīkṣā-* "the wish to burn" (*dah-*)' he assumed that this ceremony originally was a voluntary death by fire in order to attain heavenly abodes, as is attested in cases such as the suicide by fire of Kalanos which is recorded by Greek writers. It should be repeated that the in itself ambiguous etymology of the term is indeed no safe basis for a semantic and historical argument.[122] It cannot be denied that Hillebrandt overlooked

[119] Henry, *Physique védique*, (see above), p. 404 ff., esp. p. 349 ff.

[120] A. Hillebrandt, *Der freiwillige Feuertod in Indien und die Somaweihe* (Academy München, 1917); *Vedische Mythologie*, II, p. 349 ff.; *Ritualliteratur*, p. 125.

[121] Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 302 f. See also Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 49, 172 ff.; *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1917, 6, p. 331 ff.; *Religion des Veda*, *l.c.*

[122] The reader may for the sake of brevity be referred to H. Güntert, *I.F.* 30, p. 98 ff.; A. Minard, *Trois énigmes sur les cent chemins*, II (Paris, 1956), p. 737 f.; J. Charpentier, *Die Desiderativbildungen der indoiran. Sprachen* (Upsala, 1912), p. 67 f.; M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgef. etymol. Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, II (Heidelberg, 1957-,) p. 44. Whereas scholars are agreed in considering the term a desiderative formation (L. Renou, *Grammaire védique*, Lyon, 1952, p. 151), they are at variance with regard to its original sense and the root from which it derives. The connection with *dāśati* (*dāśnoti*) "to serve or honour a god, to offer etc." preferred by Mayrhofer does not tally well with the sense of *dīkṣā-* and the function of this institution; etymologies should not be build on rough attempts to give a vague and general idea of the meaning of a word. The interpretation as "rite d'échauffement" (the root *dah-*) which is in Minard's eyes worth considering (cf. Renou, *J.A.* 243 (1955), p. 422, n. 3) is not convincing because *dah-* means "to burn, scorch, consume by fire; to destroy completely etc."; although the combination with *tapaḥ* may point in this direction, the ideas expressed by *tap-* and *dah-* are different (see further on). I for one would for the time being consider deriving *dīkṣ-* from the root *dek̂-* (A. Walde-J. Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen*, I, Berlin-Leipzig, 1930, p. 782 ff.; J. Pokorny, *Idg. etym. Wörterbuch*, Bern, 1947-, p. 189 ff.; cf. also Güntert, *l.c.*) in the sense represented by Lat. *decet* "it beseems, is fitting,

the difference in meaning between the roots *tap-* "to give out heat; make hot" and *dah-* "to burn, consume by fire".[123] "Zur Bedeutung sei bemerkt, dass ich allerdings der dīkṣā, als unter die Kategorie des tapas fallend, das Moment der inneren Erhitzung vindicire, damit glaube ich aber noch nicht in den Bannkreis der Wurzel *dah-* zu geraten. Es ist eben ein Unterschied zwischen Selbsterhitzung und Selbstverbrennung ...".[124] This difficulty is, indeed, not smoothed over by a reference to the weaker 'metaphorical' use of *dah-* "to torment, pain, distress, grieve, disturb".[125]

In connection with the association of the ideas tapas and dīkṣā attention may be drawn to the following places: in AV. 19, 43, 1-8 Agni, Vāyu and other gods are implored to conduct the man speaking to that 'place' or 'goal' to which "the brahman-knowers (*brahmavidaḥ*) go along with consecration and 'asceticism' (*dīkṣayā tapasā saha*)". The sense must be that those who by means of dīkṣā *and* tapas have succeeded in gaining that highest knowledge which leads to heaven are, when they 'arrive' there, 'accompanied by' these. That is to say: they enter heaven in a state of asceticism *and* consecration. The gods are, in these stanzas, implored to further the attempts of the man addressing them successfully to imitate the ṛṣis by imparting to him wisdom, breaths, sight and other faculties.[126]

In AV. 19, 40, 3 *dīkṣā-* combines with *medhā-* "wisdom"[127] and *tapas-*, the gods being requested not to injure these. Hauer's[128] remark – the medhā is gained by dīkṣā and tapas – may be right; this dīkṣā does not,

proper"; *dignus* "worthy, suitable, fitting, becoming, proper"; MIr. *dech* "the best' most excellent" ('basic sense' "gut passend, geeignet, als annehmbar darstellen, würdig sein"). A semantic basis "the wish to make oneself worthy, better, fitting, acceptable" would not be out of tune with the sense of the term *dikṣā-*.

123 It is true that KB. 7, 3 "he who is consecrating himself consecrates himself as Agni; in that others do not utter his name, (it is because they think), 'Let us not sit down in Agni'" may create the impression that dīkṣā is, so to say, blazing or burning fire. However, from ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 21 it appears that the yajamāna as such is Agni. This god is moreover the friend, leader, protector, father, brother etc. of the sacrificers (ṚV. 1,26, 3; 5; 2,8,2; 3,1,15; 4,4,10 etc.).

124 Oldenberg, in *Z.D.M.G.* 49, p. 176.

125 Recently the difference between *tap-* and *dah-* in the Veda has been formulated as follows: "*dah-* ... has a very concrete meaning, and its effect on things is to destroy or to leave a black trail. Its effect is objectively observed. But the meaning of *tap-*, on the other hand, is concrete only in that it carries with it a connotation of the physical feeling of heat and this feeling is 'concrete' to the person who feels it. Its effect is subjective" (Blair, *Heat in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda*, p. 89).

126 According to the formulation given by M. Bloomfield, *The Atharva-veda and the Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* (Strassburg, 1899), p. 79 these stanzas are prayers for *brahma* "spiritual elevation" and *dīkṣā* "consecration".

127 See e.g. *The vision of the Vedic poets* ('s-Gravenhage, 1963), p. 104.

128 Hauer, *o.c.*, p. 67.

however, appear to be associated with a śrauta rite. These statements are corroborated by 19, 41, 1 (cf. TS. 5, 7, 4, 3) *bhadram ichanta ṛṣayaḥ svarvidas tapo dīkṣām upaniṣedur agre / tato rāṣṭraṃ balam ojaś ca jātaṃ tad asmai devā upasaṃnayantu* "desiring happiness the heaven-finding seers practised, in the beginning, 'austerity' and 'consecration'; thence royalty, strength and creative power came into existence; let the gods make that submissive to this man". That is to say, the primeval ṛṣis who wished to find heaven and happiness succeeded by practising tapas and dīkṣā; in performing these some important powers or institutions were a useful by-product.[129]

As far as I am able to see these places do not suggest that the 'idea' of dīkṣā can be explained as a sort of tapas or even that both 'ideas' are identical, as may be concluded from Oldenberg's[130] words: "Das Wesentliche und Entscheidende aber ist ..., dass die Dīkṣā ... ausdrücklich für ein Tapas (Kasteiung) erklärt wird". They only show that both 'ideas' are co-ordinated[131] and, so to say, considered to cooperate.[132]

I fail to see that VS. 4, 2 and 7 *dīkṣātapasos tanūr asi* and *dīkṣāyai tapase 'gnaye svāhā* can be adduced to show that dīkṣā and tapas are identical, the formulas meaning "thou art the form (manifestation) of consecration and austerity" and "hail to consecration, austerity, Agni". When in ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5 – another place quoted by Oldenberg – the dīkṣā is called the womb of asceticism these two concepts are clearly distinct. The meaning obviously is "dīkṣā engenders or leads to 'asceticism'" or something to that effect. Nor can ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 *agniś ca viṣṇo tapa uttamaṃ maho dīkṣāpālāya vanataṃ hi śakrā* serve to demonstrate the identity of tapas and dīkṣā. Even ĀpŚS. 10, 12, 3 cannot prove this identity, because the man who undergoes a dīkṣā has more to do than perform tapas. Austerity (tapas) was, it is true, not only obligatory for ecstatics and life-long ascetics, although Eliade[133] goes no doubt too far in saying,

129 That semi-divine beings were also supposed to undergo dīkṣā may appear from AV. 10,10,12 and 17.

130 Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p. 401.

131 "Dans l'AV. le mot (*dīkṣā*) avoisine volontiers *tapas* pour désigner un état préparatoire de l'accès au monde sacré; *tapas* est fréquent avec cette même valeur: 8,9,3 ce mot équivaut au *dhyāna* classique, notant une sorte de connaissance visionnaire; 10, 7, 11 il est dit que, poussé à bout (*parākramya*), le *tapas* renforce l'observance votive (*vrata*) ..." (Renou, in *J.A.* 243, p. 422, n. 3). – The co-ordination of the concepts appears also from their forming a dvandva-compound, e.g. TS. 6, 1, 1, 2 *dīkṣātapasī* ("the Aṅgirases going to the world of heaven placed in the waters consecration and austerity"); MS. 1,9,2 etc.

132 Cf. also Eliade, *Le yoga, immortalité et liberté* (Paris, 1954), p. 118.

133 M. Eliade, *Le Chamanisme* (Paris, 1951), p. 371.

that "l'ascèse à but extatique fait nécessairement partie de la vie religieuse du peuple indien entier". It is however right that any householder – not only a brahman – who could afford to institute a soma sacrifice had to undertake the dīkṣā, and also that "la dīkṣā comporte la veillée ascétique, la méditation dans le silence, le jeûne, et aussi la 'chaleur', le tapas". TB. 2, 7, 17 may likewise be adduced to show the difference between tapas and dīkṣā. In these mantras which were to accompany the ritual hair-cutting it reads, on the one hand, that "not without the brahman power is there a cessation of tapas" and on the other that the dīkṣā has two names, the commanding (*vaśinī-*) and the mighty (*ugrā-*); the former is said to have released the person addressed.

The importance attached to the idea is also apparent in AV. 12, 1, 1 where *satyam, ṛtam, dīkṣā, tapas, brahman* and *yajñam*, i.e. a combination of the highest principles and potencies are said to sustain the earth. The meaning of these words no doubt is that for this purpose the maintenance of these power-concepts – as far as possible through the correct moral and ritual behaviour of men – is essential.

The hypothesis of 'central Asiatic' influences might also be viewed against the background of the numerous parallels between, and migrations of, cultural elements in the Eurasian continent. If it is probable, as many scholars have pointed out, that a number of cosmogonic, mythological and *weltanschauliche* motifs are distributed in the ancient Near East, in Central Asia, in ancient Greece, in the East of Europe etc. in such a way that the hypothesis of migration and of complicated proto- and pre-historic connections is unavoidable,[134] it would be ill-advised to deny the possibility of ritual loans and borrowings.

The highly subjective and speculative article devoted by Przyluski[135] to the people of the Salvas, the śarabha (a kind of deer and often a fabulous animal) and the legends connected with it, the golden deer and the cakravartin, contains, by way of appendix, some remarks on the origin of the Vedic dīkṣā, which is incorrectly defined as "une épreuve".[136] Starting from the thesis that "la dīkṣā était primitivement destinée à faire de celui qui s'y soumettait l'égal des dieux supérieurs" and rightly noticing certain

[134] F. R. Schröder, "Germanische Schöpfungsmythen; eine vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Studie", in *Germ.-roman. Monatsschrift* 19 (1931), p. 1 ff.; 81 ff.; W. Ruben, "Schamanismus im alten Indien", *A.O.* 18 (Leiden, 1940), p. 164 ff., esp. 204, arrives at the conclusion: "Der Schamanismus muss also mit einer prähistorischen Kulturwelle aus Innerasien nach Indien gekommen sein; diese hat mit den bekannten drei Komponenten Indiens: Ārya, Dravida und Munda nichts zu tun".

[135] J. Przyluski, "Un ancien peuple du Penjab: les Salva", *J.A.* 214 (1929), p. 311 f.

[136] Przyluski, *o.c.*, p. 349 f.

analogies between the dīkṣā and the ceremony of the royal consecration, this scholar saw another parallel in the religious ideas of the non-Aryan peoples of the Penjab, who believe that the śarabha changed into a golden deer, which is a manifestation of the highest god and an incarnation of the divine king. Przyluski's conclusion that both apotheoses, viz. the dīkṣā as well as the royal consecration, "changent un mortel ... en un cervidé chaleureux afin de l'égaler au soleil" is far from cogent. His view that the dīkṣā "identifie le fidèle au soleil (et) représente la vie du śarabha embryonnaire prêt à renaître avant son ascension dans la lumière" and the suggestion that the dīkṣā ceremony originated in Munda circles, do not compel belief, first because the analogy is only of a vague and general character and in the second place because the idea of so-called deification is found in Indo-European[137] as well as non-Indo-European civilizations. Moreover, he neither adduces arguments for the identification of the dīkṣita with the sun, nor proves the historical connections with the śarabha motif. That the first act of the great liturgical drama which according to this scholar was at the root of dīkṣā and royal consecration "était sans doute la veillée préparatoire à la chasse royale (qui) paraît s'être transformé en une épreuve préliminaire au sacrifice de soma" cannot in my opinion be proved. What might be retained from the facts collected and the suggestions made in Przyluski's article is this: the dīkṣā as well as the śarabha theme attest to the early and widespread existence of the idea of "deification" in India. Being typologically or phenomenologically similar they may be, but need not be, genetically related. The belief in, and rites or myths connected with, 'divinization' among different peoples of pre- or proto-historic India may have contributed to the occurrence and spread of the dīkṣā ceremonies in the Vedic and Hindu cultures. We may even go so far as to reckon with the possibility that originally Aryan practices have been considerably transformed by 'indigenous' customs and beliefs.

It is indeed highly probable in view of the spread of these rites in various parts of the globe[138] that the socio-religious customs of the non-Aryan tribes of India included, in Vedic times, also rites and ceremonies which may be called initiatory. Initiation ceremonies signifying the acceptance of young men as full-fledged members of their tribes, or some proof of

[137] Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 506 f.; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 43; 115; 265.

[138] See e.g. W. J. Goode, *Religion among the primitives* (Glencoe Ill., 1951), passim; R. Thurnwald, *Des Menschengeistes Erwachen, Wachsen und Irren* (Berlin, 1951), p. 365 ff.

their attainment of social and physical maturity[139] are until the present day a well-known feature of religious life. So is the initiation of magicians.[140] the formal preparation of which resembles in its main features the ritual of the 'Jugendweihe'[141] – "die 'Priesterweihe' der Toda vergleicht sich wie vielerorts der Mannbarkeitsfeier (in den Wald gehen, rituelle Nackheit usw.)".[142] It is even possible that not rarely these rites consisted in "a simulation of death or resurrection"[143] or rather in effectuating the aspirant's new birth.[144] Thus among the Baiga, an aboriginal tribe in the centre of India, the chief feature of initiation into the secret 'art of magic' is a rite by which a disciple absorbs physically a portion of the master's occult power.[145] The Angami Nagas are convinced that those who institute a high-class initiatory function succeed in gaining, after death, access to the heavenly regions of the divine Urmutter.[146] It is interesting to recall also a procedure put into practice by the shamans of the Vedda communities in training their pupils and successors.[147] Sometimes master and pupil live in a special hut, from which women, being considered unclean, are excluded. The youth learns the invocations by which the powers ("ghosts") are addressed, and the methods of approaching them with food offerings. Whereas these practices tally with the rules observed in the Aryan initiation ceremonies, the regulation that no one, however well trained, is regarded as the 'official shaman' of a community during his teacher's lifetime, may be considered a counterpart of the high status and respect enjoyed by the guru.

As already observed in another chapter of this volume initiations were not absent in the Dravidian culture of the South; they were, however, different from the brahmanical dīkṣā.[148]

139 T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga tribes of Manipur* (London, 1911), p. 77.

140 H. Webster, *Magic* (Stanford Cal., 1948), p. 221 ff.

141 See also L. Lévy-Brühl, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* (Paris[9], 1928), p. 417, and compare p. 233.

142 G. Buschan, *Die Völker Asiens, Australiens und der Südseeinseln* (Berlin w.y.), p. 547.

143 J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, abr. ed. (London, 1957), p. 906 (with undue emphasis on Totemism).

144 Cf. Thurnwald, "Primitive Initiations- und Wiedergeburtsriten", *Eranos Jahrbuch für 1939* (Zürich, 1940), p. 321 ff.; esp. 392; 396 f.; E. Hillebrand, *Die Geheimbünde Westafrikas als Problem der Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1937), p. 133 ff.

145 For particulars see V. Elwin, *The Baiga* (London, 1939), p. 343.

146 J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Naga* (London, 1921), p. 180 f.; 185; 260 ff.; 348 f. For more or less striking ethnological parallels Koppers, in "Die Indogermanen- und Germanenfrage", *W.B.K.L.* 4 (Salzburg, 1936), p. 333.

147 C. G. Seligman and B. J. Seligman, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), p. 125 ff.

148 For some particulars see e.g. W. Th. Elmore, *Dravidian gods in modern Hinduism, a study of the local and village deities of S. India* (Univ. of Nebraska Lincoln, 1915), p. 29.

India and South-East Asia are, it is true, not so well known for the occurrence of secret societies[149] as Melanesia and West Africa, yet it has sometimes been taken for granted that certain Śivaite, Tantric and Lamaist rites in India as well as Tibet have, like the ancient Greek mysteries, their origin in this institution.[150] Secret societies having the performance of ritual as one of their chief functions, are, generally speaking, not only concerned with the furtherance of fertility and success in war or with the act of curing and healing, but also the imparting of salutary secrets and initiations, the transmission of supra-normal power to their members, by which they may not only acquire wealth, happiness or uncommon abilities, but at least in some cases, also personal salvation.[151] Their esoteric teachings are in part of their contents in agreement with the popular beliefs of the community to which they belong.[152] There is however room for the observation that some form of initiation may also be required if a person wishes to be received into a 'non-secret' community.[153] Thus a Kachári (Assam) who wishes to become a member of the Rábhá sub-tribe has to pass through a somewhat elaborate initiation ceremony.[154] Any reception of a new member into a group may have required some form of initiation.

Whereas the initiatory rites of many modern Indian communities have been clearly influenced by the 'Sanskrit' tradition[155] of Hinduism,[156] it is in other cases difficult to decide how far the process has taken place or how far the relative customs of non-Aryan peoples are survivals of practices which may have influenced and remodelled originally Aryan ceremonies. Those who, e.g. among the Santals, wish to learn earnestly and seriously the art of the *ojha* (diviner, magician, spirit doctor etc.) have to undergo an initiation (*sid*) after the learning proper is over, this ceremony constit-

149 See also K. Birket-Smith, *Geschichte der Kultur* (1946), p. 296 ff.

150 Cf. Birket-Smith, *o.c.*, p. 296; Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans*, p. 23 ff.

151 "Die Aussenstehenden sind im Männerhaus der Suque (Neue Hebriden) nur geduldet und gelten als ohne 'Mana', Ihre 'Seele' gilt als ohne Lebenskraft im Jenseits" (Thurnwald, *o.c.*, p. 366).

152 F. Boas, *General Anthropology* (Boston, 1938), p. 621 f.

153 For a 'natural' and uncomplicated, yet institutionalized initiatory procedure see e.g. L. P. Vidyarthi, *The Maler, a study in nature-man-spirit complex of a hill tribe in Bihar* (Calcutta, 1963), p. 124: "As he (a Maler boy) attains an age of about six years, he is informally initiated to the life of the youth dormitory ... Through the games of his playmates he learns the likes and dislikes of his society, ... the traditions and customs, the value-attitude system, the ideals and aspirations of his community. In this way he is informally socialized, and by the time he attains adulthood ... he becomes an integral part of his community ...".

154 S. Endle, *The Kachάris* (London, 1911), p. 84.

155 See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 16; 72.

156 C. G. Diehl, *Instrument and purpose* (Lund, 1956) p. 186.

uting an essential part of their training.[157] To become an ojha – both professional and amateur – one has to be a disciple under an expert ojha who transmits the traditional knowledge of mantras etc. and proficiency in the art of curing and healing etc. Only a minority of an ojha's pupils request their guru for the sid which is given in the course of a sacrificial function. Contact with the divine requiring a condition of purity, a ritual bath or similar acts which alter the subject's ritual status, making him fit to pray or to be possessed by a deity may to a certain extent be regarded as a consecration. Thus a man, irrespective of the caste to which he belongs, is e.g. by the Coorgs[158] supposed to be in a condition of ritual purity while praying or sacrificing to a deity or ancestor, when he has performed a series of ritual actions like taking a bath and wearing ritually pure clothes.

Attention has also been drawn to another curious detail, the demonstrative force of which seems however to be rather slight. In performing an initiatory ceremony the Lhota Naga places pebbles in the form of miniature hearths in the semi-circular front side of the house, "a piece of ceremonial for which the Lhotas can give no reason";[159] Koppers is inclined to assume a connection with the construction of a new hearth as a part of the Aśvamedha ceremonials.[160] The coincidence may in my opinion be as well due to an 'ethnologic parallel' (Elementarverwandtschaft), the more so as the establishment of a new fire under comparable circumstances is – as remarked by Koppers himself – not foreign to other cultures.[161]

Koppers[162] did not hesitate to draw the conclusion that "diese Art Initiation" – i.e. dīkṣā, esp. in connection with the great royal sacrificial functions (Aśvamedha etc.) – must be reckoned to the "southern elements", i.e. due to the cultural influence of the substratum, and "das um so mehr, weil den ursprünglichen Hirtenvölkern die Initiation im engeren und eigentlichen Sinne fehlt". It would appear to me that this conclusion was hasty and did not take into account other evidence and other possibilities. Nor am I convinced that the only alternative is the hypothesis that these types of 'initiation' and 'consecration' are completely Indo-

[157] P. C. Biswas, *Santals of the Santal parganas* (Delhi, 1956), p. 123 ff.
[158] See M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and society among the Coorgs of South India* (Oxford, 1952), p. 103.
[159] J. P. Mills, *The Lhota Naga* (London, 1922), p. 139.
[160] Koppers, *o.c.*, p. 334.
[161] See e.g. F. Speiser, *Ethnographische Materialen aus den Neuen Hebriden* ...(Berlin, 1923), p. 400 f.
[162] In W. Schmidt and W. Koppers, *Völker und Kulturen* (Regensburg, 1924), p. 215.

European in origin. They may have been influenced and remodelled during the long migrations of the ancestors of the Aryans before they reached India.

The absence of the dīkṣā from the Ṛgveda has, it is true, been made an argument in favour of the comparatively recent character of that institution. "Rien ne prouve que la cérémonie (de la dīkṣā) remonte réellement jusqu'au temps des Hymnes ...; on n'y rencontre ni dīkṣā, ni dīkṣita, ni aucun terme équivalent, ni allusions formelles à rien de semblable".[163] Nowadays, we know that the Ṛgveda does not reflect the entire Indian culture and all aspects of the Aryan life of its days and that we should therefore be careful in adducing the *argumentum e silentio*. This is not to say that the poets of the Ṛgveda were interested only in praising the gods, not in "Zaubergebräuchen, die sich mehr auf den Menschen als auf die Götter ... richteten",[164] but only to recall that the Ṛgveda is no śrautasūtra and that there have existed rites and practices on which that ancient corpus is silent. Barth was quite right in adding that "no doubt one did not begin or undertake sacrifices without some preparation or other" ("sans doute on ne les commençait pas sans s'y être préparé"). "On voit mal pourquoi elle (la dīkṣā) aurait fait défaut chez les Indiens védiques, puisque la mythologie et la technique de la sudation, d'ailleurs universellement répandues, sont attestées chez les Germains, chez les Scythes, chez les Iraniens".[165] While we may suppose the institution to have existed in the age of the Ṛgveda, we do not know what it was like.[166]

The striking parallel between the consecration of the ancient Indian royal sacrificer on the one hand and the ancient Irish royal consecration on the other[167] – the ancient Irish king has to be born anew[168]–, shows that some essential features of these initiatory and consecratory ceremonies may be considered to have been 'Indo-European', or, to express myself more cautiously, that certain principles, rudiments and tendencies

[163] A. Barth, in *Journal des Savants* 1896, cited by Eliade, *Le Yoga*, p. 374.
[164] Oldenberg, *o.c.*, p. 399 ff.
[165] Eliade, *l.c.*
[166] Cf. also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens. L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J.-C.* (Paris, 1936), p. 368, n. 1.
[167] Schröder, *o.c.*; K. Meuli, "Scythica", in *Hermes, Zs. f. klass. Philologie* 70 (1935), p. 121 ff.
[168] See also M. Draak in *Atti dell' VIII congresso intern. di storia delle Religioni* (Roma, 1955), p. 375 and, especially, the same, in *Contributions to the VIIIth Congress for the History of Religions* 1955, p. 651 ff. Other points of interest are that Irish kings had to marry their parts of Ireland (in India the realm is the king's 'mystic' wife), and that they, like their Indian colleague, had to promote the fertility of their kingdom by right conduct and observances.

to undergo, at critical moments, initiations of this type were not foreign to the Indo-European socio-religious tradition. As already stated some scholars have also drawn attention to the similarity existing between the Indian tapas and rebirth motives and the sweating motif of the ancient Germans and Iranians.[169] The Iranian initiation rites (and their possible Indo-European beginnings), which while showing interesting parallels to the Indian upanayana may lead us to the conclusion that there existed already in the Indo-Iranian period initiation ceremonies and 'consecratory' rites comprising at least some of the most essential elements of the Indian ceremonies, have already been discussed in one of the preceding chapters of this volume.[170]

C. AN ANALYSIS OF THE VEDIC SOMA DĪKṢĀ

As already stated, several scholars have thus far supposed the Vedic dīkṣā to be a comparatively late addendum or insertion in the *corpus rituale*. In discussing this point they made the non-specific character of the mantras an important argument.[171] The question may however arise whether the solution of the problem as suggested for instance by Koppers is the only hypothesis worth considering. The dīkṣā may – possibly or even probably under the influence of non-Aryan circles – have developed in marginal or at least non-brahmanised Aryan communities from rudimentary or at least less complicated preparatory or initiatory rites performed by those who were ritually to come into contact with the divine powers. That part of the accompanying mantras should have been borrowed from gṛhya- and other ritual[172] is, in view of the greater antiquity of many elements of the latter[173] and the secondary character of various śrauta rites[174] as described in the sūtras, not surprising. What we should like to know is

[169] See also Koppers, *o.c.*, p. 325; 334; S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Lund, 1938) does not contribute much to the solution of the problem under consideration.
[170] See p. 265.
[171] Oldenberg, *Religion der Veda*³, p. 406: "Es befremdet allerdings, dass diese in den Brāhmaṇa-Texten durchgehend herrschende Auffassung der Dīkṣā nicht auch in den Sprüchen selbst zum Ausdruck kommt, mit denen sie vollzogen wird"; Lommel, *o.c.*, p. 108.
[172] As will appear from the following pages Lommel's statement overshoots the mark: "Die bei der Dīkṣā gebrauchten Yajurveda-Sprüche sind aber für diesen Ritus wenig bezeichnend" (*o.c.*, p. 108).
[173] One should not mistake the date of the codification for the age of ritual practices themselves.
[174] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 139; 144; J. C. Heesterman recently argued that the vrātyas' relation to brahmanical ritual is not one of antithesis but of precedence in development, their rites being the crude predecessors of the śrauta ritual (*I.I.J.* 6, p. 36).

the genesis of rites such as the dīkṣā in full detail. In order to unravel the prehistoric development of the dīkṣā and to gain an insight into its structure and composition a more close examination of the mantras used and the ritual acts performed during its execution is a necessity.

Generally speaking the formulas are, it is true, appropriate to the particular occasions, but by no means always typical of the dīkṣā as such. Thus the first formula "may the waters wet him for life, for length of days, for illustriousness" (*āpa undantu jīvase dīrghāyutvāya varcase*) belongs to the mantras accompanying the rites called cūḍākarman, "the tonsure of a child's head" (ĀśvGS. 1, 17, 7; HGS. 2, 6, 6; MGS. 1, 21, 3; ŚGS. 1, 28, 9). Moreover, it is HGS. 1, 9, 12 prescribed during the rite of samāvartana, i.e. the return home of a Veda student, which also comprises a ceremony with the youth's side-hair. The other formulas used in the ceremony of the shaving of the whiskers of the sacrificer are "O plant, protect him" (*oṣadhe trāyasvainam*[175]), occurring in the same gṛhya context, but also, in an intelligible way, in other śrauta-rites. Thus the words "may the waters wet him", which in the gṛhya texts are quoted under the heading cūḍakarman, may have found their way into the ritual of the śrauta dīkṣā by the 'intermediary' of the godāna, the ceremony of shaving a boy's beard when he is in his sixteenth year or when he is going to study the ritual of the agnicayana "the construction of the fire place".[176] Now the godāna is performed with the same ceremonial as the cūḍākarman – this is e.g. ĀśvGS. 1, 18, 1; MGS. 1, 21, 13 explicitly stated – and often dealt with in connection with this, the texts substituting the word "beard" for "hair". So far the godāna is a sort of duplicate rite. Some texts (KGS. 44, 1-4 and VGS. 9, 1-5) on the other hand deal with the godāna separately, after or before – that is in any case in close connection with – the study of the agnicayana. Moreover, the followers of the Sāmaveda connected the godāna with their system of vratas, the ceremony enabling the student to study the Pūrvārcika of the Sāmaveda.[177] As shown by Dresden[178] this statement does not only hold good for the Sāmavedins. As already

[175] For particulars see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 12.
[176] A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Strassburg, 1897), § 23, p. 50; M. J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1941), p. 92 f. – Recently, R. Gopal, "Influence of the brāhmaṇas on the gṛhya sūtras, *Vishv. Indol. Journal*, 1 (Hoshiarpur, 1963), p. 296 f. expressed the opinion that the cūḍākarman of the gṛhyasūtras seems to have developed "on the pattern of the tonsorial ceremony of the sacrificer described in the brāmaṇas, for there are many striking similarities between the two". If this opinion is based on the consideration that gṛhyasūtras are, generally speaking, later than brāhmaṇas, I would observe that rites described in the former may be older than the latter.
[177] Oldenberg, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 30, p. 69 on GGS. 3,1,1.
[178] Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 93.

observed HGS. 1, 9, 12 prescibes the above formula also in connection with the samāvartana. This is not all. The variant *āpa undantu varcasā* (*varcase*) occurring in the description of the cūḍākarman (ĀśvGS. 1, 17, 7) forms part (viz. st. 2b) of a text of three stanzas known as AV. 6, 68. This text, which was clearly intended to accompany the act of shaving, is KauśS. 53, 17ff. used in the godāna ceremony and also 55, 2 at the beginning of the upanayana ceremony with the direction "do as directed in the text". As is well known the upanayana begins with shaving, bathing and adorning the youth. AV. 6, 68 is therefore a collection of formulas recited in certain circles on two similar occasions. Besides, the text is in part found in various gṛhyasūtras to accompany different stages of the cūḍākarman. It therefore appears that there existed various mantras and collections of mantras accompanying similar occasions, viz. tonsure and shaving. It is only natural to find them also in the directions concerning the dīkṣā. They were indeed fit to accompany any ritual shaving and hair-cutting.

The formula prescribed in MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 21 "O ye sweet waters, goddesses, purify me, that am sweet, for the worship of the gods" is MS. 1, 2, 1: 9, 7. It is also used in the so-called antarakalpa: MGS. 1, 5, 4.[179]

Passing mention must in this connection also be made of TS. 1, 2, 1, 1c (cf. MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 3) *svadhite mainaṃ hiṃsīḥ*, a formula which, belonging to those used in the shaving ceremony, induced Lommel[180] – translating like Keith,[181] "axe, hurt him not" – to conclude to the secondary, non-original character of this part of the dīkṣā ritual. According to the German scholar the custom described ĀpŚS. 7, 2, 4, etc.[182] ("wenn ein Baum gefällt wird, aus dem der Opferpfosten zugehauen werden soll, so darf dem Baum, der einen heiligen Gegenstand abgeben soll, kein Leid geschehen") has been the example followed by those who created the dīkṣā rites. Although I would not generally disprove a supposition that in part of the cases it is not the gṛhya ritual proper from which a particular use of a mantra has been borrowed and although in other cases a transference of ritual application as supposed by Lommel is probable or beyond doubt, it is clear that in this case his thesis stands or falls with the meaning of the word *svadhiti-*.[183] The meaning "axe" or "axe-like instrument"[184] does

[179] See Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 191.
[180] Lommel, *o.c.*, p. 108.
[181] A. B. Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus School* (Cambridge Mass., 1914), p. 19.
[182] See further on.
[183] For which see Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 492; G. Liebert, *Das Nominalsuffix -ti- im Altindischen, Lund* (1949), p. 186 f.
[184] Not rarely the context does not allow us to draw any conclusions as to form and size of the tool.

indeed occur (e.g. ṚV. 3, 8, 6; 11), but elsewhere a *svadhiti-* is a slaughtering-knife (e.g. ṚV. 1, 162, 9; 18; 20), a copper knife used to mark the ears of cattle (AV. 6, 141, 2)[185] – and here "axe" can hardly be the meaning –, a carpenter's tool (AV. 12, 3, 33). The word may therefore have denoted a great axe-like knife used for various ritual purposes.[186] Its occurrence in ritual formulas is limited to the dīkṣā, the felling of a tree destined to be a sacrificial post (cf. e.g. MS. 3, 9, 2: 115, 18) and the dissection of the sacrificial animal.[187] Its use is motivated (TS. 6, 3, 3, 2) by the remark that the *svadhiti-* is the vajra, so that the formula serves for atonement (*śānti-*); "the brilliant energy" (*tejas*) of the tree which fears the axe falls away with the first chip; he should take up the first chip which falls; verily he takes it up with its tejas (cf. ŚB. 3, 6, 4, 10) and ibid. 6, 3, 9, 1 (MS. 1, 2, 16; KS. 26, 3 etc.) in connection with the victim, again by the comment: "the axe is a thunderbolt; it serves for atonement" (cf. ŚB. 3, 82, 12) "for the knife is a thunderbolt, and thus that thunderbolt, the knife, does not injure it".[188] The same explication is furnished by ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 7 in commenting upon the dīkṣā ceremony. This act also is merely ritual: "er fängt die Handlung des Scherens in ritueller Weise an, der Barbier verrichtet das eigentliche Scheren".[189] The three occasions on which the mantra is prescribed have one thing in common: tree, victim and yajamāna are sacred, consecrated and should therefore remain whole and unhurt. Therefore in all three cases (a) grass blade(s) is (are) placed between knife and object to be cut. I cannot share Lommel's conviction

[185] Cf. Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda-veda Saṃhitā*, p. 386 f.; K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien* (Stuttgart, 1897), II, p. 159.
[186] "Blade-axes of very simple form appear to have been used for a number of purposes..." (E. Mackay, *Early Indus Civilizations*, London, 1948, p. 95); "Dabei braucht nicht geleugnet zu werden, dass jene prähistorischen Flintmesser (*kṣura-*: ξυρόν) auch zum Abnehmen des Bartes verwendet werden konnten" (O. Schrader-A. Nehring, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde* II², p. 61). In connection with the ritual felling of the tree Caland (*Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, I, Göttingen, 1921, p. 225) remarked: "Diese Handlung (the first cutting of the blade of sacred grass which is held or placed against the tree where he is about to strike it, so as first to cut the grass) wird wohl vom Adhvaryu verrichtet, während das eigentliche Fällen vom Zimmermann vollzogen wird". This supposition is borne out by MŚS. 1,8,1,7 ff. – For prehistoric Indian flat axes, chisels, knives, razors, etc. see e.g. D. H. Gordon, *The pre-historic background of Indian culture* (Bombay, 1958), Index. For razors and shaving in proto-historic times: E. J. H. Mackay, *Further excavations at Mohenjo-Daro* (New Delhi, 1938), I, p. 468; S. K. Dikshit, *An introduction to archaeology* (Bombay-Calcutta, 1955), p. 376 ff.
[187] See also ĀpŚS. 7,18,12.
[188] Eggeling's translation, in *The sacred boods of the East*, 26, p. 193.
[189] Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II (Amsterdam Academy, 1924), p. 130. Cf. the above note 186.

that the ceremony in connection with the tree must be regarded as original. His second argument, the use of the pronoun *enam* in the formula, which (he holds) originally applied to the tree, is refuted by ĀpŚS. 10, 5, 8 and 10 where the words are pronounced by the adhvaryu, to be repeated, in a modified form (pronoun of the first person) by the sacrificer himself.[190] The above ritual use of the grass blades and the formula is, however, also mentioned in some gṛhyasūtras as part of the cūḍākaraṇa, the ritual hair-cutting of a child:[191] ĀśvGS. 1, 17, 9; GGS. 2, 9, 15; HGS. 2, 6, 8; MGS. 1, 21, 5[192] etc. Furthermore HGS. 1, 9, 14 prescribes ritual act and formula also for the samāvartana shaving; KauśS. 44, 30 as part of the vaśāśamana rite;[193] 92, 18 the same text uses the mantra to accompany the offering of a knife (arghya ceremonies). – The conclusion seems therefore to be that these words are so closely connected with the ritual use of a knife under the circumstances described that they simply could not be omitted in the dīkṣā. Whatever their original function, here also the cūḍākaraṇa provides us with a parallel.

The stanza accompanying the bathing of the sacrificer "let the waters .... purify us" has also other applications. In ĀśvŚS. 6, 13, 11 and ŚŚS. 4, 15, 4 it forms as ṚV. 10, 17, 10 – where it refers to the deceased – part of the formulas to be recited during cremation: "having presented to the deceased a gift of water they step out of the water repeating these words...." They suit both contexts, and it seems difficult to decide which use is 'secondary'. As AV. 6, 51, 2 the words belong to a series of three stanzas which are KauśS. 25, 20; 21 prescribed in healing rites, and 41, 14 in a ceremony for producing rain. The *hiraṇyavarṇāḥ* mantra (MS. 1, 2, 1; ĀpSS. 10, 6, 1 etc.), invoking the favour of the waters, significantly appears also in the godāna ceremony (the shaving of the side-hair of a youth) to accompany the bathing after the shaving proper (KauśS. 54, 5); and, further, in the samāvartana rite after the final bath (MGS. 1, 2, 11); in the feet-washing of a guest (KauśS. 90, 9); in the marriage rites to accompany the sprinkling of the bride (MGS. 1, 10, 7); in the agnicayana to accompany the ritual acts for the kumbheṣṭakās (TS. 5, 6, 1, 1) etc. There is however room for the observation that the waters are in this stanza not only said to be the birthplace of mighty beings such as Indra or Savitar (there are variants[194]) but also to contain Agni as their embryo. Whatever

[190] See also Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 12.
[191] Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 49.
[192] For the razor, "which is made of copper" see also MGS. 1,21,7.
[193] *vaśā gaur yā garbhaṃ na gṛhṇāti tasyā doṣaśamanārthaṃ pākayajñikaṃ tantram.*
[194] See M. Bloomfield, in *A.J.Ph.* 17, p. 403; Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 33.

the form of this mantra in other ritual connections, these allusions made them especially suited for the dīkṣā ceremony. According to MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 11 the stanzas quoted ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 1 are to be pronounced by the adhvaryu, because the dīkṣita is an oblation (*haviḥ*) and an offering is only a right offering when it has been sprinkled or bathed with water (*yadā vai havir yajuṣā prokṣaty atha havir bhavati*). In MS. 3, 6, 2: 62, 2; KS. 23, 1: 73, 1 the anointment is equated to the sprinkling of ghee on an oblation. In this way the dīkṣita is made into an oblation (cf. also KB. 7, 3).[195] This idea fits in with the scheme of ritual rebirth because the oblation is to reach the sphere of the gods (e.g. RV. 1, 18, 8).

Attention may be drawn to the occurrence of different explications in the brāhmaṇas. Whereas the linen garment with which the adhvaryu is to cover the yajamāna (ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 4) is AiB. 1, 3, 15f., in accordance with the embryo: rebirth theory of this passage, homologized with the caul of the embryo, TS. 6, 1, 1, 3 teaches that the linen garment has Soma for its deity, so that the yajamāna now approaches Soma as his deity. The formulas pronounced by the yajamāna while accepting the garment (ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5) point to a third interpretation: the garment is dīkṣā, tapas, brahman, kṣatra and ṛta and the yajamāna grasps dīkṣā with tapas, giving expression to his expectation that all his wishes will be fulfilled. On second thoughts these at first sight conflicting statements are not at all mutually exclusive. In ritual practice, a householder of rank undertook a dīkṣā and had a rite performed with the intention to attain definite worldly aims and aspirations (cf. e.g. ĀpŚS. 14, 1, 2 "who desires cattle, strength, offspring, the fulfilment of all wishes", VS. 4, 1 "crossing by means of ṛcas, sāmans and yajus-formulas we should like to rejoice in increase of wealth and forcing food", and PB. 6, 3, 2 "the other sacrifices are performed for the obtainment of one special desire, (but) the agniṣṭoma for the obtainment of all", and see Sāyaṇa's commentary: *ukthyena paśukāmo yajeta ṣoḍaśinā vīryakāmo yajeta vājapeyādhipatyakāmo yajeta*).[196] The sacrificer might however also have the intention to attain heaven (ĀpŚS. 10, 2, 1) – "the sacrificer is really intended to be born in the heavenly world" (ŚB. 7, 3, 1, 12) – that is undergo transformation so as to reach a higher state of existence. This 'deification' could on the other hand be interpreted as a ritual rebirth.

At this moment ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 5 has the yajamāna accept the linen gar-

[195] For blessing and consecration by means of water or oil, "Ölsalbung als eine der wesentlichsten Formen sakramentaler Kraftmitteilung" usw. see also Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 234 ff.
[196] See also Caland, *o.c.*, p. 123.

ment with the formulas TB. 3, 7, 7, 1 and 2 which do not occur elsewhere: *dīkṣāsi tapaso yoniḥ* "you are the consecration, the womb of 'austerity' ('asceticism')" (that is to say, the consecration is a *conditio sine qua non* for successful 'asceticism'); *tapo 'si brahmaṇo yoniḥ* "you are 'asceticism', the womb of brahman (which also means the brahmans collectively, the highest class in the Aryan society)"; *brahmāsi kṣatrasya yoniḥ* "you are the brahman, the womb of nobility" (see ŚB. 12, 7, 3, 12 "from out of the brahman order nobility is produced") *kṣatram asy ṛtasya yoniḥ* "you are nobility, the womb of ṛta" (i.e. the regular, right and true structure of all cosmic, mundane, human and ritual existence and happening)[197] *ṛtam asi* "you are ṛta" (this formula which here is followed by *bhūḥ* "earth" (a ritual utterance) occurs also TS. 1, 1, 9, 3; TB. 3, 2, 9, 12; ĀpŚS. 2, 3, 7 to accompany the tracing out of the vedi: "you are ṛta, you are the seat of ṛta...."; TS. 7, 1, 20, 1 to accompany an offering before the āptīs; see ĀpŚS. 20, 11, 7; and ĀpŚS. 16, 31, 1 while placing, in the agnicayana, bricks), etc. After the words *ṛtam asi bhūḥ* TB. continues: *śraddhāṃ manasā, dīkṣāṃ tapasā, viśvasya bhuvanasyādhipatnīm. sarve kāmā yajamānasya santu. vātaṃ prāṇāṃ manasānvārabhāmahe. prajāpatiṃ yo bhuvanasya gopāḥ. sa no mṛtyos trāyatāṃ pātv aṃhasaḥ.*

The words "you are the body of soma, guard my body" (TS. 1, 2, 1, 1g) accompany the putting on of the sacrificer's garment. The formula is bipartite, the first half occurring VS. 5, 1; ŚB. 3, 4, 1, 10 among the formulas for the ceremonial reception of soma when introduced into the sacrificial hall, the pronoun "you" referring to the material for offering. We find it however in another use HGS. 1, 10, 5, accompanying the "Neubekleidung des Gebadeten, die man als den zweiten Teil der ganzen Handlung betrachten kann".[198] The use as part of the dīkṣā formulas (see also ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 6) is explained TS. 6, 1, 1, 3 "he consecrates him with a garment; the linen garment has Soma for its deity. He who consecrates himself approaches Soma as his deity. In pronouncing the formula he invokes the blessing of his own deity". With regard to this point of agreement between dīkṣā and *Jugendweihe* it may be remembered that a new dress is a well-known element in transitional rites in general. "Es ist ein Mittel, 'Erneuerung zu bewirken' und das Eingehen in einen neuen Zustand zu markieren".[199] Hence also the elaborate directions with

[197] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 77 ff.
[198] Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 62.
[199] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 116 f.; Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 62 (snātaka); p. 65 (marriage, and see e.g. MGS. 1,9,27); B. Bonnerjea, *L'ethnologie du Bengale*, Thesis (Paris, 1927), p. 84. "Let it be a new one, for the sake of unimpaired vigour" (ŚB. 3,1,2,19).

regard to the dress of a brahmacārin (e.g. ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 2, 39-1, 1, 3, 2), who had to wear two garments, one for the lower part of the body (*vāsas-*), another for covering the upper part (*uttarīya-*). The garment for a brahman, kṣatriya or vaiśya brahmacārin is respectively to be made of hemp, flax, or deerskin. "One should however wear only deerskin, if one desires the increase of Vedic lore, only cotton garments, if one desires the increase of martial valour" (ibid. 1, 1, 3, 9). Here also the conclusion seems to be warranted that the act as well as the formula may have belonged to an undifferentiated or 'general' initiatory ceremony, which as such included the putting on of a new dress. That Soma is concerned with initiation and it is therefore Soma's body which is invoked, may be explained from Soma's regenerative power and his ability to renew and lengthen life. Soma's protective qualities (see the mantra) are also apparent from passages such as ṚV. 9, 61, 10; 9, 62, 25 etc.

ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 6 adds a shorter variant of VS. 4, 2c *dīkṣātapasos tanūr asi, tāṃ tvā śivāṃ śagmāṃ paridadhe bhadraṃ varṇaṃ puṣyan* "you are a manifestation (and, "the covering") of dīkṣā and tapas (see above); I put you on, the kind and powerful, cultivating an excellent (fair, blessed, auspicious) outward appearance".[200] These words are not used in other rites. "Up to now", ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 20 explains, "his covering was that of the unconsecrated and his appearance was evil (*pāpa-*), but now he fosters a fair appearance". According to TS. 6, 1, 1, 3f. the parts of the garment belong to Agni, Vāyu, the Fathers, the plants, the Ādityas, the All-gods and the nakṣatras (cf. ŚB. 3, 1, 2, 18). That is to say, these divine powers co-operate in producing the effect desired; "thus all the deities are concerned in it" (ŚB., l.c.). – ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 7-10 may be passed over without comment.

The next formulas, pronounced by the yajamāna whilst anointing himself with fresh butter, run as follows: "You are the milk of the great ones (i.e. the cows, see ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 9); you are the giver (or container of splendour (*varcaḥ*); place splendour in me" (see also VS. 4, 3; ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 9; MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 35; ĀpŚS. 10, 6, 11; 12). The first part of the formula occurs, in other rites, it is true, in connection with butter (or milk): VS. 1, 20; ŚB. 1, 2, 1, 22; ĀpŚS. 2, 6, 2; 7, 9, 2; 8, 2, 8; 6, 9; 15, 14, 3; ŚGS. 1, 8, 18. The use of these words is therefore perfectly clear, but they have in themselves nothing to do with the dīkṣā. They obviously could be pronounced whenever butter was used for ritual purposes. "Fresh butter", TS. 6, 1, 1, 5 observes, "is connected with all the gods; verily in anointing with

[200] Cf. also KŚS. 7,2,19 *vicitakeśaṃ prasāritadaśaṃ dīkṣātapasor iti.*

fresh butter he propitiates all the gods. The man who is consecrated has fallen from this world and yet not gone to the world of the gods; fresh butter is as it were midway ...". For the following passage and the ritual directions (ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 1 ff.) it however appears that this part of the ceremony is also intended to secure the visual faculty of a rival, and to deprive him of his eye-sight. See also ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 12-17.

A sacrificer who follows the Atharvaveda may add AV. 6, 124, 3 (cf. VaitS. 11, 9) "a fragrant ointment a success is that ..." which in the AV. Saṃhitā is the last stanza of a text prescribed by Kauś. 46, 41 in an expiatory rite for the ominous influence of raindrops falling from a clear sky, the uncanny drops being declared to be fragrant ointment etc. It is hardly credible that the dīkṣā ritual has borrowed the stanza from the raindrop rite, but this insertion helps towards an insight into the genesis of these mantra collections prescribed for ritual purposes.

The formulas TS. 1, 2, 1, 2 k (MS. 3, 6, 3: 62, 15; VS. 4, 4) invoking the Lords of thought and speech and the god Savitar to purify the sacrificer are appropriately used,[201] purification being an important element in consecration.[202] These formulas impress us as a triplication of the last one: *devas tvā savitā punātv acchidreṇa pavitreṇa vasoḥ sūryasya raśmibhiḥ*, which occurs also elsewhere, viz. in MŚS. 1, 2, 5, 18 while purifying the ghee during the Full-and-New moon sacrifice. Cf. GobhGS. 1, 7, 25 where the words are likewise prescribed when the ājya (clarified butter for sacrificial purposes) is purified[203] and KhGS. 1, 2, 14 where they are to accompany a purification rite. From TS. 6, 1, 1, 7-8 (cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 6) it may be concluded that the person undergoing the dīkṣā is completely purified by means, or through the co-operation of, day and night, seasons, metres, breaths etc.

It is worth dwelling on the rite accompanying these sacral words. Twenty-one darbha stalks are divided into three groups, and the successive numbers of the stalks used in the purification put the sacrificer in relation with a series of cosmic and physiological entities: (day, night, the divisions of space ..., the breaths, fingers, toes etc., the twenty-first being the personality of the sacrificer himself (*ātman-*)).[204] That means that starting with day and night the passage works up to man himself, who

[201] See also Keith, *The Veda of the Black Yajus school*, p. 20.
[202] Cf. also J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 13; p. 93 f.; 98 f.; and in general, F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 188 (purification and baptism); p. 190 (Hausweihopfer), etc.
[203] See R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 383.
[204] See TS. 6,1,1,7 f.; MS. 3,6,3: 63,6 ff.; KS. 23,1: 74,1 ff.; ŚB. 3,1,3,19 ff.

being the twenty-first integrates all cosmic entities in himself, so that in his 'new body' the yajamāna embodies the whole universe. It may be noticed that the same idea was in another way expressed in connection with the dīkṣita garment, which is said to be connected with all the gods (cf. TS. 6, 1, 1, 3). It is interesting to add that the purification with a hundred and one darbha bunches embodied in the Rājasūya runs parallel. This act also seems to be related to the building up of a new body and a new life, the darbha bunches representing the vital forces (*āyus-* and *vīrya-*) of man; the sacrificer himself who encloses the vital forces and becomes complete through the purification is the hundred and first (*yāvān eva puruṣaḥ tasmin vīryaṃ dadhāti*)[205] (cf. TB. 1, 7, 6, 5[206]). Dealing with the Soma dīkṣā MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 18; KS. 22, 13: 69, 2 state the purport of the anointment, the eating and the dīkṣā garment as follows: "these are (the parts of) the body of man, having become whole-bodied he undertakes the dīkṣā". The dīkṣita obviously is provided with a new body.

If the sacrificer follows the Atharvaveda he may again insert another stanza, viz. AV. 6, 19, 1 *punantu mā devajanāḥ* etc. "let the divinities purify me etc.". AV. 6, 19 is variously used for ceremonial purification, being included for instance (Kauś. 9, 2) in the bṛhacchānti texts[207] or in texts accompanying a rite for good fortune (Kauś. 41, 14) etc.[208] In VaitS. it *inter alia* accompanies a purifying rite in the agniṣṭoma (11, 10). What interests us more is that a variant of this verse is as ṚV. 9, 67, 27 one of the stanzas added to a Pavamāna-sūkta. This addition (st. 22-27) is "ein Gebet um innere Erläuterung".[209] "Im ṚV. beziehen sich ... die Verse – which in other texts are "zeremonielle Reinigungsformeln" – auf die vorbereitende innere Läuterung und Weihung des Dichters für die Dichtung und heilige Handlung".[210] In VS. 19, 39; MS. 3, 11, 10: 155, 14; KS. 38, 2: 102, 4 the stanza forms part of the formulas of the Sautrāmaṇī, a sacrifice instituted to expiate and counteract the evil effects of excessive indulgence in Soma-drinking; similarly, VaitS. 30, 13. It may be observed that TB. 1, 4, 8, 1-6 and other texts (cf. also ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 13) add a considerable number of other purificatory stanzas, invoking the assistance of Soma, Agni, Savitar etc. One of these stanzas (the 13th)expresses

[205] Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 99.
[206] The text continues: *dadhy āśayati, indriyam evāvarundhe*; *udumbaram āśayati, annādyasyāvarudhyai*; *śaṣpāṇy āśayati, surābalim evainaṃ karoti*; *āvida etā bhavanti, āvidam evainaṃ gamayanti.*
[207] Caland, *Altind. Zauberritual*, p. 17.
[208] For details see Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 294.
[209] Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III, p. 56.
[210] See also *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 105 f.

the wish that the verses of Soma pavamāna "should show-and-allot (*diśantu*) us this world and the other world".

The next stanza, spoken by the sacrificer himself after concluding the purification and identical in TS., KS. and MS. is worth quoting in full: *tasya te pavitrapate pavitreṇa yasmai kaṃ pune tac chakeyam* "O lord of the purifier, with thy purifier for whatsoever I purify myself, that may I have the strength to accomplish" (cf. TS. 6, 1, 1, 9); "whereby he says" ŚB. 3, 1, 3, 23 explains, "may I reach the end of the sacrifice". This stanza which is quite adapted to the purpose seems to have been exclusively used in this ritual connection.

In TB. 3, 7, 12; ĀpŚS. 10, 7, 14 we find a long series of 20 stanzas to be pronounced by the yajamāna after the purification and expressing the various manifestations of evil, sins and transgressions from which he is now delivered: offences against good moral and religious manners, curses, the evil consequences of injustice, etc.; in short, all sorts of occasions are enumerated, when possibly sins may have been committed or evil may have been contracted, various gods being mentioned as deliverers.[211] The first stanza is a slightly different version of AV. 6, 114, 1 which, introducing a sūkta to be pronounced against disability in sacrifice, is also used in other texts.[212] A similar, but shorter prayer occurs VS. 20, 14-17 in the avabhṛtha of the Sautrāmaṇī.

The remaining formulas accompany the entry of the sacrificer into the sacrificial hall by the eastern door. The first stanza *ā vo devāsa īmahe satyadharmāṇo adhvare yad vo devāsa āgure yajñiyāso havāmahe* (thus in TS. 1, 2, 1, 2) is likewise – notwithstanding some variants and partial occurrences elsewhere – appropriate as well as exclusively used in the dīkṣā ceremony: "We approach you, O gods, we that have true ordinances at the sacrifice, as, O gods, I am in agreement with you, we, who are eager in worship (sacred), invoke you".[213] The first words may be taken literally, i.e. as expressing the speaker's conviction that he having undergone the dīkṣā comes nearer to the divine powers. After invoking some divine powers (Indra or Sūrya, Agni, Earth, Heaven, waters and plants) who are obviously considered willing to assist in the sacrifice, or as MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 6 (MS. 1, 2, 2) has it, who are supposed to invite the yajamāna to the consecration, come the words *tvaṃ dīkṣāṇām adhipatir asīha mā santaṃ pāhi* which occur only in TS. (and ĀpŚS. 10, 8, 1); they are addressed to

[211] See also E. Rodhe, *Deliver us from evil* (Lund-Copenhague, 1946), p. 137; 157.
[212] For details see Whitney-Lanman, *o.c.*, p. 364.
[213] See also Caland, *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II (8.-15. Buch) (Amsterdam Academy, 1924), p. 138.

the fire. In MŚS. 1, 2, 2: 11, 4; KS. 2, 2 Savitar is addressed as the lord of consecration.

A study of these formulas gives us the impression, first that they are generally speaking perfectly adapted to their specific purposes, and in the second place that they are, as already observed by other scholars, not specifically initiatory in character, or rather that they do not constitute a set of mantras exclusively meant to accompany this preparation for the dīkṣā and to express the sense and essence of the ceremony. Most of them belong intimately to particular parts of the ceremony, being also used in connection with the same or a similar ritual act in other rites. In a minority of cases a formula does not occur elsewhere, but then also it is limited in scope. Thus these mantras may lead us to the conclusion that this first part of the dīkṣā ceremony has been composed of a number of suitable particular ritual acts.

The preparatory rites in connection with the sacrificer's wife are for the greater part performed silently. The formulas TS. 3, 5, 6 b-c (ĀpŚS. 11, 16, 9; MŚS. 2, 2, 4, 19) are, although the opening words are a variant of ṚV. 1, 40, 3 etc., not found elsewhere and well suited to the purpose: "Die Herrin des Brahman soll vorwärts gehen, sie soll sich mit der Farbe (der Gesundheit) auf die Mahāvedi setzen" and "Und ich begebe mich, dem Wunsche folgend, hier an meine Stätte".[214] There is however some evidence of their supplementary character in the place given to them in TS. where they occur in a chapter containing miscellaneous supplements together with other mantras connected with the wife of the sacrificer, whereas their logical place would have been in 1, 2-4.[215] The sūtras also sever the acts performed with these mantras from the parallel acts in connection with the yajamāna.[216] The second half of the likewise appropriate mantra *suprajasas tvā vayaṃ supatnīr upa sedima / agne sapatnadambhanam adabdhāso adābhyam* belongs elsewhere to the formulas for the Agnihotra (VS. 3, 18), the Darśapūrṇamāsa rites (TS. 1, 1, 10, 2), or the adoration of the ritual fires (TS. 1, 5, 5, 4; cf. ŚB. 2, 3, 4, 21). The complete formula is TS. 1, 1, 10, 1 and ĀpŚS. 2, 5, 8 used during the Darśapūrṇamāsa.

The stanza ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 (cf. also KS. 4, 16: 41, 7; TB. 2, 4, 3, 3) *agnir mukhaṃ prathamo devatānām / saṃgatānām uttamo viṣṇur āsīt / yajamānāya parigṛhya devān / dīkṣayedaṃ havir āgachataṃ naḥ*, serving as the *puronuvākyā* (invitation stanza) of the principal libation and invoking the gods Agni and Viṣṇu – the *devānāṃ dīkṣāpālau* (AiB. 1, 4, 10) – to

[214] Caland's translation, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 225.
[215] Keith, *Veda Black Yajus school*, p. 283.
[216] Caland, *l.c.*

come, through the dīkṣā, to the oblations, assembling the other gods for the benefit of the sacrificer, is perfectly adapted to this particular purpose. "These formulas", AiB. 1, 4, 8ff. teaches, "are perfect in form as being addressed to Agni and Viṣṇu; that in the sacrifice is perfect which is perfect in form, that rite which as it is performed the verse describes ... (It is because they desire): 'May those who are the lords of the consecration, being delighted, confer consecration, may those who consecrate consecrate'". This formula does not occur elsewhere.

The *yājyā* (words of adoration and consecration[217]) is likewise perfectly clear and appropriate: *ye yajāmahe 'gnāviṣṇū* "we who worship Agni and Viṣṇu";[218] ĀśvŚS. 4, 2, 3 *agniś ca viṣṇo tapa uttamaṃ mahaḥ / dīkṣāpālāya (-ebhyo* TB. 2, 4, 3, 4) *vanataṃ hi śakrā / viśvair devair yajñiyaiḥ saṃvidānau / dīkṣām asmai yajamānāya dhattam.* The gods Agni and Viṣṇu winning for the dīkṣāpāla(s), tapas and majesty[219] and being expressly stated to be allied with all the other deities are requested to impart the dīkṣā to the sacrificer. The use of this formula is confined to this context. As already observed Agni and Viṣṇu are the guardians (or lords) of consecration, and hence expected to confer it on man (AiB. 1, 4, 10). For close connections between Viṣṇu and dīkṣā and tapas see also MS. 1, 9, 2; MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 17 etc.

During the dīkṣaṇīyeṣṭi the prastotar (an assistant of the udgātar) should sing the two parts of the double Tārkṣya-sāman (SV. 1, 332 = ṚV. 10, 178, 1),[220] inviting "the victorious god-quickened Tārkṣya, the possessor of vāja,[221] for the sake of well-being (*svastaye*)". Tārkṣya, though comparatively early referred to as a bird, is, in all probability correctly, considered an equine representative of the powerful sunlight. If in ancient times the main sphere of activity of Viṣṇu really was the space surrounding the earth, this mythical being made an excellent 'duplicate-representative' of that god in one of his main functions, i.e. that of conquering space and traversing the 'atmosphere' between heaven and earth for the sake of mankind.[222] This stanza which (Kauś. 25, 36) belongs to a group of texts to be recited for auspicious progress is (Kauś. 59, 14) also used in a rite for general welfare (cf. also ṢB. 5, 1, 6). Elsewhere however (AiB. 4, 20, 22) the Tārkṣya hymn should be used for one desiring heaven ("just as one makes one knowing the place a guide on a journey, so is it

[217] See L. Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* (Paris, 1954), p. 128 f.
[218] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 1,5,16; 18; 20; ŚŚS. 1,1,36; 39; 40.
[219] For *mahas* see *Journal Or. Inst. Baroda*, 8 (1959), p. 234 ff.
[220] See Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 16; Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda übersetzt*, III, p. 398 f.
[221] For *vāja-* see *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 48 f.
[222] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 102 f.

in that (one mounts) with the Tārkṣya"). Tārkṣya, AiB. 4, 29, 16 says, "is safe passage"; by reciting this hymn "one secures a safe journey". The occurrence of this hymn in the dīkṣā ceremonies may be viewed against this background.

Before proceeding to discuss the stanzas accompanying the "dīkṣā oblations" it is worth while to quote some lines from the brāhmaṇa contained in the TS. (6, 1, 2, 1) which explains TS. 1, 2, 2, 1:[223] "All the gods who purified themselves for the sacrifice prospered. He who knowing thus purifies himself for the sacrifice prospers also. Having purified him without he makes him go within. Verily having purified him in the world of men, he leads him forward purified to the world of the gods...". The formulas accompanying the oblations are not used in other rites: "To the Intention,[224] to the Motif (Impulse), to Agni, svāhā" ("for with intention does a man employ the sacrifice ...", TS. 6, 1, 2, 2); ... "to Dīkṣā, to Tapas, to Agni, svāhā" etc. That among the powers mentioned is also *medhā* "practical or creative wisdom"[225] is not without significance. Sarasvatī and Pūṣan are remembered, because TS. 6, 1, 2, 2 says, Sarasvatī is speech and Pūṣan is earth, and the sacrifice is performed with speech and earth. One might rather be inclined to refer to other aspects of the divine figure called Pūṣan.[226] He is not only the lord of the roads who grants an auspicious journey, the god who knows and shows the paths and conducts the bride to the house of her husband and the deceased on the far path to the Fathers (ṚV. 10, 17, 3 and 4[227]), but the AV. (16, 9, 2; 18, 2, 53) speaks also of him as conducting men to the world of those who have earned ritual and religious merits, the pleasant world of the gods,[228] and the ṚV. describes him (10, 26, 4) as furthering the inspired thoughts, the upanishads stating him to be the god in charge of the unveiling of "the face of truth which is covered with a golden plate".[229] Cf. BĀU. 5, 15, 1 "unveil it, O Pūṣan, so that I who love the truth may see it". As Pūṣan is implored to bring the ṛṣi's dhī to fulfilment,[230] so he may also have cooperated in making the dīkṣā successful, that is, in conducting the dīkṣita

[223] For parallels see Keith, *o.c.*, p. 485.
[224] The sense of *ākūti-* seems to have been: "what one seeing before the mind's eye has in view" (*The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 43).
[225] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 57 f.; 104; 127.
[226] S. D. Atkins, *Pūṣan in the Rig-Veda* (Princeton, 1941); the same, in *J.A.O.S.* 67, p. 274; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 35 ff.
[227] Cf. also the kalpa on TĀ. 6,1,1 and ĀśvŚS. 6, 10,19.
[228] That this task of the god is in all probability dependent upon his function as the god of the paths (see also Atkins, *o.c.*, p. 18) is in this connection irrelevant.
[229] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 86 f.
[230] *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 87.

towards his goal. It is significant that Sarasvatī – who in the brāhmaṇas is identified with Vāc ("Speech") – plays, like Agni, likewise a rôle in the process by which the ṛṣis or ancient Vedic poets penetrated into the world of the unseen, receiving visions and gaining poetic inspiration.[231] Being a promoter of *dhiyaḥ* she might have been supposed to assist the sacrificer also in his attempt to become deified.[232] It is also with her support that the sacrificer is anointed at the Agnicayana (ŚB. 9, 3, 4, 17).

The invocation of the Waters, Heaven, Earth and Atmosphere, as well as Bṛhaspati at the fifth libation (cf. TB. 6, 1, 2, 3; ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 15) does not seem to have found another ritual application, although the sequence *dyāvāpṛthivī urv antarikṣam* introduces AV. 2, 12, 1 a series of formulas to be directed "against such as would thwart my incantations". In order to secure success for the attempt to transform the sacrifice into a divine being the co-operation is needed of the great cosmic powers and of the god who, being the protector and furtherer of rites and sacrifices, praises that knowledge which is immortal light and by union with which one attains to brahma (Bṛhadd. 7, 109).

The next mantra, *viśve devasya netur marto vṛṇīta sākhyaṃ / viśve rāya iṣudhyasi dyumnaṃ vṛṇīta puṣyase svāhā* is on the other hand essentially identical with, or rather an inferior version of,[233] ṚV. 5, 50, 1. These words "Let every mortal man choose the companionship of the god who is the guide (leader); every man makes it his object to (gain) possessions; let him choose prestige that he may prosper; svāhā"[234] introduce, in the Ṛgveda, a not completely clear sūkta addressed to the Viśve devāḥ, in which however the motif of the "divine conductor" comes to the fore (cf. stanza 2; 3; 5). This figure is (according to ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 19, Sāyaṇa and the commentary on VS. 4, 8) Savitar. In Ṛgvidhāna 2, 16, 4 the sūkta is "an auspicious blessing which destroys all stains". The stanza was also to accompany the parallel rite of the Agnicayana ceremony (see VS. 11, 67; TS. 4, 1, 9, 1; 5, 1, 9, 1; ĀpŚS. 16, 8, 13 etc.[235]);[236] it occurs, moreover, in the Aśvamedha (VS. 22, 21; ŚB. 13, 1, 8, 8 etc.). Now, TS. 6, 1, 2, 5f. divides this stanza into its four pādas, assigning them to Savitar, the Fathers, the Viśve Devāḥ and Pūṣan respectively; ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 19 divides it

231 *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 85 f.
232 See also *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 51.
233 Cf. Keith, *o.c.*, p. 21, n. 3.
234 The translation given is that of the ṚV., the traditional TS. text making no sense. See also Renou, *Études védiques et pāṇinéennes*, IV (Paris, 1958), p. 78; V (Paris, 1959), p. 30.
235 Cf. Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III, p. 19.
236 Cf. e.g. R. T. H. Griffith, *The texts of the White Yajurveda* (Benares, 1927), p. 116.

in five parts, attributing them (and the libations) to the Viśve Devāḥ, Savitar, Mitra, Bṛhaspati and Pūṣan. Explaining the dīkṣā of the Agnicayana the ŚB. 6, 6, 1, 21 observes: "He who chooses the friendship of the god Savitar chooses both prestige and prosperity; and he who performs this rite indeed chooses his friendship". Besides the mantra, preceded by formulas similar to the above *ākūtyai* etc. and likewise accompanying oblations of ghee, occurs in an Agnipravartana-rite, an Installation of the fire on a spot to the north or the east of the village, which we know only from MGS. 1, 6.[237] The same text has it used in 1, 23, 6 to accompany oblations to be offered when observances are undertaken before the study of the ritual. To these *dīkṣāḥ* we will have to revert. In ŚB. 3, 1, 4, 1 all five oblations are called the audgrabhaṇa, elsewhere[238] this term is applied to the stanza *viśve* and the last oblation. As the "elevating" ones these consecratory words are believed to help the sacrificer in raising himself from this to the other world, or as the ŚB. has it: "All formulas (*yajūṃṣi*) of the consecration are 'elevatory', since he who is consecrated elevates himself from this world to the world of the gods. He elevates himself by means of these same formulas ... Now they also (specially) designate these intermediate ones as audgrabhaṇa, because these are libations, and a libation is a sacrifice. For the muttering of a sacrificial formula is an occult (form of sacrifice), but a libation is a direct (form of) sacrifice; hence it is by this same sacrifice that he elevates himself from this world to the world of the gods".[239] It is clear that this elevation was supposed to take place with the assistance of a divine conductor, who was traditionally identified with Savitar.

It is not surprising that Savitar, the sun in its dynamic and cinetic aspects,[240] who moves between heaven and earth (ṚV. 1, 35, 9), is implored to grant wholeness and a long life (10, 36, 14), and conducts the dead on the distant path to the heavenly world (10, 17, 4; cf. ĀśvGS. 4, 4, 7), should play an important part in this connection, because the sun, besides being a conductor of souls to the realm of the deceased (ψυχοπομπός)[241] often acts as a hierophant.[242] "Certaines tribus australiennes nous ont montré le soleil en rapport avec *chaque* membre de la communauté en particulier ... Les tribus Wiradjuri – Kamilaroi ... visent à assimiler

237 See Dresden, *o.c.*, p. 21 f.
238 Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 17; Keith, *o.c.*, p. 486.
239 See also Eggeling's note, in *Sacred Books of the East*, 26 (Oxford, 1885), p. 20.
240 *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 94 f.
241 See also R. Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921), p. 36, n. 1; 162 (the sun as 'Seelenschiff').
242 Eliade, *Traité d'histoire des religions* (Paris, 1949), p. 125 ff.

l'initié avec le héros solaire, fils de l'Être Suprême céleste. Par l'initiation, l'homme devient ainsi, d'une certaine manière, fils de l'Être Suprême; plus exactement il le redevient grâce à sa mort rituelle suivie de sa résurrection en qualité de Soleil... Le Soleil devient ainsi le prototype du 'mort qui ressuscite chaque matin'". "Le soleil entraîne à sa suite, il 'aspire' les âmes des vivants avec la même facilité qu'il guide, en qualité de psychopompe, les âmes des morts par la 'porte du soleil' à l'occident".[243] Not rarely initiations and memberships of secret societies guarantee that those who in this life have taken the necessary measures will after death not undergo the fate of the masses:[244] "in den Festriten der Mysterien wird die ewige Seligkeit antizipiert"; "ein Geburts-, Todes- und Aufstehungsmysterium wird auch im Kult des Attis gefeiert ...; geheimnisvolle Vigilien fanden statt, bei welchen der Eingeweihte sich als ein neuer Attis mit der Mutter-Braut vereinen sollte".[245] There exists moreover a whole mythico-iconographic complex which presents the sun as descending into darkness even as the novice, as an embryo, enters the uterine darkness of the initiatory hut.[246] When the sun rises in the morning, the world is reborn, but with this process the ritual rebirth of the initiate who emerges from his hut may be regarded as running parallel. It is not without significance that according to ChU. 8, 6, those who go to immortality leave this world through the sun, and that according to a later theory the successful yogin will reach the orb of the sun (SauraP. 13, 36). It is Savitar who in the Ṛgveda (4, 54, 2) grants 'immortality' to the gods and a safe and sound condition, 'wholeness', to men (10, 36, 14).

In the ĀpŚS. 10, 8, 7 now follows a series of formulas accompanying the ritual discussed KB. 7, 4, to which we will have to return further on.

Proceeding now to discuss the mantras accompanying the dīkṣā proper, it must first be recalled that the yajamāna is to grasp or to touch the white and the black hairs of the antelope skin, on which[247] he has taken his seat.[248] With the first stanza *ṛksāmayoḥ śilpe sthas te vām ā rabhe / te mā pātam āsya yajñasyodṛcaḥ* (TS. 1, 2, 2 d; cf. KŚS. 7, 3, 23) "You are

[243] See also R. W. Williamson, *Religions and cosmic beliefs of Central Polynesia* (Cambridge, 1933), I, p. 118; II, p. 218 f.; S. Morenz, *Ägyptische Religion* (Stuttgart, 1960), p. 218.
[244] Cf. also J. G. Frazer, *The belief in immortality* (London, 1913-1924), II, p. 242.
[245] Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 548; 227 f.
[246] C. Hentze, *Tod, Auferstehung, Weltordnung* (Zürich, 1955), p. 148 etc.; Eliade, *Birth and Rebirth*, p. 56; 59.
[247] Cf. also ŚB. 3,2,1,5.
[248] For particulars see ĀpŚS. 10,8,11 ff. with Caland's commentary (*o.c.*, II, p. 139 f.); Eggeling's notes in S.B.E., 26, p. 26 f. and TS. 6,1,3,1.

forms[249] of the ṛc and the sāman. I grasp you two; protect me until the completion of this sacrifice" these white and black hairs of the skin are addressed.[250] According to TB. 6, 1, 3, 1 f. this mantra enables the yajamāna to secure the ṛc and the sāman as well as whatever is imbued in day and night; as the skin is a manifestation (*rūpam*) of brahman, the yajamāna is consecrated with brahman. ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 6 f. observes: "He who is consecrated becomes an embryo, and enters into the metres; hence he has his hands closed, since embryos have their hands closed. And when he says 'I touch you', he means to say 'I enter into you' ...". This mantra which is completely intelligible is not applied in other rites.

While bending his right knee and creeping over the skin the yajamāna recites TS. 1, 2, 2, 2 e *imāṃ dhiyaṃ śikṣamāṇasya deva kratuṃ dakṣaṃ varuṇa saṃ śiśādhi / yayāti viśvā duritā tarema sutarmāṇam adhi nāvam ruhema* "O god Varuṇa, do thou sharpen in me who exert myself this product of inspiration (i.e. the mantra pronounced), the inventiveness and ability; we may mount that easily crossing ship by (with) which we may pass over all 'bad courses'".[251] The powerful inspired text (*dhī-*) made perfect by *kratu-* and *dakṣa-* is – if the stanza is interpreted by itself – the vessel which takes the ṛṣi and those who employ the text ritually across. The chances of failure are characterized as *duritā* "bad courses, danger, discomfort, evil, difficulties". According to TS. 6, 1, 3, 2 these words need no comment, but AiB. 1, 13, 29 prescribing their use on the occasion of the purchase of the soma, shows that in a ritual context "the ship fair crossing is the sacrifice; the ship fair crossing is the black antelope skin; the ship fair crossing is speech; verily thus having mounted upon speech with it he crosses over to the world of heaven".[252] In the dīkṣā rite the skin is the ship, cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 3.[253] Another ritual use occurs ŚŚS. 6, 1, 10; here is, during the Agniṣṭoma, recited for the victim immolated to Varuṇa, obviously because it contains the name of this god.[254] Cf. also ŚGS. 5, 2, 4.

[249] Cf. Naigh. 3, 7; = *pratirūpam* "counterpart, representation" (Uvaṭa on VS. 4, 9); "Abbild", Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 140.
[250] For the 'symbolism' of the antelope skin see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 119 (the white of the skin is the ṛc, the black the sāman).
[251] For the interpretation of this stanza which has been translated variously see also Renou, *Études véd. et pāṇ.* V (Paris, 1959), p. 93; VII (Paris, 1960), p. 70 f.; *The vision of the Vedic poets*, p. 111.
[252] Otherwise KB. 7, 10.
[253] Translated by Caland (*o.c.*, II, p. 141): "... damit wir durch dasselbe (nl. das Gebet (i.e. the *dhī-*)) über alle Schwierigkeiten hinwegkommen und das ... Schiff besteigen".
[254] Compare ŚŚS. 6, 10 in general.

In the ritual directions of ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 1 this mantra is preceded by the five formulas of TB. 3, 7, 7, 3-4 which while invoking Indra express the yajamāna's conviction that he enters the five metres and that he participated in the light of heaven (*jyotir abhūvam, suvar agamam; suvargaṃ lokaṃ nākasya pṛṣṭham, bradhnasya viṣṭapam agamam*). While pronouncing these words he touches the skin at the four points of the compass, the centre with the last mantra. The importance of the number five is due to the fact that in the Veda the five points of the compass represent the entire world.[255] This act may quite intelligibly be explained by a reference to ŚB. 6, 7, 1, 6 describing the dīkṣā of the Agnicayana, where the hairs of the black antelope's skin are homologized with the métres, which are, moreover, said "to sustain him": "by the metres the gods carried him, and by the metres he now carries him", and to 6, 7, 2, 11 ff. where the sacrificer mounts the metres which represent the worlds The sacrificer who is about to be ritually reborn must mount the quarters of space or master the universe. The same combination of the ideas of conception and birth on the one hand and of ascension to heaven and appropriating the universe are also expressed in connection with other rites.[256]

After the stanza *imāṃ dhiyam* prescribed in 10, 9, 3 ĀpŚS. has in 10, 9, 4 the stanza TS. 1, 5, 11 t used,[257] which is identical with ṚV. 10, 63, 10 etc.: "may we embark the well-preserving earth, the unobstructed sky, the well-sheltering, well-conducting Aditi,[258] the well-oared ship of the gods, which is guiltless[259] and does not leak, in order to attain to well-being". Although this stanza forms part of a praise of all gods (ṚV. 10, 63) and of Aditi (AV. 7, 6, 3), of a text accompanying rites for preparing the house-fire (Kauś. 71, 23) and in the pitṛnidhāna ceremony (Kauś. 86, 26), – in these two cases in connection with embarking on a boat (cf. also ĀśvGS. 2, 6, 8 !) –, it belongs – again – to the stanzas to be recited during the Sautrāmaṇi in VS. 21, 6; to the Prāyaṇīya or introductory sacrifice in AiB. 1, 9, 7; to those used during the Āgrahāyaṇī-karma (MGS. 2, 7, 2f.) and the Vastukarma (MGS. 2, 11, 9f.); it forms part of the consecration formulas of the Aśvamedha in TS. 7, 1, 18, 2; MS. 4, 10, 1 it appears among the yājyānuvākyāḥ, etc. Notwithstanding its various ritual applications its use is, in the context under discussion no doubt appropriate.

255 Cf. ṚV. 9,86,29. See also F. B. J. Kuiper, in *Indological studies in honor of W. Norman Brown* (New Haven Conn., 1962), p. 148.
256 I refer to Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 104 f.
257 This section of TS. contains the puronuvākyas and yājyās for the iṣṭis described in TS. 2, 2, 5, 1-6, 5 with some alternatives.
258 See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 84.
259 See also Geldner, *Der Rig-Veda*, III, p. 234.

Continuing the 'metaphorical' reference to a ship in ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 3 it is to effect the success of the yajamāna's 'cosmic journey' towards heaven. The same interpretation holds good with regard to the next words *imāṃ su nāvam aruham* etc. "happily I have mounted this ship . . ." (TS. 1, 5, 11, 5; KS. 2, 3; cf. also AV. 17, 1, 25). They are in ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 4 followed by the formulas TB. 3, 7, 7, 4 expressing the yajamāna's belief that he has "mounted the dīkṣā, the wife of ṛta" (which in the commentary is explained by *yajña-*), that he has become light, and reached heaven.[260]

The yajamāna sits down in a particular manner and puts the girdle (*mekhalā*) on with *ūrg asi āṅgirasy ūrṇamradā(ḥ) / ūrjaṃ me yaccha pāhi mā, mā mā hiṃsīḥ* "you are the strength of the Aṅgirases, soft as wool; grant me strength, protect me, do not harm me". The ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 14 observes that it was the Aṅgirases – the mythical prototypes of this ritual feature (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 10) – who perceived this source of strength. The Aṅgirases, sons of heaven and great seers, who were closely associated with Indra, seem to have been a race of higher beings, attendants of Agni and somehow intermediate between gods and men.[261] There is as the ŚB., l.c., remarks nothing obscure in the words "soft . . . etc.", because a girdle is not rarely applied "for strength". Thus a bride was to be girded with a yoke-rope in order to become 'immortal' or to obtain wealth and progeny (AV. 14, 1, 42; 2, 70; Kauś. 76, 7 etc.). A girdle was also put on in rites aiming at vāja, the generative power manifesting itself in vegetation etc., by which new life and new food is obtained (AV. 14, 2, 70). Those who consecrated themselves with a view to abhicāra, i.e. the application of rites for malevolent purposes wore likewise a mekhalā (AV. 6, 133). As a "source of strength" this object was also regarded as a "rival-killing vajra" (Kauś. 47, 16). In the same quality it is ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 10 prescribed for the man who is consecrated, because he also attains completion (*samāpti-*) by it. It may therefore be considered to symbolize the dīkṣā (ŚB. 3, 4, 3, 2-5; 6, 2, 2, 39 etc.). "Das Umgürten stärkt nicht allein die Kraft, sondern verwandelt auch".[262] – Although this formula in its entirety is confined to this ritual application, the second part occurs (in the variant *ūrjaṃ mayi dhehi*) also elsewhere: VS. 10, 25; ŚB. 5, 4, 3, 26 etc. when the performer of the rājasūya touches and addresses a shoot of an udumbara tree.[263]

Meanwhile the wife of the yajamāna is girded with the stanza TS. 1, 1,

260 See above.
261 For details: Macdonell, *Vedic mythology*, p. 142 ff.
262 *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, III, 1210 ff.
263 Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 130. Otherwise e.g. ĀpŚS. 14, 33, 2.

10 e *āśāsānā saumanasaṃ prajāṃ saubhāgyaṃ tanūm / agner anuvratā bhūtvā saṃ nahye sukṛtāya kam* "praying for benevolence, offspring, good fortune, myself,[264] in devotion to Agni, I gird myself for ritual and religious merits" and 3, 5, 6, 1 a "I gird you with milk and ghee, I gird you with water and plants; I gird you with offspring; today being consecrated (*dīkṣitā*) win vāja for us". The variant of the former stanza AV. 14, 1, 42 – which in d significantly reads *amṛtāya kam* "for immortality" – is Kauś. 76, 7 used when the bride is girded with a yoke-rope, but Vait. 2, 6 when the wife of the yajamāna is girded; cf. ĀpŚS. 2, 5, 2 (Darśapūrṇamāsa); ĀpŚS. 7, 28, 2 makes it accompany the adoration of the sacrificial post (paśubandha, animal sacrifice). The other stanza corresponds to AV. 14, 2, 70 which in the opinion of Whitney[265] is an artificial (?) variation of TS. 3, 5, 6, 1 and is used at the girding of the bride (Kauś. 76, 7). What interests us most is that the wife, while girding herself for the sake of religious merit, and being consecrated is to win vāja.

While wrapping the sacrificer in a garment the adhvaryu recites the words "you are the shelter, refuge; śarma of Viṣṇu, the shelter of the yajamāna; grant me a shelter (refuge, protection)". The last words agree with the version of ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 8, where the sacrificer puts on the garment himself. Here ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 17 furnishes us with the interesting comment that "he who is consecrated becomes both Viṣṇu and a sacrificer, for when he is consecrated, he is Viṣṇu, and when he sacrifices, he is the sacrificer". It may be remembered that according to TS. 1, 8, 15, 1 the king who during the rājasūya ceremonies – the purport of which is the endowment of the sacrificer with the various powers and energies inherent in kingship – makes the Viṣṇu steps becomes Viṣṇu and gains these worlds (*viṣṇukramān kramate, viṣṇur eva bhūtvemāṃl lokān abhijayati*); cf. also TB. 1, 7, 4, 4; 1, 7, 9, 2. Viṣṇu is the god who acquires the power of pervasion and penetration for the sacrificer who by imitating the god's activity reaches his goal, i.e. the heavenly world, the safe refuge.[266] While enveloping his head (ĀpŚS. 10, 9, 8) the sacrificer says: *nakṣatrāṇāṃ mātīkāśāt pāhi* "protect me against the too intense shine of the constellations". Although this formula does not in this form occur in other ritual connections the more extended form Vait. 11, 13 (*dīkṣā*); Kauś. 82, 11 (funeral rites) may be compared: "the shine and the reflection of the constellations must favour me". As is well known the belief in unfavourable influences of

[264] *tanūm*: see Keith, *o.c.*, p. 10 f. (n. 4) and Renou, *Grammaire de la langue védique* (Paris, 1952), p. 231 (§ 282, n. 4).
[265] Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṃhitā*, p. 766.
[266] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 172 f.

stars and constellations has been widespread in Europe as well as elsewhere;[267] cf. e.g. the fear for Sirius (the dog-star) "that baleful sign, which brings to suffering mortals fiery heat" in various countries (Hesiodus, Opera 587 etc.).

At this point BaudhŚS. 6, 5 makes mention of an act in connection with the *uṣṇīṣa-*, that is a turban or something similar wound round the head: "Il réunit au-dessus de la tête les pans du vêtement et les assujettit en nouant le turban par dessus de gauche à droite" (*pratikṛṣya vasanasyāntān pradakṣiṇam uṣṇīṣeṇa śiro veṣṭayati*): "De prospérité je t'enveloppe la tête, pour la prospérité, la gloire, la splendeur de sainteté".[268] The uṣṇīṣa is ŚB. 5, 3, 5, 23 addressed as "the navel of nobility"; by drawing the head-band together one "places him in the navel of nobility". That is to say: the turban is the source of special power or qualities. This formula belongs to the ceremonies executed to prepare the royal sacrificer who is to undertake the rājasūya.[269] On this occasion the Maitrāyaṇīyas prescribe three garments and three formulas which are in the relative formulas said to signify the amnion, the womb and (the turban) the navel or umbilical cord (*nābhi-*) of the royal power. The White YV. prescribes four garments characterizing them in the formulas as the amnion, chorion, womb and 'navel' of nobility. As all the relevant texts mention the uṣṇīṣa on this occasion, there can be no doubt that its use in the dīkṣā under discussion is, in BaudhŚS. (and optionally in Bhār.) due to a borrowing. Curiously enough the embryo of a victim is ŚB. 4, 5, 2, 7 wrapped in an uṣṇīṣa. This formula (*śriyā te śiro veṣṭayāmi śriyai yaśase brahmavarcasāya*) does not seem to occur elsewhere.

The black antelope's horn which the adhvaryu gives to the sacrificer is addressed as follows: *indrasya yonir asi* "you are the womb of Indra", words which find their explication in ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 25ff.: when 'Sacrifice' (Yajña) paired with Speech (Vāc), Indra became an embryo and entered into their union. The womb from which he was born after a year is identical with the black antelope's horn. Through this horn the sacrificer will, after becoming an embryo, be born again.[270] In contradistinction to these typical dīkṣā-words the formula with which the yajamāna accepts the horn (*mā mā hiṃsīḥ* "do not harm me") is used in various contexts, e.g. when the sacrificer's hair and beard are shaved (the razor being

[267] See e.g. W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Bonn, 1922); V. Stegemann, in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, VIII (Berlin-Leipzig, 1936, 459).
[268] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 18 f.
[269] See Heesterman, *o.c.*, p. 91 f.
[270] Cf. also TS. 6,1,3,7; Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, 10, 9, 17.

addressed, VS. 3, 63); in addressing a powerful being or object (VS. 37, 20); to avert the anger of a terrible god (ŚŚS. 4, 20, 1); to appease the (god of) fire (ibid. 6, 12, 3).

When the sacrificer digs up a clod of earth with the horn folded in the lowest fold of his garment he says "(I seize you) for ploughing, for good crops". "Therefore (medicinal) plants ripen without ploughing" is the comment of TS. 6, 1, 3, 7. As these words and the act itself must be supposed to relate to the sacrificer's rebirth or deification, at first sight the most probable interpretation seems to be that he becomes so powerful that by performing this act he furthers the growth of the plants: the well-known useful by-product of asceticism and of correct behaviour or the mere presence of powerful men. The sacrifice causes ever-flowing blessings to flow together (ŚB. 8, 6, 1, 19); the mere presence of an ascetic may result in rain and fertility (Mbh. 3, 110, 26 cr. ed.,[271] etc. etc.). As to the effects of the state of dīkṣā it may be of some use to quote KātyŚS. 13, 1, 11 where an *arthavāda-* (declaration or exegesis usually recommending a *vidhi-* or ritual precept by stating the good arising from its proper observance and by the evils arising from its omission) in connection with the dīkṣā relating to the Gavāmayana runs as follows: *tān uttiṣṭhata oṣadhayo vanaspatayo 'nūttiṣṭhanti. tān dīkṣitān uttiṣṭhato 'nu oṣadhivanaspatīnāṃ praroho bhavati. tac caivam upapadyate. tathā tarhy apo 'bhinandamānā avabhṛtham abhyavayanti. tad apy evam eva ghaṭate. vanaspatipraroho 'pām abhinandanaṃ ca caitroddeśa eva bhavati. tasmān māghī caturahaviśeṣaṇam.* From this it appears that a ritual rising effects the sprouting of plants and trees and that the state of dīkṣā causes them to grow up. As is often the case the performance of a rite pursues a plurality of objects and entails various effects. The Vedic dīkṣā obviously was not only to prepare the sacrificer for the cult of the gods and to ensure him a higher state of existence, it did not fail to exert influence for good on nature. The first part of the above formula is also used during the Vājapeya when the king has been made the ruler of his subjects (VS. 9, 22; ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 25 etc.) "whereby he means to say: '(here I seat) thee for the welfare (of the people)'".

On second thoughts however there is room for a reference to ŚB. 8, 3, 4, 8 f. where the sacrificer is said to establish himself by means of four similar formulas (*āyuṣe tvā, varcase tvā, kṛṣyai tvā, kṣemāya tvā*) in yonder world; "that was, as it were, an ascent from here". Besides, this formula forms part of a similar series addressed to the king who, when performing the

[271] See also H. Lüders, "Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga", in *Philologica Indica* (Göttingen, 1940), p. 1 ff.

Vājapeya ceremony has mounted the sacrificial post, exclaiming "we have come to heaven, to the gods; we have become immortal" (see e.g. ŚŚS. 7, 1, 3, 5). In TS. 7, 1, 11, 1 (cf. BŚS. 15, 7) similar formulas are quoted as accompanying the sprinkling of the horse (Aśvamedha). Cf. TB. 3, 8, 3, 6. ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 30, commenting upon the dīkṣā, is on the other hand of the opinion that the formula *susasyāḥ kṛṣīs kṛdhi* produces the sacrifice, "for when there is a good year, then there is abundant (material) for sacrificing".

While stroking his right whisker with the same implement the yajamāna pronounces the formula *supippalābhyas tvauṣadhībhyaḥ* "for the (medicinal plants) well-furnished with berries". According to TS. 6, 1, 3, 7 and MS. 3, 6, 7 he thereby causes the plants to bear fruits.[272] Elsewhere this mantra accompanies the erection of the sacrificial stake (see VS. 6, 2; TS. 1, 3, 6, 1; 6, 3, 4, 2; ĀpŚS. 7, 10, 3): after anointing the top-ring he fastens it on the stake "that rice and other plants may thrive and be productive"; cf. also ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 12. Whereas the function of this mantra in a 'fertility rite' is clear, its occurrence in the dīkṣā ceremonies may give rise to considerations analogous to those brought forward in connection with the preceding formula.

When the sacrificer wants to scratch himself with the horn he must use the stanza quoted MS. 1, 2, 2; ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 3 which, as already observed by Caland,[273] was primarily intended to accompany another ritual act relating to the same implement, viz. the casting away, at a later moment, of the horn in the cātvāla ("sacrificial pit"[274]) when the dakṣiṇā has been brought (see e.g. TS. 6, 1, 3, 8, where a motivation is added; ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 3; 13, 7, 16). That is to say: these words were transferred to another ritual act connected with the antelope horn.

Next the adhvaryu offers the yajamāna the staff of udumbara wood while pronouncing MS. 1, 2, 2; MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 15; ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 4 *ūrdhvasad* (var. *bṛhann*) *asi vānaspatyaḥ, sudyumno dyumnaṃ yajamānāya dhehi* etc., which is, as the formula says, "to grant splendour to the sacrificer".[275] The sacrificer accepts the staff which is to drive away evil spirits (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 32) – udumbara wood meaning, moreover, food and strength (ibid. 33)[276] – with a formula invoking the object's protective power (ibid. 35). Accord-

[272] See also Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 144.
[273] Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 144.
[274] For the cātvāla (a hole in the ground for constructing the uttaravedi) see Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 76; J. Schwab, *Das altindische Tieropfer* (Erlangen, 1886), p. 24 ff.
[275] For details see also Caland, *o.c.*, II., p. 145.
[276] Udumbara wood was considered suitable for employment at the sacrifice (cf. e.g. TS. 3,4,8,4) and in fact constantly used for ritual purposes of all kinds.

ing to TS. 1, 22, 3; ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6; ŚŚS. 2, 1, 2, 16 the staff is addressed as follows: "the god (divine) tree has a good womb" (*sūpasthā devo vanaspatiḥ*); this formula is a shorter variant of VS. 21, 60 etc., used in the Sautrāmaṇī rites. These formulas clearly primarily belonged to the staff, not to the dīkṣā ceremony. It may be remembered that the staff played also a part in the upanayana ceremonies (see e.g. ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 13). Although this object was required for support, in tending cattle etc., its ritual significance is undeniable: a brahmacārin should not allow anyone to pass between himself and the staff etc. (ŚGS. 2, 13, 2f.). The formula spoken over the wooden dish which is to contain the milk (i.e. the dīkṣita's food) gives rise to the same observation (ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6 b).

The following important act is described ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6 c; 11, 1ff., to which we should compare KauṣB. 7, 4.[277] This brāhmaṇa, relating "the consecration of Keśin"[278] informs us that once when Keśin,[279] the son of Darbha, was desperate, because he was not consecrated, a golden bird came to him offering him the knowledge of consecration in exchange for other useful information. And so it happened. This bird said: "The bodies are consecrated by that sacrifice; but that man is consecrated indeed whose gods within are consecrated" (KauṣB. 7, 4 *śarīrāṇi vā etayeṣṭyā dīkṣante, yā vā imāḥ puruṣe devatā yasyaitā dīkṣante sa dīkṣata iti*). These words find their explanation in the following formulas which are ĀpŚS. 10, 10, 6 c[280] preceded by other formulas. According to the ritual doctrine underlying Āpastamba's directions the dīkṣita is identical with Agni (cf. ĀpŚS. 10, 13, 1), Vāyu, Āditya, Candramās and Prajāpati. That is to say: he has been 'deified', representing various aspects of (cosmic and creative) divine power. The dīkṣā itself is in a similar way identified with the earth,[281] the atmosphere, the sky, hearing and manas ("mind, heart").[282] The complete formulas run as follows: *agnir dīkṣitaḥ, pṛthivī dīkṣā, sā mā dīkṣā dīkṣeta, tayā dīkṣayā dīkṣe* etc. "... this dīkṣā may consecrate me; by this dīkṣā I wish to be consecrated". That is to say, the earth must consecrate the yajamāna so that he will experience the 'Agni deification', etc. JB. 2, 53 gives the following formulas: "I am consecrated

[277] See also Caland, *o.c.*, II, p. 145.
[278] For a variant see JaimB. 2, 53 f. (Caland, *Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl*, Amsterdam Academy, 1919, p. 138).
[279] Cf. A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index* (Benares, 1958), I, p. 187.
[280] Cf. also HirŚS. 10, 10 (p. 1037) and JB. 2, 53; 65. See also Caland, *Over en uit het Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa* (Amsterdam Academy, 1914), p. 40.
[281] For the correlation between Agni and the earth see e.g. ŚB. 6, 1, 1, 15; 6,2,1,29; 6,3,2,2 etc.
[282] For *manas* see my *Ancient Indian ojas* ... (Utrecht, 1952), p. 46 ff.

by the dīkṣā by which Agni was consecrated etc." (the moon being left unmentioned). Besides, JB. 2, 64 and ĀpŚS., l.c., adds some interesting formulas: "by Voice, Breath, Sight, Hearing, Mind my voice, breath etc. must undergo the consecration in order to reach Agni, Vāyu etc. (*vācā me vāg dīkṣatām agnaye samaṣṭavā u* etc.)". It is clear that these formulas presuppose the existence of a theory of consecration – obviously Keśin's dīkṣā, see also JB. 2, 68 – through ritual or 'mystic' identifications with divine (cosmic etc.) powers.

Thereupon, ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 1 continues, the adhvaryu addresses the yajamāna with the following consecratory words (TB. 3, 7, 7, 4-9): "Earth (Atmosphere, the Sky, the regions of the sky, water, the plants, Voice) is (are) the consecration; through it (them) as consecration Agni (Vāyu, Āditya, Candramās, king Varuṇa, king Soma, Breath) are consecrated; the consecration by which Agni (etc.) has been consecrated, by that I consecrate you. – The earth (etc.) must undergo the consecration after you who have been consecrated. The ṛg-stanzas, the sāmans, the yajus-formulas must undergo the consecration after you who have been consecrated. Day and night, cultivation and rain, brilliance (authority: *tviṣi-*) and reverence (*apaciti-*), water and plants, vigour and kindness must etc.". The first part of these formulas impress us as an extended form of the formulas given in 10, 10, 6 c. The second series bears witness to the importance of the consecration of the yajamāna, whose experience serves, so to say, as a model for the provinces of nature and other powerful concepts and events.

According to ĀpŚS. 10, 11, 2 – cf. Kāṭh. 9, 15: 118, 4 – the adhvaryu has the dīkṣita recite the sambhāra formulas (*agnir yajurbhiḥ* etc.: MS. 1, 9, 2; TĀ. 3, 8, 1; MŚS. 2, 1, 1, 17 etc.).[283] These formulas through which the gods had conquered the asuras, must also be used before the dīkṣā (ĀpŚS. 10, 3, 5f.; cf. MS. 1, 9, 8), on the occasion of the soma sacrifice of a rival (ĀpŚS. 14, 19, 1f.) and on other occasions.

Now the adhvaryu has the dīkṣita recite the formula *svāhā yajñaṃ manasā* (TS. 1, 2, 2, 3 n) etc. "svāhā, (I grasp) with (my) mind the sacrifice; svāhā, from heaven and earth; svāhā, from the broad atmosphere; svāhā, from the wind I grasp the sacrifice". The motivation procured by TS. 6, 1, 4, 2 runs as follows: "man approaches the sacrifice with his mind ...; the sacrifice is in heaven and earth ...; and in the atmosphere ...; the sacrifice is the wind,[284] verily he clearly grasps him (it)". The purport of these formulas doubtless is to state that the dīkṣita now has control over

[283] See also Caland, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, II, p. 126.
[284] One might compare AiĀ. 2,1,1.

the sacrifice, that is that he has gained the first object of his efforts. Approaching the sacrifice with his mind, he obtains the sacrifice which is in the cosmos.[285] It may be remarked that according to VS. 4, 6 etc. the first formula is "from mind (*manasaḥ*) I ..." ("vom Geiste her ...", Caland). While pronouncing these formulas the yajamāna is enjoined to bend his fingers and finally to close his hands:[286] MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 20. This means, according to AiB. 1, 3, 19f.: "he closes his hands; verily the embryo lies within closing its hands; with closed hands the child is born. In that he closes his hands, verily thus he clasps in his hands the sacrifice and all the deities". The yajamāna has from this moment also to restrain his speech (see e.g. MŚS. 2, 1, 2, 20), "for the support of the sacrifice" (*vācaṃ yacchati yajñasya dhṛtyai*, TS. 6, 1, 4, 3), "c'est-à-dire qu'il ne devra plus désormais tenir aucun propos qui ne soit sacré".[287]

The ceremony now reaches its close, when the adhvaryu proclaims the yajamāna consecrated to both gods and men.

When a Jyotiṣṭoma is to be executed there are one, three, four or an indefinite number of dīkṣā days (according to ĀpŚS. 10, 15, 1; VaitS. 13, 1; cf. ŚŚS. 5, 4, 7; KātyŚS. 7, 1, 29f.). Those who wish to perform a Gavāmayana or 'Jahressattra' – by which they hope to obtain offspring, prosperity, heaven and a firm position in this world –, should according to some anonymous authorities referred to in ĀpŚS. 21, 15, 14 undertake a dīkṣā of seventeen days.[288] For the performer of the horse sacrifice twenty-one dīkṣā days are required (VaitS. 36, 25). From these and similar facts the conclusion may be drawn that the consecratory rites were continually modified, enlarged and adapted to the schemas of the long and complicated 'sacrifices' to which they belonged.

Conflicting dīkṣā ceremonies on the part of others are to be avoided because *saṃsava-*, the simultaneous performance of a soma sacrifice, is harmful (GB. 1, 3, 19).[289] Hence also AiB. 1, 3, 21 *na pūrvadīkṣiṇaḥ saṃsavo 'sti, parigṛhīto vā etasya yajñaḥ, parigṛhītā devatā, naitasyārtir asty aparadīkṣiṇa eva yathā tathā* "the (evil consequences of a) competing pressing (of soma) are nullified for him who is consecrated first; the sacrifice is grasped by him, the deities are grasped; no misfortune is his as there

[285] For the ritual use according to Āpastamba see Caland's note, *o.c.*, II, p. 146.
[286] For details see ĀpŚS. 10,11,3 f.
[287] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 19, where some particulars are given.
[288] See also KātyŚS. 13,1,2 ff. *gavāmayanāyaikāṣṭakāyāṃ dīkṣā; ekāṣṭakā nāma kṛṣṇāṣṭamī māghasya prasiddheḥ*. – For the numeral 17, which belongs to Prajāpati, see e.g. Eggeling, in *S.B.E.*, XLIV (Oxford, 1900), p. 570 f.
[289] Bloomfield, *Atharva-veda etc.*, p. 114 f.; Caland, *Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda* (Amsterdam Academy, 1910), p. 44 (note on 16, 6).

is of him who is not consecrated first". It is clear that the dīkṣita "grasps" deities and sacrifice and that if these have already been grasped by another sacrificer who has been consecrated before, the other sacrificer misses the opportunity to come into the right contact with the divine and sacral powers. What interests us most is that this text shows that undertaking the dīkṣā means to "grasp" gods and sacrifice, to enter into contact with them, to call on the divine presence and co-operation.

D. THE DĪKṢĀ OF ASCETICS

It is time now to turn to a form of dīkṣā which may at first sight seem astonishing, but which on second thoughts may be supposed to have constituted a very important link in the development of the institution under consideration. Whereas the Vedic Aryan tradition sanctions and extols the householder's life, the *gṛhastha-* found his opposite in the *parivrājaka-*, the wandering religious mendicant, who rejecting the dharmabooks of the brahmans, "giving up children, brothers, relatives, the sacred cord and the brahmanical tuft of hair, Veda-study as well as sacrifices" (AruṇiU. 1) went "from home into homelessness".[290] This phenomenon[291] which must have been remarkably frequent in the centuries in which the Vedic culture faded into Hinduism was of considerable historical significance. The wandering ascetics and their hermitages contributed much to the cultural colonization of the Indian peninsula. In customs and way of life the ascetics of 'orthodox' brahmanic origin did not, as far as may be judged from appearances, stand out considerably from the heterodox recluses and wanderers, however much diversity of opinion there might, among these ascetics, have existed with regard to view of life, soteriology and ascetic practices.

Now, a group of later upaniṣads[292] which deal with these wandering almsmen and their condition of life, interestingly enough, prescribes for them an initiatory ritual. Although the details of this ritual vary in different texts, its significance is clear: it is a ceremonial rejection not only of home-life, but of the whole system of Vedic socio-religious practices as

[290] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 283 f.; Har Dutt Sharma, *Contributions to the history of brāhmaṇical asceticism* (Poona, 1939).
[291] See also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Indo-européens et Indo-iraniens. L'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J. C.* (Paris, 1936), p. 290 ff.
[292] The Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣads edited by F. O. Schrader. *The Minor upaniṣads*, I (Adyar, 1912).

observed by the householders who regulated their lifes in accordance with the dharma established by the brahmans. These homeless wanderers did not only renounce 'the world', but also the brahmanic rites and way of life. Their renunciation (*saṃnyāsa-* "complete casting off") implied a reaction against, a non-conformity with regard to, the brahmanic ritualism, because these ascetics abandoned also all aspirations which the other Aryans tried to realize by means of their rites and ceremonies. It is indifference to all worldly objects (*vairāgya-*) and the realization of the oneness of individual and brahman which make a man a true saṃnyāsin. But this condition of life, like the various stages of existence in the world, can only be entered upon by passing through an 'initiation'.

In illustration attention may be invoked to the so-called Saṃnyāsa-Upaniṣad which was at the time translated by Paul Deussen.[293] "Ein sehr verwittertes Stück der altindischen Literatur..., welche(s) in Prosa mit eingelegten Versen den Übergang vom Stande des Hausvaters zu dem des Waldeinsiedlers (*vānaprastha-*) und Entsagers (*saṃnyāsin-*) schildert, welche beide[294] hier nicht geschieden werden".[295] In chapter I the text says that the man who desires to pass beyond the normal stages of life (*āśrama-*) should sanctify himself with Vedic mantras. He should, for the last time, perform, in the forest, a sacrifice in honour of the Fathers, and execute the *brāhmeṣṭi-*, i.e. a special sacrifice (of vegetable oblations), while reciting mantras in which immortality is stated to be the end in view of the sacrificer, and Brahman is implored to bless the person speaking, and, moreover, the mantra AV. 4, 1, 1. The oblations are offered to Brahman, the Great "First-born", Fundamental Power; Atharvan,[296] the founder of a semi-divine family of priests; Prajāpati, the god of biological creation; Anumati, the goddess "Favour"; and Agni Sviṣṭakṛt ("offering well, performing a right sacrifice"). Thereupon he throws his two kindling-sticks – which he will not need any longer – into the fire and offers ghee to the appropriate accompaniment of the four chapters of AV. 18, which, as is well known, contains funeral verses. By this recitation he achieves his sanctification. After having by this rite taken leave of the world, he places his three sacrificial fires in himself. This act is described also Manu 6, 25; 38: "henceforth he will live without a fire, and without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots". According to Medhātithi the procedure, viz. swallowing the ashes etc., had to be learnt from the Śrā-

[293] P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda* (Leipzig³, 1921), p. 686 ff.
[294] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 284.
[295] Deussen, *o.c.*, p. 686.
[296] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, § 52.

maṇakaSūtra, a text of, or for śramaṇas,[297] ascetics performing acts of austerity and mortification,[298] Haradatta on ĀpDhS. 2, 9, 21, 21 explains *śravāṇaka-* (*sic*, a variant) by *vaikhānasaṃ śāstram*, a piece of information which is in harmony with BaudhDS. 2, 6, 19 where a *vānaprastha-* is defined as one who follows the practices laid down in the Vaikhānasaśāstra. As will be seen further on the VaikhS. 8, 6; 9, 1-5 indeed details how a person on entering the order of the Vaikhānasas is to establish the śrāmaṇaka fire. Without going for the moment any further with the discussion of this 'fire', I must observe that an iṣṭi sacred to Prajāpati is in this connection also mentioned by Manu 6, 38 (see above).[299]

Chapter II contains an expatiation on the difference between the *gṛhastha-* who is an *āśramin-* and the *saṃnyāsin-*, chapter III the dīkṣā proper: after having abandoned his sacrificial fire he does not return to it. With the mantra AV. 11, 8, a mystic text, "especially on the constitution of man"[300] which refers to the ātman, he undertakes the dīkṣā. For that purpose he puts on the brown-red ascetic's habit,[301] removes the hair from arm-pit and abdomen and keeps his arm raised. Two usual practices recur: shaving and another dress. The posture may be considered one of those severe experiences testing the novice's power of endurance. The uncomplicated character of this consecration is also exhibited by the stanzas in chapter IV from which it appears that the ascetic also possessed a staff. The next lines and chapter V dealing with the meditation on, and the identification with, brahman can remain undiscussed here.

In another saṃnyāsa-upaniṣad,[302] the Ka(ṇ)ṭhaśruti ("Antritt des Saṃnyāsistandes und Schilderung desselben"), the dīkṣā of the wandering ascetic is dealt with in a similar way: "Nachdem er die Opferfeuer aufgegeben hat, soll er sie nicht wieder aufkommen lassen. Hierauf murmele er... AV. 11, 8, und nachdem er gesprochen: "wohl ergehe es allen Geschöpfen!", begehe er die Weihe (*dīkṣā-*). Braunrot sei das Gewand, die Haare an Achselhöhle und Scham beseitige er...., den Arm empor-

[297] See also Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 917.
[298] For particulars see also GautSmṛti 3, 27; ĀpDhS. 2,9,21,21; VasDhS. 9, 10 and Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 919.
[299] "Prājāpatya rite, as prescribed in the Yajurveda; at this the giving away of all one's belongings is enjoined. After this has been performed, the fires are reposited by the man within himself..." (Medhātithi).
[300] Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-veda saṃhitā*, p. 647.
[301] Compare also Ph. Oppenheim, *Symbolik und religiöse Wertung des Mönchskleides im christlichen Altertum* (München, 1932).
[302] See Deussen, *o.c.*, p. 696 ff.

gestreckt...", etc. (chapter 3 or 5).[303] According to chapter I of the Adyar edition he should even tear his hair together with the tuft on the crown of his head and henceforth feed on what he comes across, and only so much as to support life, partaking of food as if it were medicine. According to the ParamahaṃsaU. (2) an ascetic of the highest order (*paramahaṃsa-*) should live without staff, clothes, tuft of hair and sacred cord. The true saṃnyāsa however consists in the realization of the oneness of the individual 'soul' and the soul of the All (see also MaitreyaU. 3, 8).

At this point it should however be emphasized that notwithstanding the obvious tendences to retire from the world and to seclude themselves from the aryan society these hermits and anchorets could not separate themselves completely from the sphere of influence of the brahmans. The latter, becoming more and more inclined to regulate the behaviour of their fellow-men and to expand their ideas of dharma to all classes of men living within their horizon, did not miss the opportunity to give their verdict over the acceptability of the customs and practices of the recluses. As far as these could find favour in the eyes of the foremost representatives of definite schools of brahmanic thought they were approved, considered acceptable and incorporated, sometimes in sūtra or, more generally, in smṛti texts[304] (compare BaudhDhŚ. 2, 17). In details, however, authorities held different views. Whereas for instance some of them allowed the anchoret (*vānaprastha-*) to take his ritual fires with him, others enjoined him to give them up and kindle a new fire in accordance with special rules. One of the most conspicuous differences between the regulations for the vānaprasthas and those for "the fourth period of life", i.e. the saṃnyāsins, concerns the ritual fire(s); the latter group must not have a fire (see e.g. Manu 6, 43), a regulation which no doubt rests on the absence of ritual fires in the milieus of the recluses and on their being necessities in normal aryan life.

Some passages of the relevant texts make interesting reading for those who study the applications of the term *dīkṣā-*. It is quite clear that the author of the intricate classification of the vānaprasthas in BaudhDhŚ. 3, 3 has attempted to classify, as an ardent systematizer, the types of vānaprasthas which he actually knew or which he supposed, for the sake of his system, to exist. According to him five classes of ascetics may be distinguished, who take cooked food, and five classes who do not cook.

[303] In Schrader's text, p. 40 ...*ity adhyātmamantrāñ japet. svasti sarvajīvebhya itv uktvā dīkṣām upeyāt, kāṣāyavāsāḥ, kakṣopasthalomān varjayet...*

[304] See e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 917 ff.

Among the latter there are ascetics who eat food from their hands or who do not use their hands at all, eating like animals, etc. These ten modes of living are (3, 3, 15) called the Ten dīkṣās of the Vaikhānasas. Here also *dīkṣā-* practically means *vrata-*. Compare, in the same text, 1, 15, 29 *vratopeto dīkṣitaḥ syāt.*

It is for reasons of space not possible to quote the detailed prescriptions contained in the Vaikhānasasmārtasūtra (9, 1 ff.) in full.[305] What strikes us is, first the distinction made between a hermit living in the forest (*vanastha-*) and a *bhikṣu-* or *saṃnyāsin-*[306] and in the second place that the śrāmanaka-fire is a real fire, the rite of establishing it being described in 8, 6. In 9, 5 this fire is rightly stated to be only a modification of the sabhya-fire.[307] Stressing the similarities with other ceremonies mentioned in this chapter I draw attention to the usual shaving, which must be followed by the performance of a *prājāpatya-kṛcchra-* penance.[308] Like the upanayana – especially in case of a brahman[309] – the decisive step should be undertaken in spring – this season is also prescribed for the agniṣṭoma[310] –, during the bright half of the moon and under an auspicious asterism. "Let him rather begin it in spring, for the spring is the brāhmaṇa's season, and whoever sacrifices, sacrifices after becoming, as it were, a brahman" (ŚB. 13, 4, 1, 3). On the preceding day the performer of these rites, like the student who undertakes upanayana and samāvartana, has bathed, formulated his intention to become a hermit and drunk a decoction of kuśa-grass.[311] He should collect the objects required (as in the upanayana), i.e. fuel-sticks, a bamboo staff, a sacred string, a garment of bark. He should also churn a new fire, deposit it on the agnikuṇḍa, make obeisance to it and offer five prāyaścitta-libations. Thereupon he lays down two stalks of sacrificial grass, their tips pointing to the east, above these a stone, on which he places the great toe of his right foot. The gṛhyasūtras belonging to the black YV. contain a similar prescription for a boy who is to undertake upanayana: the guru makes him tread on a stone with the

[305] The reader may consult W. Caland's English translation (Calcutta, 1929), p. 197 ff.

[306] Cf. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 284.

[307] I refer to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 679.

[308] See especially Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 47 ff. (a well-known particular kind of religious mortification or penance, mainly consisting in fasting. It is inter alia to be undertaken by a *dvija-* who eats in the house of a *śūdra-*, by someone who treats a brahman unkindly, by a person who has had intercourse with women who must not be touched, by a *brahmacārin-* who eats meat). Cf. also Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 197.

[309] See Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 293.

[310] Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 1.

[311] See Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 48 (an element of a kṛcchra).

words "be firm like a stone..." (HGS. 1, 3, 14 etc.). He then puts on a garment of bark or goat's hide or a tattered cloth, the girdle, three sacred strings and, as upper garment, the hide of a black antelope: not essentially different from the upanayana. After having circumambulated the fire sunwise he sprinkles water on his head – the student performing the samāvartana besprinkles himself thrice – and partakes of the rest of the sacrificial butter. He sips water, honours the sun – an act which is also performed during the samāvartana – making a pradakṣiṇa, i.e. a turn sunwise, and mutters a modification of the Sāvitrī.[312] Then he enters the order of the hermits and formulates his intention to observe brahmacarya. After presenting oblations to Prajāpati and other deities, he undertakes the observances (the term used is *vrata-*) connected with the study of that part of the Veda which is dedicated to Prajāpati (remember the dīkṣās contained in MānavaGS.). He seizes a double bamboo-staff, shoes and an umbrella – compare, in the samāvartana: "he takes a turban, a parasol, shoes, and a bamboo-staff" –, performs the agnihotra, and offers to Prajāpati. All these acts are accompanied by mantras in which the name of Viṣṇu, in accordance with the character of the text, occurs several times. After having established his new fires, he offers oblations (kh. 4a). These prescriptions are followed by an account of the mode of living and the obligations of the hermit, which need not detain us here.

Khaṇḍa 6ff. deal with the proceedings of a person who, having passed his seventieth year, wishes to become a religious mendicant (*bhikṣu-* or *saṃnyāsin-*). For him also are imperative shaving, bathing, a Prajāpati penance and the collection of utensils. Thereupon he should perform various sacrificial rites. After throwing his sacrificial utensils into his fires and muttering the Sāvitrī, he formally renounces his former mode of life: "I enter into the order of the ascetics". Inhaling the smoke of his fires he makes them enter into himself. He then takes the girdle, the sacred string(s), the hide of a black antelope and an upper-garment "in the manner described formerly" (i.e. as in the upanayana, see 2, 5 end). He again bathes, sips water, restrains his breath sixteen times, recites the Sāvitrī a thousand or a hundred times and performs some rites, of which only the worship paid to the sun interests us here.

It is worth noticing that in this connection the term dīkṣā – without any qualification – could be used also. Dubois[313] speaking about the brahmanic ascetics says that these "pénitents et philosophes, vivant séparés

[312] See Oriens 16 (1963), p. 284 ff.
[313] J. A. Dubois, *Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, Nouv. éd. (Pondichéry, 1921), p. 164 f.

du monde", "ne formaient pas, à cette époque, une tribu tellement intolérante et exclusive que des pénitents d'une caste différente ne pussent y être initiés par la cérémonie du dikcha ou l'investiture du triple cordon. On voit dans ces livres plusieurs exemples de ces initiations". This statement is corroborated by a curious epic passage (Mbh. 12, a. 66) in which the stages of life are called *bhaikṣāśrama-* (st. 5) or *brahmāśrama-* (st. 10), i.e. *brahmacarya-* (Nīlakaṇṭha); *kṣemāśrama-* (st. 6), i.e. *gārhasthya-* (st. 16), "the order of a householder"; and *dīkṣāśrama-* (st. 7), i.e. "the third stage of life" commonly called *vānaprasthāśrama-* (*vaikhānasaḥ*, Nīlakaṇṭha). Cf. st. 9 *pālanāt sarvabhūtānām svarāṣṭraparipālanāt / dīkṣā bahuvidhā rājño vanyāśramapadaṃ bhavet.*

It is no use to expatiate here on the way of living of these ascetics and anchorites. The only point which may interest us is that there is from various sources some evidence that they sometimes organized well-knit bodies, observing rites, ceremonies and rules of discipline, professing a particular faith or doctrine, and recognizing one of their members as their leader.[314]

One of these communities was that of the Ājīvikas, a body of ascetics which, emerging at the same time as Buddhism and Jainism, was characterized by a rigorous discipline. New members seem normally to have been inducted into their order only after an initiation ceremony.[315] In this milieu also this ceremony seems in the beginning to have varied considerably from one group to another. There are even stories of unscrupulous men "who initiated themselves into a profitable career of asceticism by the simple process of losing their clothes".[316] When for instance Pūraṇa's clothes were stolen and he entered a village as naked as on the day of his birth, he was believed to be a holy man and given alms; being much impressed by the ease with which he gained a living in the state of nudity he remained so and acquired a great reputation as an ascetic and teacher.[317] Apparently however Makkhali Gosāla's organization of the loosely knit ascetics introduced some regularity into the procedure of admission to the order.

It seems that in early times an Ājīvika was sometimes initiated by a painful ordeal (burning the hands by grasping a heated lump).[318] This

[314] See e.g. A. L. Basham, *History and doctrines of the Ājīvikas* (London, 1951), p. 3 ff.; 11 ff.; Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early monastic Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1960), ch. III; I. B. Horner, *The early Buddhist theory of man perfected* (London, 1936), p. 21 ff.
[315] Basham, *o.c.*, p. 104.
[316] See Basham, *o.c.*, p. 37; 82 f.; 102; 104.
[317] Buddhaghoṣa, *Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī*, I, p. 142.
[318] Jātaka, III, p. 542.

trial – which was also known to Northern Buddhists[319] – was probably an ordeal intended to render the novice oblivious to physical pain and to test his resolution. Another Pāli reference[320] seems to show that those ordeals may even have resulted in mutilation and deformity. From a story handed down in the Dhammapada Commentary[321] it may probably be concluded that instead of hair-cutting the early Ājīvikas, like the Jainas, extracted the hair by the roots, although there are other sources of information to show that they were not always tonsured or clean-shaven.[322] A curious feature mentioned in the same connection and which according to Japanese Buddhist sources was part of the Ājīvika's ascetic technique[323] is burial up to the neck. "The pit in which the novice was placed may have symbolized his spiritual rebirth from the womb of Mother Earth, or, since burial was not unknown in Ancient India, his 'death to the world.'" As will be seen further certain Tantrist initiation rites, known from later sources, involved the performance of one's own funeral rites. It may also be recalled that the brāhmaṇa texts dealing with the classical soma sacrifice contain unmistakable allusions to the self-sacrifice and death of the consecrated yajamāna or of other consecrated persons. Thus JB. 2, 222 it reads in connection with the vrātyas:[324] *mriyanta iva vā ete ye vrātyāṃ dhāvayanti* "those who go out on a vrātya expedition die as it were". In JUB. 3, 11, 3 the dīkṣā is equated with death: *athaitad dvitīyam mriyate yad dīkṣate* "then he dies for the second time, when he consecrates himself". TS. 7, 4, 9 and PB. 4, 9, 20f. explain a series of ritual acts as a sort of slow self-sacrifice. "They kindle themselves with the dīkṣās[325] ...; in the sattra (i.e. great soma sacrifice lasting more than twelve days) the self is the sacrificial gift; verily taking the self as the gift they go to the world of heaven" (TS.).

In Jainism and Buddhism the loose connection between teacher and disciples developed into "gigantic monastic covenants".[326] The 'initiation' and 'education' of the Jains bear considerable resemblance to the above rites and customs.[327] The teacher (*āyariya-* i.e. *ācārya-* or *dhamm'-āyariya-*) supervises the introduction, the admission, the tuition of the pupil (*antevāsī*, notice the traditional terms). The requisites and equipment of the latter as well as the alms received must be shown to him. Like the Buddhists the Jains instituted a second function, that of the *uvajjhāya-* (*upadhyāya-*) whose task it is to teach the texts (*sutta-*; *sūtra-*) of the community, the meaning of which is explained by the *āyariya-*. One can join the order, i.e. become a novice (*śiṣya-*) at the age of seven and a half: the brahman candidate for upanayana must be in his eighth year. The aspirant's hair is cut. Normally, nobody was allowed to enter noviciate during the rainy season. After a reasonable period of probation in which the conduct of the novice was noticed, he was confirmed as a full member of the order by imposing on him the vows etc. This solemn induction is called *uvaṭṭhāvaṇa-* (i.e. *upasthāpana-*); in later times also *dikkhā-*, i.e. *dīkṣā-*. This term is translated by "consecration" and "renouncement of the world".[328] On this occasion one is *inter alia* given a new name. During important acts, such as study, confession, one has to turn east- or northward; as is well known these directions are of special importance in brahmanic rites,[329] the "door of heaven being in the north-east".[330]

Among the Buddhists the most fundamental division is that between monks – their élite – and householders. A monastic life alone will normally provide the conditions favourable to a spiritual life. It was, and is, regulated by definite ancient rules, which were considered to be of special importance. Passing on to the acceptance into the Buddhist order and referring for particulars to the handbooks, it may be presumed to be generally known that there is, in Buddhism also, the *pravrajyā* – the term which means "leaving the world; adopting the ascetic life" is also used for ascetic or homeless life in general – i.e. the preliminary and preparatory entry into monkhood as a novice – and a 'second ordination', called *upasampadā*, the admission proper to the ranks of the recognized bhikṣus.[331]

319 L. Wieger, *A history of the religious beliefs and philosophical opinions in China* (Hsien-hsien, 1927), p. 431.
320 Jātaka, VI, p. 219 ff., discussed by Basham, p. 104 f.
321 Dhp. Comm. II, p. 52.
322 Basham, *o.c.*, p. 106.
323 See Basham, *o.c.*, p. 106; 112.
324 See p. 289; 326.
325 See also Keith, *Veda of the Black Yajus School*, p. 608.
326 G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1936), p. 260.
327 In general, W. Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1935), p. 159 ff.; A. Guérinot, *La religion djaina* (Paris, 1926), p. 303 ff.; on monks etc. H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus* (Berlin, 1925), p. 336 ff.; Shantaram Bhalchandra Deo, *History of Jaina monachism* (Poona, 1956), p. 214 ff.; H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras* (S. B. E. 22) (Oxford, 1884), Introduction.
328 Sh. Ratnachandraji Maharaj, *An illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary*, III (Limbdi, 1930), p. 159.
329 Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 375; 397 (in general); Gopal, p. 298 (upanayana).
330 Keith, *o.c.*, p. 411.
331 See especially H. Härtel, Karmavācanā, Berlin 1956, p. 58-92; for a short résumé see also E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien* (Louvain, 1958), p. 61 f. (with a bibliography); I. B. Horner, *The Book of Discipline*, vol. I-IV (London, 1949-62), Introduction, passim; J. G. Jennings, *The Vedantic Buddhism of the Buddha* (London, ²1949), p. 98 ff. Other bibliographical references: H. W. Bailey, "The Tumshuq Karmavā-

Some years ago Paul Lévy[332] published an interesting book which, onesided though it may be,[333] has the merit of drawing attention to some ritual practices of Buddhism which in most descriptions of this religion remain in the back-ground. Arguing that no one hitherto has satisfactorily accounted for the fact that the Buddhist ritual of ordination was, and still is, characterized by a collection of acts and prescribed forms remarkable for their unexpectedness, he made an attempt to examine the mythical traditions which the Buddhist connect with the origins of their community and to show that the initiatory practices of Buddhism are largely similar to these prevalent in the so-called mystery religions. The parallelisms of myth and ritual thus established led him to the conclusion that the initiatory aspects of the earliest phase of Buddhism have often been overlooked.

One of the points which Professor Lévy, while considering Buddhism in an uncommon light, has, in his turn, failed to observe is that a considerable part of the initiatory rites and practices[334] mentioned in his book may be parallelled, not only by rites widely practised in mystery religions but also by those brahmanic rites and customs which are studied in this chapter. A comparison with the oldest texts however shows that in many cases they were not always known to the early Buddhists.[335] Although Buddhist ritual does not play a great part and many texts have little to say concerning entry into the order and the attainment of the various monastic ranks, a close examination of the relevant facts brings, as far as the Theravādin communities are concerned, to light that for instance in Cambodia full ordination can only be administered during a short period beginning the 15th of April:[336] again the old preference for 'springtime'.[337] Dwelling only upon those features which we now know are common to a variety of Indian rituals I recall the prescription that the candidate for pravrajyā must at least be eight years old; the novice's dressing in a white

canā", in *BSOAS*. 13 (1949-1950), p. 649 f. The admission of laymen (Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 50 ff.) may be left undiscussed. – I also refer to my remarks on the Buddhist brahmacarya in the preceding chapter.

[332] P. Lévy, *Buddhism: a 'mystery religion'* (London, 1957).

[333] I fail to see why it should be suggested that having an eye for the initiatory aspects of Buddhism should prevent us from considering it a doctrine of salvation.

[334] The ceremonial formulae for the order of acts (*karma*, the term is also Vedic and Hindu) in the upasampada ceremony is contained in texts called Karmavācanā or Karmavākyā (see e.g. A. Ch. Banerjee, in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* 25 (1949), p. 19 ff.).

[335] See also Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 58; 62.

[336] Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 6.

[337] See also Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 31.

cotton garment – a sign that he is taking leave of 'the world of pleasure'[338] –; his dressing as a monk and his being shaven. The "yellow robe" is a sign of his entry into the saṃgha. Before this moment the Burmese bath the novice, "since for them it corresponds to the occasion when the Buddha immersed himself in the River Anomā".[339] One might however safely assume this feature which is also mentioned in the Karmavācanā[340] to reach back to earlier, i.e. pre-Buddhist, times.

There is a procession which on arrival at the monastery goes round it in a triple pradakṣiṇā. The novice stands facing the statue of the Buddha and his *upādhyāya-*, i.e. the master chosen as his ordinant, whose prevalent importance should be noted in all cases.[341] Turning towards him he makes the declaration that he has chosen him as his ordinant and spiritual guide. In reply the ordinant enjoins him to adhere to "the discipline of the recluse". Remember the injunctions laid down in JGS. 1, 12: "Be a student of the Veda, in obedience to the teacher with subdued senses, sleeping on the ground, bearing the staff, the girdle, and the antelope-skin...". The Cambodian upadhyāya after passing a white sash round the novice's neck – in Ceylon[342] a yellow cord is fastened round the same part of his body –, gives him the ten essential rules for a monk to keep, and the young man promises to respect them. In Cambodia, and possibly elsewhere,[343] the ceremony is continued by the reading of the prātimokṣa, i.e. the code of moral duties for the monks and nuns.[344] Theoretically this meeting takes place in secret. After confession[345] the relatives of the new monk offer gifts to the saṃgha, and in particular to the upādhyāya and the abbot. All then unite in prayer, after which follows the sprinkling of lustral water. The new monk, who has his hands, arms and head sprinkled by the upādhyāya, takes after further prayers and "in order to call the earth to witness his promise" a small flask of water and pours out its contents on the ground, "in accordance with ancient customs".

"Nach der Wahl des Upādhyāya hat der Kandidat von diesem die drei Mönchsgewänder zu erbitten... Dieser Bitte folgt die Bitte um die Schale

[338] A. Leclère, *Le Buddhism au Cambodge* (Paris, 1899), p. 406.

[339] G. Appleton, *Buddhism in Burma* (1943), p. 23, quoted by Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 15; see Jennings, *o.c.*, p. LXXXV.

[340] Cf. also S. S. Hardy, *Eastern monachism* (London, 1860), p. 23; I. P. Minayeff, *Recherches sur le Bouddhisme* (Paris, 1894), p. 298.

[341] Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 17.

[342] These ceremonies were described from personal observation in Ceylon by J. F. Dickson, *J.R.A.S.* (1875), p. 1 ff.

[343] Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 12.

[344] See e.g. Nalinaksha Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, p. 151 ff.

[345] For the Northern Buddhists see Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 44.

(*pātra-*)".[346] Compare HGS. 1, 7, 11: after giving the student the staff the teacher gives him a bowl (*amatram*, i.e. *mṛnmayaṃ bhājanam*, comm.) and says to him: "go out for alms". An Indian oath should be taken in the presence of water (ĀpDhS. 2, 11, 29, 7 *apām ante*).[347] Donations should be made while pouring out water, because they are considered promises or covenants;[348] the water was poured on the hand of the donor or on the earth.[349] That this custom goes back to a remote age may be concluded from the Vedic rite called Tānūnaptra:[350] the officiants and the yajamāna, taking a sort of oath, touch water (ŚB. 3, 4, 3, 11; ĀpŚS. 11, 1, 11).[351] At the end of the ceremony the ordained monk again pours water from a vessel to the ground; whatever the modern interpretation, a symbol of the defeat of Māra and of the calling to witness of the Earth, the original significance of this act might have been the confirmation of the solemn promise to give oneself to the Order and to his new task.[352] Finally there is the offering of food (cooked rice) to the bonzes.

In South-East Asian Theravādin communities young people cannot properly attain adult status without a period of monastic training (remember the upanayana).

In some Buddhist regions the novice is mocked by his fellows,[353] an incident which some authors seem to have considered normal,[354] and which provokes immoderate laughter of the congregations. There are puranic parallels. Besides, we are reminded of the tests and ordeals inflicted on the Aryan boy who underwent upanayana (cf. e.g. Mbh. 1, a. 3).[355] There is also similarity in a formular used for the admission. After the threefold formula: "I have recourse to the Buddha, the Doctrine and the Community" the candidate pronounces the words "consider me to be a worshipper" (*upāsakaṃ māṃ dhāraya*).[356]

[346] Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 74 f.
[347] See also H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1951-1959), p. 28 ff.; 669 f.
[348] Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 32.
[349] "Der Schwur beim Wasser kehrt nun in Indien, vielfach völlig unverstanden, immer wieder, insbesondere beim Vertragseid. Bei der Adoption, der Übergabe eines Sohnes an einen andern, bei jeder Schenkung wird noch heutzutage, nicht nur in Indien, sondern überall, wohin indische Kultur gedrungen ist, Wasser ausgegossen, ohne dasz man sich über die Bedeutung des Ritus klar wäre" (Lüders, *o.c.*, p. 669).
[350] See Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 127.
[351] I also refer to p. 220.
[352] I cannot completely subscribe to Lévy's remarks, *o.c.*, p. 22 f.
[353] A. Raquez, *Pages laotiennes* (Hanoï, 1902), p. 193.
[354] E. Young, *The kingdom of the yellow robe* (London, ³1907), p. 257.
[355] See also R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education* (London, 1947), p. 330 ff.
[356] See E. Lamotte, *Le traité de la Grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, II (Louvain, 1949), p. 829 ff. See also further on, p. 390.

In connection with the questions put to the candidate with regard to his 'identity' and his being reminded that he must speak the truth we may recall the interview between teacher and pupil (upanayana): "the former, having asked the boy's name, asks: are you a *samānārṣeya-...*", etc. (ŚGS. 2, 2, 4 ff; cf. KauśS. 55, 10). As to the replacement of the lay name by a religious name[357] we have not only reason for supposing that a name was sometimes changed after studentship: Mbh. 1, 3, 31, but are also reminded of ŚB. 9, 4, 3, 13 "these (deities) come to have two names as he who is consecrated comes to have two names etc." There is also a counterpart of the blindfolding of the aspirant in Hindu rites: when in Laos the highest rank is being conferred on a bonze, he is led out of the bathing cabin with clasped hands, like a blind man, and is taken along 'the eight-fold path'. In this way he passes through all possible existences without stopping in any.[358] There are of course points of difference. For instance the ordination is only conferred upon a candidate in a solemn session of at least ten monks[359] and the monk who presides over the ordination does so with the aid of two assistants, one to scrutinize the past life of the aspirant, the other to make sure that he is fit to receive ordination.

"The priests attending the chapter are required to give their undivided, unremitting, and devout attention throughout the service. Every priest is instructed to join heart and mind in the exhortations, responses, formulas, etc. and to correct every error, lest the oversight of a single mistake should vitiate the efficacy of the rite".[360] Mutatis mutandis, similar rules apply to the Vedic teacher who must, before instructing his pupils, abstain from sexual intercourse[361] and meat-eating and leave the village in the north-eastern direction without looking at things which impede the study of the Veda.[362] It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the many striking similarities between the 'abstinencies' enjoined upon the Buddhist monks and the observances of the brahmanic brahmacārins or the lines of conduct laid down for brahmans and ascetics. Both groups of prescriptions are only special varieties of the generally Indian mode of ascetic life. When the Buddhist is trained in ahiṃsā, in abstinence from taking what is not given, in brahmacarya, in truthfulness, in abstinence

[357] Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 46; also in the Karmavācanā, Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 70; cf. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Hibbert Lectures* (London, 1881), p. 39.
[358] Lévy, *o.c.*, p. 105.
[359] Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 59.
[360] Dickson, *o.c.*, p. 2.
[361] See also R. Pettazzoni, *La confession des péchés*, I (Paris, 1931), p. 161 ff.
[362] See Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 308.

from intoxicating drinks, etc. it may be observed that injury to living beings was also forbidden to a snātaka (Manu, 4, 148 etc.) and particularly to ascetics (id. 6, 39 etc.); that ChU. 3, 17, 4 *ārjavam ahiṃsā satyavacanam* are added to *tapo dānam*; that the year-long abstinence from meat, sexual intercourse, speaking untruth, sleeping on a bed, anointing body and eyes and washing one's feet is ĀpŚS. 22, 3, 16f. explicitly considered a dīkṣā; that speaking the truth is enjoined ŚB. 11, 5, 3, 13 etc.; as we know the Vedic dīkṣita must speak the truth;[363] BaudhGS. 2, 10, 18 enjoins the five main and five minor vows upon brahmanic ascetics;[364] Manu 6, 92 gives a list of the ten commandments for an ascetic, among which are *asteya-* and *satya-* and 10, 63 the same authority declares *ahiṃsā-, satya-, asteya-, śauca-, indriyaparigraha-* to be the summary of dharma for the four varṇas. Moreover, *ahiṃsā-, satya-, asteya-, brahmacarya-, aparigraha-* are the well-known five yamas of Yoga (Pat. YS. 2, 30).[365]

Turning now to legend or history it is interesting to note that the first persons who were ordained, the merchants Tapussa and Bhallika, pronounced the formula[366] "Lord, we take refuge in the Blessed one and in his doctrine. Receive us, o Blessed one, as disciples"[367] which may be held to correspond to the solemn declaration of the Aryan boy: "I have come here for brahmacarya; initiate me" (*upa mā nayasva*, KauśS. 55, 9) and the stereotype request of the Hindu candidate. Later on the Buddha laid down that the candidate, when he had been duly shaved and dressed in yellow, must kneel and say thrice over that he takes the Three Refuges. The disciples, in accordance with a prescribed ceremonial, must – like the Aryan boy or, on his behalf, his father – choose the upādhyāya[368] who would thenceforward be his spiritual father and with whom he would live. In this point also this early Buddhist ceremony was, irrespective of details, not original, whatever its significance as an example or as the mythical prototype might have been for ensuing generations[369].

[363] See above, p. 338. Cf. BĀU. 3,9,23.
[364] Cf. Jacobi, *o.c.*, p. XXIII f.
[365] For later additions etc. see e.g. S. Lindquist, *Die Methoden des Yoga* (Lund, 1932), p. 24.
[366] See Mahāvagga, 1, 4.
[367] See also Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 58.
[368] As is well known ordination took place before two functionaries, the upādhyāya and the ācārya, whose duties are not always well-defined: Härtel, *o.c.*, p. 63.
[369] For Northern Buddhism, see L. Wieger, *Vinaya, monachisme et discipline* (Paris, 1951) (reprint), p. 195 ff. For ancient Buddhism now see also A. Bareau, "Buddhismus", *Die Religionen Indiens*, III (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 299, s.v. Ordination.

E. DĪKṢĀ AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN GENERAL

In a survey of relevant facts which onesidedly emphasizes the similarities between Vedic and post-Vedic consecratory and initiatory ceremonies some attention should be drawn to the different social setting and the different evaluation of rites and ceremonies which, generally speaking, have much in common. A point which in the existing handbooks of Indian ritual and the history of Indian religions has not always received due attention concerns the more or less voluntary character of the Vedic dīkṣā and the admission of individuals to Hindu 'sects' or religious groups (*saṃpradāyas*) on the one hand and the more or less compulsory institution of upanayana on the other. As far as we are able to know, those who in Hindu times joined a 'sect' or a group of worshippers following the tenets and practises of a definite religious movement were generally free to take or not to take this step. Like the Vedic *dīkṣita-* their desire to undergo an 'initiation' springs mainly from individual motives and serves mainly private purposes. The vehemence with which those who failed to undertake the upanayana ceremony were condemned shows, on the other hand, that these Aryas were considered unsocial individuals, who excluded themselves from the membership of the brahman, kṣatriya and vaiśya orders. The "social boycott and ostracism"[370] suffered by these persons is no doubt one of those ancient features of this institution which bring its social aspect to the fore.

Those who do not have their upanayana performed within the age-limits prescribed are indeed condemned as "deprived of the Sāvitrī mantra" (*sāvitrīpatitāḥ* or *patitasāvitrikāḥ*). They are, according to Vyāsa,[371] to be "shunned with care" (*parihāryāḥ prayatnataḥ*). "No one should have any dealings with them such as teaching or performing sacrifices for them" (cf. ŚGS. 2, 1, 9-13). Another authority adds even matrimonial connections to this enumeration (see Manu 2, 39); "intercourse, eating and intermarriage with them should be avoided" (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 33). They are *sarvadharmabahiṣkṛtāḥ* (Yājñ. 1, 38).[372] He, whose father and grandfather have not undertaken upanayana, is like these ancestors, called "a slayer of brahman" (ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 32): quite consistently, because brahman must be kept alive by oral transmission (Mbh. 12, 79, 42 cr. ed.). If nothing is known about the upanayana of one's great-grandfather one deserves the name of "burial-place". These persons

[370] Mookerji, *Ancient Indian education*, p. 176.
[371] Quoted by Mookerji, *l.c.*
[372] For particulars see also Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 322 f.

might be reclaimed by penances and expiatory ceremonies, which need not however detain us here.[373]

Whether Van der Leeuw's statement that "the primitive world recognized only sacred, and not specifically religious, communities, solely sacred, no specifically religious acts",[374] is right or to a certain extent open to objection, any evidence, in ancient times, of groups which released themselves from the community to which they belonged in order to pursue specifically religious acts or to attain salvation in some quite distinctive way should attract the attention of those interested in the history of consecration and initiation. It is, moreover, perfectly true that the community in its entirety cannot be understood in its essence without taking these particular trends and currents into consideration.[375] Those who sever themselves from their community and, forming a more or less coherent or organized group may be 'ecstatics' tending to forming 'mysteries societies' or they may be said to constitute a 'sect' or – to avoid misunderstanding[376] – a (particular religious) group characterized by a more or less complete or formulated heterodox doctrine and particular way of life and cultural customs which are "merely the manifestation of a conviction", of the sort of attitude that creates the sect. In practice however a group may be a 'sect' (in the above sense) as well as a mystery society.

sect

Given this historical development, it is evident that no small degree of comfort and a prospect of final emancipation or a happy after-life was afforded to the devotees of these religions. We are to a certain extent – and taking into account the difference on many points between India and Classical Antiquity – reminded of the antique worships which generally are known collectively as the mystery-cults.[377] Their characteristic being that certain initiations were needed for admission, they enjoined the

[373] For particulars see e.g. W. Gampert, *Die Sühnezeremonien in der altindischen Rechtsliteratur* (Praha, 1939), p. 169 f.

[374] G. van der Leeuw, *Religion in essence and manifestation* (London, 1933), p. 261. It would appear to me that at least for archaic periods we are not in a position to prove beyond doubt the correctness of the author's next statement: "to it (the primitive world) any special cultivation of religious life ... was quite foreign".

[375] See J. Wach, *Religionswissenschaft* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 162.

[376] The definition "a sect is a body of persons who hold certain religious or philosophical doctrines in common, esp. a body whose beliefs are at variance with those commonly held" may of course be adopted, but in common usage the term is often applied to those who break away from a church so as to form a schismatic body.

[377] The reader may be referred to M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (München, 1941-1950), I, p. 440 ff.; 619 ff. (this book was translated into English by F. J. Fielden, *A history of Greek religion*, Oxford, 1925); R. Pettazzoni, *I misteri, Bologna* (w.y.); O. Kern, *Die griechischen Mysterien der klassischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1927).

aspirants or initiates to perform rites which we know very well from India, e.g. bathing (in the sea), baptism, purification, fasting, sitting on an animal's skin, drinking of a potion containing a mixture of various ingredients. The best known feature of Orphic religion was abstinence from killing animals and vegetarianism. The Homeric hymns to Demeter which gives us some information concerning these rites ends by promising to those initiated a new birth[378] or wealth and a happy life in the Underworld. At some time during the ritual the devotee of Attis drank milk, and as this is the food of babies it was interpreted by some at least as a symbol of rebirth.[379] However, moral notions came to be associated with the mysteries, and gentleness and righteousness were added to ritual purity. Those who were initiated in Samothrake bound themselves to confession and dignified behaviour. In the course of time individual edification seems to have come more to the fore. Though impressive, the rites might be interpreted variously so as to conform to the religious needs of various people and every age. When religion was individualized and got detached from the state and the family the propensity for mystic cults rose. In Hellenistic and Roman times the religious precepts became more detailed and binding then before. There were purifications, baptisms, sacraments, asceticism and rites with magical efficacy. They promised the transfiguration of their devotees, deliverance and a happy after-life. It seems likely that anyone who had undergone the taurobolium was 'reborn', not as a human being but as Attis.[380] The adherents were sometimes divided into two or more classes or grades.

What, generally speaking, constitutes these particular groups is the choice, the characteristic tendencies by which they stand out from the community at large. "Their choice is experienced as vocation, their specific powerfulness as their special charisma".[381] What often[382] characterizes them is a strong inclination to identify faith and experience, to perfect their particular principles and way of life. The group or at least those of its members who are completely accepted and generally recognized as patterns of the virtues which it preaches tend to become a more or less 'consecrated community'. The 'teacher', who bases a doctrine and a path on his own experience, is an instrument of salvation, and in India not rarely more than that, the guru being often revered as divine and con-

[378] Kern, *o.c.*, p. 10 f.

[379] H. J. Rose, *Religion in Greece and Rome* (New York, 1959), p. 279.

[380] Rose, *o.c.*, p. 278.

[381] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 262.

[382] but not always.

sidered absolutely necessary for salvation. He is not only a preacher and instructor, but also a hallowed model imitated to as high a degree as possible in the assimilation of life. It may be assumed that also in ancient India more or less loose connections between teachers and disciples tended to develop into groups which in the course of time were recognized as such by outsiders and which internally differentiated themselves from the community at large as well as other groups by particular convictions and practices, and at least in regard to part of their members, by a form of initiation exhibiting features of tribal and mysteries initiation.[383]

If such a 'sectarian community' is bound by vows and tends to split off into a group which is inclined to "leave the world", or like the Buddhists "to go forth from home into homelessness" – which is considered to be a state of purity and freedom[384] leading to salvation – and a group of adherents and devotees who are not, or not yet, willing or able to take this step, the former group can assume the character of an order, and not rarely even monastic tendencies may forge ahead. In the order powerfulness not to be acquired in the 'world' is acquired, a common sanctity attained in and through a common cult, a form of initiation and particular vows and observances. This 'inner circle', unable to rest content with mere life, seeks sacred life, replete with power. Rites guarantee its members power and this power can mean, or may lead to, salvation. The rites are, in a majority of cases, purifications, for what is not pure and released from evil cannot come into touch with the divine.[385] 'Evil' or 'dirt' include all the hindrances and annoyances which prevent the renewal and perpetuation of life. Bathing and baptism, being lustrative and initiatory, are to make life "true"; they induce sacred power, expel the evil influences, and mean a "washing of regeneration". "The real aim of the various tests and purifications ...... is always the renewal of life, the induction of that power which makes possible a new era".[386]

Sceptic philosophers were however not wanting. Dīkṣā, the Jain author Somadeva holds (in connection with the ideas nursed by the Vaiśeṣikas), cannot bring about salvation, as it is seen that the worldly blemishes which existed before initiation persist even after the completion of the rite.[387]

383 R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems* (Strassburg, 1913), p. 1 ff.; 102 ff.; *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 214 ff.
384 See e.g. H. Oldenberg, *Buddha* (Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921), p. 394 ff.
385 Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, ch. 49; F. Heiler, *Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 186 f.
386 Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 196.
387 K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian culture* (Sholapur, 1949), p. 186.

The opinion ventured by Farquhar[388] is in all probability not completely right. The devotee i.e. a Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva layman in the Hindu period chooses – he argues – a guru with whom he establishes a permanent spiritual relation, and this guru is worshipped as a representative of the Lord. "It was perhaps the coming of the guru that led also to the institution of the sectarian dīkṣā, or ceremony of initiation". I would rather opine that the institution of guruship whether held by the father or by a 'priest' has always involved one form of initiation or other. The guru being, in older times, the learned brahman of model behaviour, was in virtue of his knowledge of mantras and rites invited to acquit himself of sacerdotal duties, and part of these rites were 'initiatory' in character. Moreover, in a society which clung to the idea that no entrance into another period of life, no religiously important act could take place successfully without the performance of a preparatory rite, an obligatory solemn admission to a religious community must have been as self-evident as the more or less 'initiatory' character of that ceremony.

In order to show the similarity of initiatory, consecratory and lustrative ceremonies and the identity of some of their component ritual acts, a brief examination may now by way of digression be made of the so-called Hindu "royal inauguration ceremony" called Puṣyasnāna. Reserving this ceremony for further consideration in another publication I would recall here that Varāhamihira's long description (Vār. BS. ch. 48)[389] of this "purification while the moon is passing through the asterism Puṣya" (*nomen est omen*, *puṣya-* meaning also "the best of anything") is intended "to keep the king in a good condition, in a state of perfection, correctness and 'sanctity' (*saṃskāra-*, st. 1) rather than consecrate or inaugurate him. Hence also the term *śānti-* (st. 2) "propitiating and expiatory rite". It is conducted by the purohita and the astrologer on an auspicious place in a forest, in a pure building on consecrated ground, on beautiful sandy river banks, in a hermitage etc. The priest having, in the ancient way, set out in an easterly, northerly, or northeasterly direction, invokes "all the divine beings to receive our worship". The formula (st. 20) is not Vedic. Thereupon the ground should be prepared and a diagram drawn, in the compartments of which various deities are considered to dwell. These deities are likewise in the 'Hinduist' way worshipped. The priest then proceeds to kindle fire on the vedi (st. 34) and brings the usual ingredients. Water-jars are arranged and covered with sprouts; they contain the water for the

388 J. N. Farquhar, *The crown of Hinduism* (Oxford, 1913), p. 380.
389 Translated by H. Kern, *J.R.A.S.* 1871 (= *Verspreide Geschriften*, I) ('s-Gravenhage, 1913), p. 311 ff.

puṣyasnāna. Four skins (two bull's, a lion's, a tiger's) are spread out on the vedi; on these skins a throne is placed, on which the king, who wears a new linen garment, is to take his seat. Solemn acclamations of bards, brahmans etc. are raised. The purohita wraps the monarch in a woolen blanket and, after making a libation, pours over him the contents of the jars filled with ghee (st. 50), and after taking off the blanket, the water destined for the rite (st. 54): "Whatever evil (*kilbiṣam*) has reached thee, that must come to nought by contact with this glossy liquid ......"; "the gods must sprinkle thee ....; they must graciously consecrate (*abhiṣiñcantu*) thee with water that destroys all evil omens, and bestow on thee hail, a long life and health". These are the mantras recited, as well as others prescribed in the ritual of the Atharvaveda and the formulas called Rudragaṇa (*rudro ye 'syāṃ prācī dik*[390]); Kūṣmāṇḍa (these are found TĀ. 10, 3 ff. and mentioned e.g. Manu 8, 106);[391] Mahārauhiṇa (Rauhiṇa is in the MatsyaP. mentioned as a branch of Sāman for recitation at śrāddhas); Kuberahṛdaya ("Kubera's secret science") and Samṛddhi. The washing finished, the king has to put on cotton garments over which have been muttered AV. 1, 5, 1-3 = ṚV. 10, 9, 1-3 (see also TĀ. 4, 42, 4 etc.),[392] the so-called *Āpohiṣṭhīya* mantras, which being of extremely frequent ritual application, occur (ŚGS. 3, 1, 4; HGS. 1, 10, 2; MGS. 1, 2, 11) also in the samāvartana ceremonies. These stanzas are followed by the so-called *Hiraṇyavarṇāḥ*, i.e. AV. 1, 33, 1 ff., which are likewise prescribed HGS. 1, 10, 2; MGS. 1, 2, 11. The king then puts on his new apparel (*alaṃkāra-*) which has been consecrated with the stanzas "Bestowing splendour, length of life, increase of wealth ...." (ṚVkh. 10, 128, 1 ff.; ĀśvGS. 3, 8, 21 with these words the student who is about to go home puts on a golden neck-ornament;[393] also used HGS. 1, 10, 6 and ŚGS. 3, 1, 7, samāvartana).[394] Finally, the purohita presents a burnt offering, the astrologer expounds the foretokens of the fire, and the gods are invited to take their leave.

This ceremony may be performed when evil portents and calamities are afflicting the kingdom. It is very salutary, not only for a king who aspires

[390] See AVPar. 32, 16.

[391] See also Gampert, *o.c.*, p. 74 etc. – Keśava on Kauś. Sūtra 61, 15-17 makes mention of formules "which cause the prosperity (or success) of rites" (*samṛddhibhiḥ*). See also my note on the translation of the Savādhyāya of Kauś. which is to appear in the Proceedings of the Amsterdam Academy.

[392] Cf. Whitney-Lanman, *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*, p. 5.

[393] Cf. also A. F. Stenzler, "Indische Hausregeln", I, *A.K.M.* 4, 1 (Leipzig, 1865), p. 104.

[394] See also J. Scheftelowitz, *Die Apokryphen des Ṛgveda* (Breslau, 1906), p. 118; Gonda, *The Ṛgvidhāna* (Utrecht, 1951), p. 106.

to the rank of an 'emperor' or who longs for the birth of a son – in both cases the monarch enters upon another stage in life –, but also at his inauguration (*tatpūrvam abhiṣeke*, st. 86). That is to say, it may be performed instead of consecration in the proper sense of the term, although it is on the other hand a lustration ceremony which may also be executed to wash one's horses and elephants (st. 87). We should not be surprised at this statement, because some of the ancient authorities prescribed a method of upanayana for the aśvattha tree which is performed even nowadays.[395] It is interesting to add that in 44, 15 the same author, Varāhamihira, uses the term *dīkṣita-* in connection with the lustration of horses and elephants: "After consecrating and washing a horse marked with lucky signs and a choice elephant ..." (*lakṣaṇayuktaṃ turagaṃ dviradavaraṃ caiva dīkṣitaṃ snātam*).

What is, finally, especially interesting is that this ceremony, which is to be performed in the month Pauṣya, is an annually repeated unction that is in all probability a very ancient form of rite. It was at the time supposed by F. W. Thomas[396] that the rājasūya[397] was, in a similar way, a regularly repeated (annual) quickening rite to be undergone by kings.

For the lustrative or purificatory aspects of the 'classical' Vedic dīkṣā one might in this connection compare MS. 3, 6, 2: 61, 1 *apsu dīkṣāṃ praveśayitvā devāḥ svargaṃ lokam āyan. yad apsu snāti tām eva dīkṣāṃ ālabhate. atha yad apo 'vabhṛtam abhyavarti tāṃ vā etad dīkṣāṃ punar apsu praveśayati* "after having caused the 'initiation' to enter the waters the gods went to heaven. In that one bathes in water, one takes hold of (undertakes) that 'initiation'. Now, in that one descends into water for the avabhṛta ceremony (the 'final ablution') one causes the initiation to enter again the waters". In this connection it is worth noticing that at the entrance of early temples the images of the rivers, which have their source and origin in heaven and descend to the earth, are carved to either side of the lintel. The power of the flowing waters here clearly lies in their celestial nature and origin. In the later temples their images are stationed on either side, at the bottom of the door; "the current and ripples of flowing waters are in their swaying stances". "To look at them is equal in effect to the ritual bath in their waters ...... Ablution, transmutation, and initiation are effected at the entrance. This indeed is its initial and essential meaning in sacred architecture ......".[398]

[395] Kane, *o.c.*, II, 299 f.

[396] F. W. Thomas in *Hastings Encycl. of Rel. and Ethics* I, p. 23.

[397] See p. 331 ff. and Heesterman, *Royal consecration*, p. 7, n. 8.

[398] S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu temple* (Calcutta, 1946), p. 314 f.

F. DĪKṢĀ IN VIṢṆUISM (PĀÑCARĀTRA, ŚRĪ-VAIṢṆAVAS)

Viṣṇuism felt the need of initiation to the life of devotion very strongly. Although this tendency should be studied in its historical connections, so many particulars of the long process by which the Vedic god Viṣṇu became, for a considerable part of India's population, the Supreme Being have been lost for ever,[399] that we are unfortunately not in a position to give an account of the beginnings of Viṣṇuite guruship and initiation. Yet so much is clear that the Hindu Viṣṇu was the product of a long and complicated process of amalgamation and that the various cults which were to fuse into his religion must have had modest beginnings. Judging from upaniṣads, Buddhist traditions and other sources dating from the last centuries before and the first centuries after the beginning of the Christian era these cults and the doctrines underlying them must have been taught and more or less esoterically explained by many generations of teachers.[400] It is hardly conceivable that at least the transmission of important mantras or the qualification for the successful performance of certain rites did not from the beginning require a sort of initiation.

In the opinion of the Viṣṇuites the main object of initiation is the purification of the individual which should be the condition of his admission to a religious order or community.[401] The finite soul needs purification before it can be God-conscious. It is, according to the Pāñcarātrins, the guru who purifies the disciple, the ceremony comprising the following elements (*saṃskārāḥ*):[402] the individual should bear the symbols of God on his shoulders; he should put a special mark on his forehead; he should receive a devotional name; receive mantras; and procure an image of God: *tāpaḥ puṇḍraṃ tathā nāma mantro yāgaś ca pañcamaḥ / amī hi pañca saṃskārāḥ paramaikāntithetavaḥ* ("the sacraments conditioning (the state of) the highest exclusive devotion").

It has been supposed[403] that the admission of worthy people to the community was a modified form of the old Vedic dīkṣā. As will be seen in the following pages one might rather argue that the relevant ceremonies,

[399] *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 236 ff.

[400] According to Rāmānuja "true knowledge of the individual soul and of the Supreme Spirit, applied to the obligations imposed by the various dharmas pertaining to each stage and station of life (*varṇāśrama-*), are to precede pious and humble acts of devotion for, and meditation on, the Supreme Spirit – acts held extremely dear by the devotee – that ultimately result in the attainment of the Supreme Spirit" (Rāmānuja, *Vedārthasaṃgraha*, § 3, translated by J. A. B. van Buitenen, Poona, 1956, p. 184).

[401] For details see further on.

[402] K. D. Bharadwaj, *The philosophy of Rāmānuja* (New Delhi, 1958), p. 188 f.

[403] Bharadwaj, *o.c.*, p. 188.

though amplified by non-Vedic elements, bear in many respects a greater resemblance to the upanayana. Functionally this admission may be related to both dīkṣā and upanayana; historically it may have developed from an institution evolving in milieus which were in need of a more permanent 'dīkṣā' as a complement to, or under certain circumstances even instead of, a previous 'upanayana'.

Chapter 20 of the AhirbudhnyaSaṃhitā – an important text of the Pāñcarātra Viṣṇuites[404] –, describing the dīkṣā, opens with a definition of the ideal teacher who must be well versed in Veda, Vedānta, Pāñcarātra and other systems.[405] The disciple, a twice-born Hindu, unmarried or married, must with perfect sincerity confess to the guru everything he "has done or not done", after which he may be accepted on probation and, after some years, definitively, if he has succeeded in convincing the guru that he is free from greed, infatuation etc. In that case, with the ususal nyāsas[406] etc., the sudarśana mantra is imparted to him. This mantra should on no account be used for a mundane purpose or trifling object, but only for welfare, not for destruction. The same work (ch. 15) considers the investment with the sacred thread the second birth of an individual, the initiation into the Pāñcarātra the third. Here 'Jugendweihe' and dīkṣā are thus regarded as similar, but successive and complementary rites, the latter making a dvija who has completed brahmacarya. Both ceremonies are moreover defined as "a new birth".[407]

The confession of sins and omissions, "matter that man must fight out with his God",[408] like the confession of faith, with which it is closely interconnected, leads a devotee to a decision, and systematizes conduct, yielding the possibility of a new mode of life. As long as the doer of an evil deed keeps it secret, it is like a being that has issued from himself, living a life of its own, and in its turn engendering fatal consequences. If he openly confesses that he is the doer, he takes away the power of the deed to harm.[409] With this the confession of guilt approximates to purification

[404] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 119 ff.

[405] F. O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* (Madras, 1916), p. 121 f.

[406] *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 36 etc. See also further on.

[407] Attention may be drawn to the fact that later works sometimes contain summaries of one or more of the PāñcarātraSaṃhitās or of other Viṣṇuite works. Thus the present AgniPurāṇa, which is a comparatively late compilation, furnishes us in chapter 32 with a survey of the *dīkṣita-saṃskārāḥ*.

[408] Van der Leeuw, *Religion*, p. 523.

[409] L. Lévy-Brühl, *Primitives and the Supernatural*, p. 356. See also R. Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati* (Bologna, 1929), passim; French edition: *La confession des péchés*, 2 vol. (Paris, 1931-32).

in general. Cf. KātyŚS. 5, 5, 7ff.: "he makes the wife speak (confess): (thereby) he renders her pure ...". As such a confession requires no idea of God whatever and hardly any conception of sin, it may rather be considered a warding off of evil consequences by means of the power of the pronounced word.[410] "For when confessed the sin becomes less, since it becomes truth ... and whatever one does not confess, that, indeed will turn out injurious ..." (cf. ŚB. 2, 5, 2, 20).[411] Hence the widespread custom to make an open or even general confession on the one hand, before a campaign, in case of illness, a difficult confinement or other important events, on the other in connection with rites.[412] "Souvent la confession est pratiquée par ceux qui s'apprêtent à faire quelque chose d'extraordinaire ou de nouveau ou de dangereux à quelque égard...., ou à propos d'une cérémonie religieuse quelconque". "Notons surtout que la confession se présente souvent associée à une fête annuelle des prémices ou "de l'année nouvelle", ou bien avec une autre fête periodique de rénovation et d'expulsion des maux".[413] These confessions are often accompanied by eliminatory ritual acts.[414]

It is therefore easily understood that the comparatively rare cases of 'confession' in Vedic religion are hardly avowals of sin in the proper sense of the term (cf. e.g. ṚV. 7, 86, 6; 88, 6; 89, 3). An interesting purification of the above type occurs as an element of the Varuṇapraghāsa rite:[415] the wife of the sacrificer is called upon to admit what lovers she has; if she does not tell the truth, it will go badly for her connections. By confessing "the woman allays the untruth and returns to truth" (MS. 1, 10, 11). The Buddhist confession has already been mentioned.[416]

The relation between the adherents of particular currents of thought, sects and religions on the one hand and the mass of those Hindus who may be called smārtas – i.e. who follow the general traditional religious practices as enjoined by the smṛtis – is not always easy to state. Although it is probable that already before Nāthamuni and Rāmānuja many brahmans like the other classes of society would have adored Viṣṇu as the greatest God, this does not mean that they had completely seceded

[410] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 442.
[411] Compare the parallel in South America (Andes region) mentioned by H. Trimborn, in W. Krickeberg, H. Trimborn u. a., *Die Religionen des alten Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 156.
[412] Cf. also Heiler, *o.c.*, p. 320.
[413] Pettazzoni, *Confession*, I, p. 131 f.
[414] Pettazzoni, *o.c.*, I, p. 156, cf. II, p. 61.
[415] See e.g. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 116 f.; Keith, *Religion and philosophy*, p. 265; 321.
[416] For the Jains see Schubring, *o.c.*, p. 176.

from the smārta brahmans. In the case of those Viṣṇuites who subscribe to the teachings and practices of the schools inaugurated by the Alvārs, Rāmānuja etc., the so-called Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, it may in short be said that whereas they recognize Viṣṇu as the only supreme deity, the smārta brahmans and their followers recognize also Brahmā, Śiva and other deities as God's manifestations, some of them giving prominence to Śiva. The Viṣṇuites moreover adopted certain customs based on particular beliefs. In most ritualistic observances they do not differ from the other groups of brahmans, following a Vedic school and performing their ceremonies according to one of the Vedic sūtras. In the absence of Śrī-Vaiṣṇava priests those belonging to their groups usually call upon smārta brahmans to assist them in the performance of rites. Every person who desires to obtain mokṣa is expected to seek a 'teacher' (*ācārya-*), who is one of a series of teachers the first of whom is God, the greatest ācārya of the whole world, who gave the Veda and who, to save the world and promulgate truth, manifests himself or becomes incarnate in avatāras and other great figures. Thus the great teachers are considered 'partial incarnations' (*aṃśa-*) of God, to whose presence their great piety and learning is attributed.

Although therefore the Śrī-Vaiṣṇava brahmans do not essentially differ from the smārta brahmans[417] so far as the saṃskāras enjoined by the sūtras are concerned, they are to be initiated into the secrets of the Viṣṇuite religion by a qualified religious teacher who of course is a Vaiṣṇava himself.[418] The first initiation into Viṣṇuism is called the Pañcasaṃskāra ceremony. This solemnity is necessary to be entitled to call oneself a Śrī-Vaiṣṇava. The person wishing to be initiated – who must have passed through the upanayana ceremony – goes to a religious teacher, usually a learned householder, who is well versed in the Śāstras, but sometimes also a saṃnyāsin or a principal of a monastery (*maṭhādhipati-*). After having presented him with fruits, flowers, betel leaves and nuts[419] he requests to be initiated. "Though it has become a formal ceremony, it was in former times a living ceremony and the initiate was capable of understanding its importance. The frame of mind most important for the initiation was there". If the initiator is not satisfied with the candidate, the latter has to wait for a certain time. In accordance with its name, "the five(-fold)

[417] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 217; 332 ff.
[418] D. B. K. Rangachari, "The Sri Vaishnava Brahmans", *Bulletin Madras Gov. Museum, N. S. Gen. Sect.* II (Madras, 1930), p. 34 ff.
[419] "Man bietet ihnen Blumen, usw., damit ihre Lebenskraft gefördert und Schlimmes vertrieben wird" (*Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 334).

sacrament(s)", the ceremony consists of the five distinct sacral acts *tāpa-* (branding), *puṇḍra-* (wearing 'caste marks'), *nāman-* (naming), *mantra-* (repeating of holy formulas) and *yajana-* (worship of God). The branding is usually carried out on the shoulders with Viṣṇu's chief emblems (*cakra-* and *śaṅkha-*[420]). The marks are heated in a fire in which the sudarśana homa[421] has been performed. Some ācāryas do not consider this homa necessary. The puṇḍra is put on in twelve places beginning with the forehead. While making these marks appropriate mantras are pronounced.[422] The new name given to the initiate should be one of the recognized names of Viṣṇu; if he already bears such a name, no new name is given.[423] The importance of this name-giving is also apparent from the words of a Tamil poet (Pāsurams of Periya Ālvār IV): "If a human being is called by a name common to human beings heaven is not attainable. If he is called after Nārāyaṇa (God) his mother will not enter hell". "If a person whose body consists of a mass of dirt and who is born from a similar person is named after a being which is also like the human being in structure, heaven is not attainable; if on the other hand he is named Govinda, ... he will not go to hell". The most important element of this ceremony is the recitation of the mūlamantra and the "double mantra" – which are held to be most sacred and very important by all Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas – in the right ear of the initiate in such a low tone that it can be heard only by himself. The last element, now a formality, is the presenting of an idol for worshipping. On this point also there are resemblances between Vedic and Hindu rites: "he who is consecrated by the rite of consecration comes to have two names; for the very rite of consecration for which he is quickened, and by which he is consecrated, is his second name" (ŚB. 9, 4, 3, 13); that is to say, Sāyaṇa's commentary adds, "he who has, for instance, performed the Vājapeya is henceforth called Vājapeyayājin". In connection with the upanayana GGS. 2, 10, 23f. prescribes that the teacher chooses for the pupil a name to be used at respectful salutations (*abhivādanīya-* name), which is derived from the name of a deity or a nakṣatra.

After the ceremony of branding the initiate very often requests to be initiated in the reading of the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāmānuja's Śrī-Bhāṣya, etc. Generally speaking these works are not read without a previous initiation, a custom similar to the dīkṣās described in the Mānavagṛhyasūtra.

[420] See *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 96 f.; 100 f.
[421] For *sudarśana-* see *ibidem*, p. 96.
[422] For full detail see Rangachari, *o.c.*, p. 56 ff.
[423] Among Śrī-Vaiṣṇava men the names of Viṣṇu are used exclusively.

Originally this initiation meant making the candidate fit to catch the real spirit of the work. Nowadays the beginning of the study of these texts has dwindled down into a formal ceremony.

Whereas God is worshipped in private houses by the householder or members of his family, the temple rituals, the establishment of idols etc. require the services or activity of specially trained or initiated men. Among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas these men are the so-called arcakas (i.e. "worshippers");[424] they are also socially a separate class of people, because they do not for instance intermarry with the other Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas.[425] In those temples which have adopted the Vaikhānasa system of worship the duties of an arcaka can never be fulfilled by a married man (*gṛhastha-*) who is not an arcaka. The task of a Pāñcarātra arcaka may on the other hand be temporarily fulfilled by a gṛhastha. Although the Pāñcarātra arcakas following the sūtras of Baudhāyana and Śaunaka may worship God in temples without being initiated, in practice they also undertake the dīkṣā ceremony nowadays which is obligatory for the others. This initiation is called Cakrābja Maṇḍala Dīkṣāi or Dīkṣā. An arcaka pupil is made to go through this elaborate ceremony only after the upanayana. It usually lasts for three days, beginning on the 10th day after New Moon. A sacrificial maṇḍapam (an open hall) is laid out and decorated, and towards the evening the *aṅkurārpaṇam* ceremony[426] is gone through, for which three kinds of mud vessels are required. This mud should be obtained from an ant-hill.[427] The initiate, while repeating the Śākuna-sūtram,[428] proceeds towards the east or the north in procession accompanied by music until he reaches the place from which the mud is to be taken. Over the place selected for taking the mud he sprinkles water while reciting the *astra-mantram*.[429] The Varāhamūrti (i.e. Viṣṇu in his boar avatāra) is invoked and worshipped.

The mud is dug out with the Varāha-mantra and covered over with a new cloth. In a similar way sand is brought from a river bed or another clear spot. The mud and the sand are carried in procession round the village and then to the maṇḍapam, where the aṅkurārpaṇam is to be

[424] Manu, 11, 224 speaks of a *gurudevadvijārcakaḥ*.
[425] For particulars see Rangachari, *o.c.*, p. 99 ff.
[426] *Aspects of early Viṣṇuism*, p. 246; 259; 261.
[427] An ant-hill, being chthonic, is from the ritual point of view auspicious. For the ritual use of mud in general see Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 318 s.v. Schlamm.
[428] Cf. VaikhSmS. 4, 11.
[429] The "Arrow-mantra" is (*Oṃ*) *astrāya phaṭ*, or, in a more extended form: *Oṃ sahasrolkāya svāhā vīryāya astrāya phaṭ*; see e.g. NṛsPTU. 2, 2 (P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishads des Veda*, Leipzig, ³1921, p. 761).

performed. Now the candidate selects the ācārya who is to initiate him and also the sacrificial priests (*ṛtvij-*) who are to assist the ācārya. After the usual worship to God the mud vessels are got ready, arranged in rows etc. They are placed by the candidate who recites the puruṣa-mantra,[430] the Parameṣṭhi[431]-mantra and the Viṣṇu-mantra. Thereupon the candidate proceeds to invoke the devatās, imploring them to occupy the vessels and certain places in the doorways which are believed to represent the four Vedas. Then Soma-the moon is invited to enter into a pot filled with water (so as to penetrate it with its divine essence). The person presiding over the ceremony performs a homa, pouring one hundred and eight oblations of ghee into the fire. Then he recites the *mūla-mantra-* ("the principal formula of the religious community") placing sticks in the fire and offering cooked rice. The Puruṣasūkta[432] is recited and the Soma-mantra repeated one hundred times. Finally, the actual sowing of seeds (*aṅkurārpaṇam*) takes place.

On the second day the very complicated formation of the *cakrābja-maṇḍalam*[433] takes place. Afterwards or simultaneously the *śiṣyādhivāsam* (i.e. "a pupils' sitting or session")[434] is begun. After some introductory rites Nārāyaṇa is invoked and requested to occupy a pot filled with perfumed water. Thereupon he is worshipped. The devatās are requested to occupy the maṇḍalam. Oblations are made. Then the candidate is to bathe and decorate himself with new clothes, a custom known already in Vedic times.[435] He is seated on the right side close to his ācārya with eyes blindfolded facing east. This feature, which was in Viṣṇuite milieus considered to be characteristic of the *paurāṇikī dīkṣā*[436] and, as will be seen further on, recurs in the Buddhist abhiṣeka ceremony, has been compared[437] to the blindfolding of the candidates in the Eleusine mysteries. "The bandage is taken off at the end of the ceremony when, consecration having taken place and inborn stains being therefore erased, the

[430] Puruṣasūkta: ṚV. 10, 90.
[431] An attribute of Brahmā worshipped for overlordship.
[432] ṚV. 10, 90.
[433] That is to say, a figure drawn according to definite rules is ritually made the temporary seat of several divine powers.
[434] This is the main rite to be performed on the second day; see Rangachari, *o.c.*, p. 107 ff.
[435] Cf. BaudhGS. 2, 5, 11; ĀpGS. 4, 10, 10: at the performance of the upanayana the student should put on such a cloth as has been lately woven from the yarn spun recently for this special purpose. The yajamāna undergoing the dīkṣā had also to don a new garment.
[436] S. K. De, *The early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal* (Calcutta, 1961), p. 459.
[437] G. Tucci, Tibetan painted scrolls, Roma 1949, p. 247.

candidate is in the state of purity required to understand the mystical meaning of rites and symbols". Attention may however be drawn to an interesting remark which, in connection with the Buddhist abhiṣeka, was recently made by Miss Macdonald[438] who without excluding the intention "de mener le novice à la révélation de son dieu par le chemin secret, qui rappelle le labyrinthe, constitué par les multiples enceintes du maṇḍala", recalls the wrapping up of the head of the *dīkṣita-*[439] who becomes an embryo (ŚB. 3, 2, 1, 16). We know moreover that Gobhila (GS. 3, 2, 37) in laying down the rules for the vrata preceding the study of the Mahānāmnī verses states that the initiand should, with veiled eyes (*pariṇaddha-*) and keeping silence, abstain from food for a certain period.

By placing a darbha (a tuft of sacrificial grass) between preceptor and candidate communication is made between them: a sort of counterpart of the upanayana rites effecting an intimate connection between ācārya and brahmacārin. The ācārya pours twelve portions of ghee while reciting Puṇḍarīkākṣa mantras.[440] These oblations are followed by offerings of cooked rice, fuel, flowers and sesame seeds. Then the ācārya goes round the body of the candidate in a sunwise direction performing the *prasūti-mudrā* ("generation mudrā") beginning with the head and passing to the foot, and also back to the head. With a mixture of ashes the ācārya makes a mark of *ūrdhvapuṇḍram*[441] on the forehead of the initiand who has now opened his eyes. He is led to God and is asked to prostrate himself. Meanwhile the ācārya recites a prayer, imploring God to help the initiand. Thereupon the latter is blindfolded and the ācārya ties the māyā thread round his body. This thread must consist of red, black and white coloured threads twisted into one. This act is accompanied by the recitation of the mūlamantra. An elaborate *homam* is performed, God is meditated upon, mantras are repeated, etc. The blindfolding cloth and the māyā thread are removed. The disciple sleeps that night on a bunch of sacrificial grass (*darbha-*). It is worth noting that this grass plays also a part in the upanayana rites.[442] As to the above tri-coloured[443] thread this requisite may hardly be dissociated, on the one hand from the 'brahmanic

[438] A. Macdonald, *Le maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris, 1942), p. 135, n.
[439] With his upper garment or with a turban.
[440] Puṇḍarīkākṣa was one of the great masters and teachers of Viṣṇuism.
[441] The so-called sectarian mark.
[442] This grass was considered a means of purification (ŚB. 12, 4, 4, 6), of calming anger (AV. 6, 43); it was because of the protective force attributed to it used as an amulet etc.
[443] For these colours see also Zachariae, in *Zs. des Vereins für Volkskunde* 21 (1911), p. 151 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, p. 233 ff.); the same, *ibidem* 12 (1902), p. 113 (= *Kleine Schriften*, p. 243).

thread', and on the other from the *parittasutta-* "a thread worn as a charm to avert evil influences" of the Pāli texts[444] and the *maṅgalyatantu* "the lucky thread", tied, in South-India, by the bridegroom round the neck of the bride.[445] However, cords are in folklore – also in India – not rarely employed to achieve a metamorphosis.[446] This would not be the only example of a popular rite introduced into a systematized ceremonial of a particular school or group and reinterpreted so as to receive a higher symbolic meaning.

On the third day the dīkṣā proper takes place. After a bath, the sandhyā ceremony and offerings to the devatās the pupil prostrates himself to God, is blindfolded again and seated, in the above way, by the side of the ācārya. Offerings are brought, the māyā thread is again wound round the pupil's body, but then its twenty-five rounds are cut into so many pieces, like the other acts to the accompaniment of mantras. Soon after the ācārya must imagine that the initiate is destroyed by fire and that his soul (*jīva-*) is placed at the feet of Vāsudeva who is always present in the heart of the ācārya. To the pupil's body the funerary rites are performed: the well-known motif of the ritual death before initiation.[447] His jīva existing at God's feet in the teacher's heart is now imagined to have passed again into the initiate's body which now has been purified. Here we are reminded of the Vedic belief that the teacher by laying his right hand on the pupil becomes pregnant with him so that the latter is to be born as a brahman (ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 12). Offerings of ghee are made and the tattva-mantras recited in the order of creation. Thereby a new pure body is created. Water is sprinkled over it to the accompaniment of the mūla-mantra. One might recall here that in the upanayana the preceptor and his pupil join their open hands together, the former holding his own above that of the boy; the hands of the teacher are filled with water which is to trickle down on to the hands of the boy (see e.g. JGS. 1, 12). The accompanying mantra is *Oṃ bhūr bhuvaḥ, suvaḥ* and "drive you thoroughly away death". In both cases this sprinkling clearly is a baptism.[448] The cloth covering the

[444] See O. Franke, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, I, p. 200. Cf. also W. Crooke, *Popular religion*, II (London, 1896), p. 47.
[445] M. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell* (Wien, 1892), p. 53; 61.
[446] Th. Zachariae, "Verwandlung durch Umbinden eines Fadens", *W.Z.K.M.* 19 (1905), p. 240 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften*, Bonn-Leipzig, 1920, p. 228 ff.).
[447] I refer to Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, passim. See also p. 384.
[448] "As for baptism, the Fathers emphasize its initiatory function more and more plastically by multiplying images of death and resurrection. The baptismal font is compared to both the tomb and the womb; it is the tomb in which the catechumen buries his earthly life and the womb in which the life eternal is born" (Eliade, *Birth and rebirth*, p. 120).

eyes is removed and the initiate wears a new dress. He then lies down beside the ācārya who touches his body in six places. The Vedic preceptor, it will be remembered, has in a similar way to touch the heart and the navel of his pupil, the accompanying mantras making it clear that henceforth the pupil's will shall follow the will of the guru, and that the former, being free from premature death, shall not become detached from brahman and breath.[449]

Offerings are made and the body of the initiate is from the feet upwards touched with portions of the sacrificial substances. It is worth remembering that the king who is consecrated is also expected to rub in the substance of the anointing mixture with the horn of a black antelope. That the 'holy strength' is actually in the mixture and is thus made to impregnate the system is also clear from ŚB. 12, 8, 3, 16 (describing the Sautrāmaṇī rites): "a rubbing down (of the sacrificer) with all manner of sweet-smelling substances takes place, for such a rubbing down .... means supreme fragrance: with fragrance he thus consecrates (anoints) him (*abhiṣiñcati*)". In place of eating food together the newly married husband may rub his heart and that of his wife with the rest of the sacrificial butter (ĀśvGS. 1, 8, 9), this act being explained as expressing "the idea of community resulting from the sacrifice".[450] At the end of the three days of obligatory continence the remains of the offerings are rubbed into the body of the newly married women (GGS. 2, 5, 6; KhGS. 1, 4, 13; JGS. 1, 22, sūtras of the Sāmaveda).

Thereupon taking hold of the right hand of the pupil the ācārya conducts him sunwise round maṇḍala, kumbha and kuṇḍa (a hole in the ground for receiving the ritual fire). Then a flower, a pearl, a piece of coral and a coin are placed in his hands, which he – again blindfolded – throws on the maṇḍala. He is named after the name of the divine manifestation invoked and placed in that part of the maṇḍala on which the flower falls. As soon as this part of the ceremony is over, God Nārāyaṇa is meditated upon. Mantras are recited into the initiate's right ear.[451] As to the new name, this alteration indicates a complete change, a total renewal of life.[452] Just as at the conclusion of initiation the Tasmanians whisper a secret name to the boys, the Amandebele youths in South Africa cross a river and are given fresh names after circumcision, while on the

[449] For details see R. Gopal, *India of Vedic kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 298.
[450] A. B. Keith, *The religion and philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads* (Cambridge Mass., 1925), p. 271.
[451] For the symbolism of the right ear see Meyer, *Trilogie*, I, p. 195 n.
[452] Van der Leeuw, *o.c.*, p. 197.

island of Nias boys change their names at marriage and girls at puberty.

After all this the initiate is taken to the presence of God and left in His hands: an act of "self-surrender". Now he is qualified to worship God in temples. The Veda student, it may be observed, is in a similar way consigned or surrendered to a number of divinities: "He now consigns him: 'to Agni I consign thee; to Vāyu ..., to God Savitar ... etc.'" (JGS, 1, 12).

It is interesting to add that among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas the arcakas of the Baudhāyana and Śaunaka schools are of the opinion that they undergo this elaborate dīkṣā instead of *prapatti-*,[453] i.e. the final and complete surrender of man to God as the means of salvation par excellence, which is rightly considered a very important move in the direction of self-perfection.

It is worth noticing that this dīkṣā may in principle be gone through by men of all four classes of society, but nowadays only brahman initiates are found.

As already stated in the beginning of this chapter a brahman officiating at Vedic rites did not need a special consecration. Yet the brahman who longed for *brahmavarcas* ("brahmanic lustre, pre-eminence in sacred knowledge and 'holiness'") or desired to obtain the rank and office of a purohita had to know special 'mystical secrets', to perform definite rites, and especially to execute an "unction" (*abhiṣeka-*), the so-called Bṛhaspati-sava.[454] This rite is by the author of ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 19 even identified with the Vājapeya: "Something great surely has he become now that he has been consecrated" (*mahad vā ayam abhūd yo 'bhyaṣeci*). The other authorities however place the Bṛhaspati-sava on an equality with the Rājasūya.[455] Most of them consider the Vājapeya a preliminary ceremony which in due time is followed by the Rājasūya in the case of a king and by the Bṛhaspatisava in that of a purohita (cf. e.g. ĀśvŚS. 9, 9, 19). The rite (see ĀpŚS. 22, 7, 5 ff.) is a sava, i.e. a ceremony lasting one day and including an unction (*abhiṣeka-*).[456] It is characterized by a special gift (and mantra) to Bṛhaspati, the purohita of the gods, and by the co-operation of hotar priests who, so to say, represent the *brahmavarcas* by being bald, reddish brown etc. (see TB. 2, 7, 1, 1 f.).

[453] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 139 ff.; 142 f.; S. Dasgupta, *A history of Indian Philosophy*, III (Cambridge, 1940), p. 90 ff.

[454] See the chapter on Guruship, p. 246.

[455] I refer to Eggeling, *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa translated*, III (S. B. E. XLI), p. XXIV f.

[456] The rite could also be performed for a sthapati, i.e. for a person who was, by an unction, to be a governor or chief judge. See W. Caland, *Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa* (Calcutta, 1931), p. 466 and the same, *Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*, III (Amsterdam, 1928), p. 318.

G. DĪKṢĀ IN VIṢṆUISM (PURĀṆAS, KṚṢṆAISM)

The compiler of the VarāhaPurāṇa, which contains a considerable amount of Vaiṣṇava material, devotes two interesting chapters (127-128) to dīkṣā from which the various ramifications of this institution may become somewhat clearer. The Lord Viṣṇu, assuming the outward form of the Boar,[457] reveals to the Earth the secrets of the excellent initiation which, he says, have remained unknown to gods and yogins, but are understood by his devout worshippers (*bhaktāḥ*). This initiation leads to happiness and frees from karma and saṃsāra (127, 9). In accordance with the four classes of men, it is fourfold. As to brahmans, they must, after having found mental peace in the Lord, approach a guru with the stereotype formula *śādhi śiṣyo 'smi māṃ guro* "instruct me, I am (your) pupil, O preceptor". One may compare the Vedic formulas used in the upanayana. The pupil approaching his guru says: *brahmacaryam āgām upa mā nayasva, brahmacārī bhavāni devena savitrā prasūtaḥ* (HGS. 1, 5, 1), and on the guru's invitation to declare himself a student (ŚGS. 2, 2, 8 *brahmacārī bhavān brūhi*) he says: (ibid. 9) *brahmacāry ahaṃ bhoḥ*. When the Vedic guru is about to teach him the Sāvitrī the student has to pronounce the formulas (ĀśvGS. 1, 21, 4; HGS. 1, 6, 10) *adhīhi bhoḥ; sāvitrīṃ bho anubrūhi*, or (GGS. 2, 10, 38 etc.) *adhīhi bhoḥ, sāvitrīṃ me bhavān anubravītu*. In comparing the viṣṇuite and the Vedic formulas, which while being essentially identical are differently worded, one should take into account the considerable variations in the prescriptions given by the authors of the gṛhyasūtras with regard to the upanayana ceremony.

The aspirant, the VarāhaPurāṇa continues, must at the guru's command procure the requisites, viz. parched grain, honey, sacred grass (*kuśa-*) and ghee – which are also required in Vedic rites – and, in addition to these, perfume, flowers, incense, a lamp (light), or according to a variant, (also) a wreath, and further, a staff made of palāśa wood, a black deer's skin (see further on), a water-jar (*kamaṇḍalu-*), an ewer (*ghaṭa-*), a garment and shoes, a white sacrificial cord, a handmill (? *yantrikā-*), a small vessel for offering water, a vessel in which the caru oblation (consisting of rice, barley and pulse) is prepared with a ladle (*darvi-*), sesame, rice and barley, and water with fruits. As appears from the notes these requisites are partly known from the Vedic rite, partly typically Hindu utensils. In the Vedic upanayana the requisites are a stone,[458] a new gar-

[457] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 251.

[458] Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 52.

ment, a skin, a girdle, a staff and twenty-one pieces of wood.[459] It may be remembered that although there is in the gṛhyasūtras some divergence of opinion about the trees of which the staff was to be made,[460] they are agreed that a brahman should, or may, have one made of palāśa wood (ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 13; 20, 1; ĀpGS. 11, 15 etc.). The palāśa (butea frondosa), indeed, is brahman, the ŚB. holds (5, 2, 4, 18; 5, 3, 5, 11; 6, 6, 3, 7; 12, 7, 2, 15).

As to the black antelope's skin (*kṛṣṇājina-*), the animal itself was associated with spiritual eminence and the skin was throughout the ages a symbol of Vedic culture and holiness;[461] it is identified with the sacrifice (ŚB. 6, 4, 1, 6 etc.) and a sign of initiation (ŚB. 6, 2, 2, 39 "but in no way is this a dīkṣā, for there is neither a girdle, nor a black antelope skin"). One might also remember the passage in ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 3, 9 "one should wear only deerskin if one desires the increase of Vedic lore (*brahmavṛddhi-*)". The kamaṇḍalu which does not belong to the implements prescribed in the gṛhyasūtras, is mentioned also in Manu 2, 64 "he (the Veda-student) must throw his girdle, skin, staff, sacrificial thread and water-pot into water when they have been damaged"; cf. also 4, 36; Yājñ. 1, 133 etc. A ghaṭa is required in the rites of excommunication and re-admission as described by Manu (11, 184; 187). Like the shoes or slippers these implements do not play a rôle in the Vedic rite. Whereas the flowers, lamp, incense etc. are typical of 'Hinduist' rites, the sacrificial cord (*yajñopavīta-*)[462] is mentioned e.g. ŚGS. 2, 2, 3 and GGS. 1, 2, 1 which (in a treatment of the upanayana) saying: "the student takes as yajñopavīta a cord of threads ..." seems to indicate that though a cord of threads was in its days considered the appropriate sacred thread, that was not an invariable rule and that a garment which was more original – TĀ. 2, 1 mentions, no cord or threads but a piece of skin or cloth –, could be employed instead.[463] Remarkably enough, several gṛhyasūtras do not say a word about the sacred thread, while a few (e.g. HGS. 1, 2, 6) say that the boy already wears this object before the homa begins. This does not only point to the existence of different customs within the 'orthodox' Vedic communities, but also facilitates the assumption that then already other practices were observed in 'non-orthodox' circles which were to survive in post-Vedic times or to influence the rites of those on whose

[459] See e.g. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur*, p. 51 f.
[460] See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, p. 279 f.
[461] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 13 f.; 1026, n. 2308.
[462] See especially Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 284; 287 ff.
[463] W. Caland, *Een Indogermaansch lustratiegebruik* (Amsterdam Academy, 1898); A. S. Altekar, in *Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 20 (1934), p. 135.

behalf the purāṇas were compiled. In connection with the injunction that the yajñopavīta should be white (VarP. 127, 14) a reference may be made to Manu 2, 44, ViSmṛti 27, 19 etc. prescribing that the sacred cord of a brahman should be made of cotton. The *yantrikā* and the *arghapātrī* are not known to me from Vedic texts. The *carusthālī*, "the vessel (made either of clay or udumbara-wood) in which the caru oblation is prepared" occurs in GGS. and KauśS. 89 (piṇḍapitṛyajña) in connection with various rites, but not in the upanayana. The word *darvi-* in the sense of "ladle" is found in the Ṛgveda and later. As to the sesame, rice and barley they are mentioned in the Veda[464] and included among the victuals which in the domestic rites were considered suitable sacrificial material. A survey of these articles may shed some light on the gradual transition from, or transformation of, a Vedic initiatory rite to the type described in the VarāhaPurāṇa.

The collection of edibles and other objects suitable for religious rites of which the initiates devoted to Viṣṇu's cult will make use must, VarP. 127, 15ff. continues, be placed at the guru's feet. After having bathed and adorned himself with auspicious objects (*maṅgala-*) the brahman who wishes to be initiated should seize the guru's feet and tender him his services (the formula *brūhi kiṃ karavāṇi te* occurs e.g. Mbh. 3, 53, 1 cr. ed.). The guru then permits him to construct an excellent square vedi (sacrificial bed) of definite dimensions on which he should, in accordance with the ritual rules, place, on (a layer consisting of) grain, a strong new pitcher, which should, to the accompaniment of mantras, be filled with water and adorned with flowers and shoots. Thereupon the guru,[465] after placing a vessel filled with sesame on the pitcher, should worship (*pūjayet*) Viṣṇu using the utensils which were made ready by his pupil. After this ceremony the guru should place a number of requisites on the vedi, putting four clean pitchers, which are filled with water and adorned with mango blossoms, on the four sides. He should wind a white thread round them.

Although this long series of solemn acts is essentially 'Hinduist', there are Vedic elements – or, elements which are also Vedic – in it. A boy must before being introduced to his teacher be bathed and adorned (e.g. GGS. 2, 10, 7); the adult person who is to undergo the dīkṣā is also purified with water. According to ĀśvGS. 1, 20 the boy who undergoes the Vedic upanayana takes hold of his teacher's hand, while the latter offers a homa of oblations of clarified butter in the fire; for a ritual fire is kept

[464] Cf. e.g. H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben* (Berlin, 1879), p. 238 ff.
[465] 127, 20 read *gurur* instead of *guruṃ*.

burning for three days (ĀpGS. 11, 20) or as long as the ceremony lasts (ĀpGS. 11, 20; 21; 26 etc.). Having – after some other ritual acts – put a fuel stick on the fire and having touched the fire, the student worships Agni with the formulas "may Agni (Indra, the sun) bestow on me insight, offspring and lustre ..." he bends his knees, embraces the teacher's feet and asks him to recite the Sāvitrī. Whereas however the Vedic upanayana ceremony takes place in the presence of the god Agni manifesting himself in the fire, the Hindu rite is performed before the vedi and the pitcher, and includes adoration accorded to Viṣṇu. – As is well known, transmission of power or of a special charisma, though usually effected through the medium of the hand, may also take place through other parts of the body, e.g. the foot.[466] Touching the feet is, moreover, an act of salutation, veneration and submission. In the gṛhyasūtras the ceremony of *upasaṃgraha-* consists of repeating one's family name and name, saying "I salute", clasping the feet and bending one's head while so doing. According to ĀpDhS. 1, 2, 5, 19 and 1, 3, 10, 17; Manu 2, 71 the student must clasp his teacher's feet before beginning and after finishing the day's lesson of Vedic study.

The use of pitchers filled with water for ritual purposes is not foreign to the Veda. According to PGS. 2, 6, 9ff. the student who is to be absolved by his teacher has to stand on eastward-pointed kuśa blades to the east of eight pitchers filled with water and placed to the north of the fire in an enclosure. He has to take water from these pitchers one by one and to besprinkle himself ("for the sake of prosperity, glory, holiness, holy lustre").[467] In the *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* mentioned in the Haribhaktivilāsa[468] there is a ninth pitcher dedicated to Viṣṇu, and the water used for sprinkling is preferably taken from this one: the well-known central and additional unit.[469]

It will be remembered that in the Veda the term *dīkṣā-* could be applied to consecrations undertaken for various purposes. That this possibility was not lost in later times may be illustrated by a quotation from the VarāhaPurāṇa.[470] During the ceremonies nine pitchers are placed on a

[466] Although it would be rash to assume that behind all customs from different ages and different peoples lay precisely the same intentions, it may be worth while to recall the belief that the foot of men, like the hoof of animals, contained life-fluid or the life-soul. Hands and feet were, not only for the Greeks, Romans and Hebrews, but also for Indians associated with generation. For particulars see R. B. Onians, *The origins of European thought* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 198; 246; 519; 524 ff.; 540, n. 1.

[467] We will have to return to this point.

[468] See De, *The early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement in Bengal*, p. 459.

[469] See 124 f.

[470] Also quoted in the Haribhaktivilāsa, 2, 127-155.

maṇḍala, one – into which Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is believed to enter – in the centre and eight to the north, north-east, east, etc. of it. These pitchers are filled with holy water. If the aspirant is desirous of salvation and final emancipation he makes, in taking the initiatory 'bath', use of the water of the central pitcher, if he wishes to obtain prosperity, victory, a long life, knowledge, wealth etc. he utilizes one of the other pitchers which are occupied by other divinities. If he aims at the destruction of his enemies he takes the water of the south-western pitcher: this region is from of old the residence of the goddess of destruction, Nirṛti. In case he would destroy his sins he has to utilize the water of the north-western pitcher. While the old rite and its time-honoured significance are retained, the ceremony is extended and given an additional deeper sense in agreement with the theistic environment.

In the following verses, which are, in places, corrupt, the VarPur. informs us that the "promoter of the initiation" (*dīkṣāprayojaka-*, st. 24) must give a mantra by which the guru is pleased. Having approached the house of Viṣṇu who hopes for initiations, the guru being firmly resolved upon ritual work,[471] having sipped water and the face turned towards the east – like the Vedic teacher in receiving a pupil (ŚGS. 2, 1, 28 etc.) – instructs all his pupils with a view to consecration (*dīkṣaṇa-*). The Bhāgavata who does not politely rise from his seat for other Bhāgavatas offends the guru (and God). The man who after having given his daughter in marriage has not performed the wedding rites offends his ancestors. Other sinners are the man who injures his wife, and the murderer of a brahman or a cow, etc. These pupils should be dismissed. It may be remembered that according to the Dharmaśāstras (see e.g. Manu 2, 117; 120) a student should reverentially salute his teacher, his elders and venerable men (4, 154). The gṛhyasūtras in describing the conduct for a student lay down very detailed rules about the rising from one's seat to receive a person, saluting, bowing etc. Other persons to be saluted were[472] the parents, their blood relations, an elder brother, or also (Manu 2, 130 etc.) an officiating priest, uncles, one's father-in-law. The difference between these categories of venerable persons and the co-religionists meant in VarP. is as obvious as it is significant.

The warning is added (VarP. 127, 31) that the bilva and udumbara and other trees which are suitable for religious rites are not to be cut down, because the adept who strives after highest perfection and final emancipation should know what to eat and what to avoid. The bilva or wood-

[471] I read *gurur karmaviniścitaḥ* (st. 25).

[472] For details see Kane, *o.c.* II, p. 335 ff.

apple tree (see e.g. ŚB. 13, 4, 4, 8) of which in some cases the sacrificial post was made (TS. 2, 1, 8, 1 f.), was used for *res faustae* (i.e. it was *śānta-*, KauśS. 8, 15). So was the udumbara, the wood of which was constantly used for ritual purposes (in the Vedic ritual, the sacrificial post and ladle, amulets etc.); being the dwelling and a manifestation of Yama it was 'Totenseelensitz' and 'Zeugungsbaum';[473] it was especially valued, being homologized, in the Veda, with food and life-sap in general. The destruction of bamboo-shoots and (the consumption of) the fruits of the udumbara are on the other hand approved of (VarP. 127, 33). Foul-smelling food should not be eaten; for obvious reasons brahmans and initiated persons should not moreover touch the flesh of the boar and fish. Other misbehaviour is, in this connection: censure, doing harm, backbiting, theft, inhospitality, adultery, even mentally, with the wives of a guru, the king and a brahman; besides, one should not become attached to gold or young amorous women, and an unfortunate man should not resent the good luck of a fellow-man. Among the numerous rules laid down in the smṛtis and digests about the qualifications of a Veda student and about the students who after completing their studies become householders are also such injunctions as speaking the truth, avoiding contact with young women, refraining from injury etc.[474]

Thereupon he should bring near an umbrella and a shoe, place, in pairs, leaves of an udumbara[475] on the vedi, and also a razor and a vessel filled with water, and whilst inviting Viṣṇu (to come down) pronounce another mantra in which the seven continents, the seven oceans, the heavens etc. are said to be in the heart of God who is revered and invited to approach and to enable by his favour the initiator to carry out the initiation (*dīkṣākāmavipras tvatprasādāt tu dīkṣati*). Thereupon Viṣṇu is requested to accept the usual presentations offered to a guest (*arghyaṃ pādyaṃ ca dātavyam*), the accompanying mantra being corrupt. Then the guru takes the razor pronouncing the words: *evaṃ varuṇaḥ pātu śiṣya te vapataḥ śiraḥ* (for Varuṇa – who not rarely is conceived as doing harm – as a protector see e.g. ṚV. 2, 28, 3; 8, 42, 2), which is followed by the statement: *jalena viṣṇuyuktena dīkṣā saṃsāramokṣaṇam* "the initiation by means of the water containing Viṣṇu liberates from the saṃsāra". Now the head of the aspirant is shaven without making it bleed. He bathes. The guru kneels on the ground and pronounces the mantra: *vedāmy ahaṃ bhāgavatāṃś ca sarvān / sudīkṣitā ye guravaś ca sarve / viṣṇuprasādena ca*

[473] I refer to Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 332.
[474] See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 330 ff.; 411 ff.
[475] Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 205 ff.

labdhadīkṣā (sic) / *mama prasīdantu namāmi sarvān*. He bows to God's devotees, lights a fire with ghee mixed with honey, parched grain and black sesame.[476] It may be remembered that honey mixed with sour curds and ghee are sprinkled on the completed fire-place: ŚB. 9, 2, 1, 1 ff. After having presented twenty-seven times a sesame dish (*tilodana-*) he kneels and prays: *aśvinau diśaḥ somasūryau sākṣimātraṃ / vayaṃ* (?) *prasannāḥ śṛṇvantu me satyavākyaṃ vadāmi*. Rice boiled with sesame (*tilodana-*) and prepared with ghee was, for special ritual purposes, also known in Vedic times: BĀU. 6, 4, 17 a man who desires to have a learned daughter who will attain a full length of life should eat such a dish. The KauśS. (138, 1 f.) prescribes for the performance of the Aṣṭakā – a winter festival in honour of the Fathers[477] – the oblations of fried grains, a sacrificial cake, and also boiled rice with sesame (*tilodana-*) etc.

The following words *satyena dhāryate bhūmiḥ satyena tiṣṭhati bhūmiḥ / satyena gacchate sūryo vāyuḥ satyena vāti ca* "the earth is borne by truth, the earth stands by truth, the sun moves through truth and the wind blows by truth" are, in a and b, a double variant of ṚV. 10, 85, 1a; AV. 14, 1, 1a; ĀpMB. 1, 6, 1a *satyenottabhitā bhūmiḥ* "the earth is established by truth". KauśS. 75, 6 directs AV. 14, 1, 1 to be used in preparing the sacrificial fire, at the beginning of the marriage rites; in ĀpGS. 2, 5, 19 it is a *rathasyottambhanī*; in c d of TĀ. 10, 63, 1 (*satyena vāyur āvāti satyenādityo rocate*; the passage deals with Aruṇi asking his father Prajāpati what is the Highest); MahānU. 519 (22, 1) (*satyena vāyur āvāti satyenādityo rocate divi* "the wind blows by truth, the sun shines in the sky by truth"). It is interesting to notice that this reference to *satya-* "holding to or abiding by reality and truth" is not devoid of a deeper meaning.[478] "Es ist letzten Endes die Macht der Tatsachen, der Realität, die vom Worte befestigt, neubelebt und rege gemacht, die erstrebte Wirkung (meist augenblickliche Wirkung in der äusseren Welt) hervorbringt. Nur derjenige, der den bestimmten Sachverhalt richtig erfasst hat, kann diese Macht aktiv machen ... Mit Vorliebe werden eigene gute Taten oder Tugenden ... beteuert, daneben begegnen aber auch Beteuerungen allgemeinen Inhalts, die auf die Verhältnisse des Sprechens oder des betreffenden Falles keinen Bezug haben".[479] The author of MahānU. continues: *satyaṃ vācaḥ pratiṣṭhā satye sarvaṃ pratiṣṭhitam, tasmāt satyaṃ paramaṃ vadanti*.

[476] For sesame in lamps etc. see Meyer, *o.c.*, II, p. 62 f. etc.
[477] See e.g. R. Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 414 ff.
[478] See E. W. Burlingame, in *J.R.A.S.* 1917, p. 429 ff.; H. Lüders, *Varuṇa* (Göttingen, 1959), p. 486 ff.
[479] Gonda, in *Oriens* 13-14, p. 409 f.

After "this statement of truth" (*evaṃ satyaṃ tataḥ kṛtvā*) the brahman (who is to be initiated), after having made three sunwise circumambulations round him[480] and having grasped his feet, must propitiate the guru and honour him in the ritual way with a mantra: "the dīkṣā has spontaneously been obtained by the grace of the divine guru, and the guru must forgive me every wrong I have done". As already observed, clasping the teacher's feet (and bending one's head while so doing) was also a customary practice in the Vedic upanayana ceremonies.[481] Thereupon the guru seizing the water-jar pronounces over the initiate who, facing the east, has taken his stand on the vedi[482] and wears the yajñopavīta: "by Viṣṇu's grace you have reached perfection, the dīkṣā has been performed with the water-jar etc." (*viṣṇuprasādena gato 'si siddhiṃ / prāptā ca dīkṣā sakamaṇḍaluś ca / gṛhītvā tu karābhyāṃ yukto 'si karmaṇā kriyāyāṃ caiva*). The initiated brahman then makes a *mukhaṃ padam*, performs, together with the guru, a ceremonious circumambulation and recites the mantra *adho 'dho bhūtvā yady aham bhrāmyaṃl labdho gurur viṣṇudīkṣā ca labdhā / tava prasādāc ca guro yathā ca.* He then takes a new garment and the water-jar, called a general means of ritual purification, the accompanying mantra being *gṛhṇīṣva gandhapātrāṇi sarvagandhaṃ sukhocitam / sarvavaiṣṇavakaṃ śuddhaṃ sarvasaṃsāramokṣaṇam*, from which it appears that this act is expected to lead to definitive deliverance of the saṃsāra. Then the initiated brahman is offered a madhuparka, i.e. the mixture of honey which in Vedic ritual is respectfully offered to a guest or to a bridegroom on his arrival at the house of the bride.[483] It is worth noticing that this ancient food is in Hindu rites also offered to the ācārya who has been chosen in order to consecrate a temple or an image of a god.[484] The accompanying mantra is *gṛhāṇa madhuparkaṃ ca prārthakāya viśodhanam*, the word *prārthaka-* properly meaning "wooer". After revering the guru, by clasping his feet, saluting him with the añjali etc. the novice should speak the mantra: *śṛṇvantu me bhāgavatās tu sarve / guruś ca me sarvakāmakṣayaṃ cakāra / ahaṃ śiṣyo dāsabhūtas tathaiva / devasamo guruś ca me tathopapannam*, in which the high value attached to the initiatory power of the godlike guru and the pupil's servitude to him are clearly expressed. The performance of this dīkṣā ceremony secures perfection to both preceptor and pupil.

480 *tisraḥ pradakṣiṇāḥ kṛtvā*, see Caland, *Lustratiegebruik* (see above).
481 For the respect due to the Vedic guru see e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 330 ff.
482 *vedīmadhye sthāpayitvā* (sic) *bhūtvā pūrvamukhas tataḥ.*
483 For particulars see V. M. Apte, *Social and religious life in the gṛhyasūtras* (Bombay, ²1954), p. 83.
484 See e.g. R. V. Joshi, *Le rituel de la dévotion kṛṣṇaite* (Pondichéry, 1959), p. 75; 89 f.

This last division of the initiatory rites may, to a certain extent, be compared to the *samāvartana-*, the final rites of the Vedic 'Jugendweihe'. The samāvartana, the return home of a brahman student after completing his studies in the house of a preceptor, signified that the former is released from his duties and considered 'finished' by the latter. A student who fully satisfied his teacher with his attainment in Vedic studies and who was duly permitted by the teacher could take a bath, after which he was called a *snātaka-* (see e.g. PārGS. 2, 6, 1 ff.). This bath after mastering the meaning of the Veda indicates the end of the Veda study (MGS. 1, 2, 8; KGS. 3, 1).[485] The description of the rites is not the same in all the gṛhyasūtras.[486] Some points are not without interest: according to GGS. 3, 4, 8 ff. the student is besprinkled by the teacher with lukewarm water which is mixed with perfumes and which has been boiled together with herbs of all kinds. Then the student besprinkles himself. Both acts are accompanied by mantras. The student has, moreover, to entertain brahmans with food (cf. also ĀśvGS. 22, 18) and to eat himself. He should put on two new garments, a garland and shoes. The guru then honours him with the argha ceremony (GGS. 3, 4, 30). that is, he offers him the above madhuparka. This *argha-* is also mentioned by other authorities (see e.g. ŚGS. 3, 1, 14). According to PārGS. 2, 6, 9 ff. the student, having touched the feet of his guru, puts wood on the fire and stands on kuśa blades to the east of eight pitchers of water with which he has to besprinkle himself.[487] Some of the mantras accompanying these rites are likewise worth quoting. The purificatory significance of the bath is emphasized e.g. in MGS. 1, 2, 11. The new garments, which are stated to be excellent, are put on for the sake of splendour, brilliance and divine lustre (MGS. 1, 2, 12; cf. GGS, 3, 4, 25). The snātaka anoints his eyes lest his heat should perish (MGS. 1, 2, 13). As to the ceremonious circumambulation, this is mentioned by some authorities in connection with the performance of the *medhājanana-* (i.e. the rite for production of intelligence). BhGS. 1, 10 describes it as follows: having wiped and sprinkled with water from left to right a palāśa tree ... the student anointing that tree with clarified butter, recites the mantra: "O glorious one, make me glorious ...; as you are the protector of the treasure of the Vedas for the gods, so may I be the protector of the treasure of the Vedas for the brahmans". For all similarity in details the theistic, viṣṇuite character and the ultimate objective of the ceremony described in the VarPur. are obvious; owing

485 For complications and different opinions see e.g. Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 61.
486 Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 311 ff.
487 The rites are in fact much more complicated.

to the important change in religious life and ideals, it is largely different from the Vedic ceremonies.

The next chapter deals with the dīkṣā in case the aspirant is not a brahman. The kṣatriya who wishes to undertake the ceremony should give up all his weapons. The utensils required are the same, but instead of the black antelope's skin and a staff of palāśa wood the skin of a black he-goat and a staff of the aśvattha should be used. The gṛhya- and dharmasūtras lay down that for a kṣatriya student of the Veda the staff should be of the branch of the nyagrodha or of the aśvattha (thus KGS. 41, 22; GautDhS. 1, 22). The aśvattha (ficus religiosa) belongs to the kṣatriya.[488] It may be remembered that during the consecration rites which form part of the vājapeya, by performing which a king becomes universal ruler (*samrāj-*), the adhvaryu spreads out the skin of a he-goat upon which the sacrificer has to step (ŚB. 5, 2, 1, 21; ĀpŚS. 18, 6, 1). In the chapters dealing with the upanayana the skin of a ruru deer is not rarely[489] prescribed to kṣatriyas, a goat skin to vaiśyas. There are however differences of opinion.

After the vedi has been made and God's feet have been revered a mantra is recited: *tyaktāni viṣṇo śastrāṇi tyaktaṃ sarvaṃ kṣatriyakarma sarvaṃ tyaktvā devaṃ viṣṇuṃ prapanno 'tha saṃsārād vai janmanāntārayasva* (read: *janmāntarāt tārayasva* ?). Seizing God's feet the aspirant says: *nāhaṃ śastraṃ devadeva spṛśāmi / parāpavādaṃ na ca deva bravīmi / karma karomi saṃsāramokṣaṇaṃ / tvayā coktam* ..., from which it appears that the renunciation of the military manner of life and the performance of religious works which lead to final emancipation are essential features of this dīkṣā (cf. also 128, 11 *eṣā vai kṣatriyā dīkṣā devi saṃsāramokṣaṇam / matprasādena kartavyaṃ yadīcchet siddhim uttamām*). The rites include burning of incense and the entertainment of all pure members of the Bhāgavata community.

A vaiśya should likewise renounce his customary way of life and devote himself to God's ritual work. The skin is again a goat's and the staff made of udumbara wood. According to Āpastamba (ĀpGS. 11, 15f.; ĀpDhS. 1, 1, 2, 38) the staff of a vaiśya should be of badara or udumbara wood. PārGS. 2, 5 recommends the latter. In other texts there is some divergence of opinion.[490] The mantra is: *ahaṃ vaiśyo bhavantam upāgataḥ / pramucya karmāṇi ca vaiśyayogam / dīkṣā ca labdhā bhagavatprasādāt / prasīdatāṃ me bhavabandhamokṣaṇam.* The vaiśya has to seize the guru's feet, to feed God's devotees etc.

[488] Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 63.
[489] See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 278.
[490] For details see Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 279 f.

A śūdra who undergoes the Viṣṇudīkṣā is freed from all sins. The requisites are similar; the skin of a black he-goat, a bamboo staff[491] and a black garment are prescribed. As is well known black is the colour of the śūdra (see e.g. AVPar. 53, 4, 3). The bamboo staff is in connection with the snātaka mentioned in the ĀśvGS. (3, 9, 20). The mantras are: *śūdro 'haṃ śūdrakarmāṇi muktvā bhakṣyaṃ ca sarvaśaḥ / bhakṣyābhakṣyaṃ tatas tyaktvā tyaktvā ca śūdrakarma ca* and: *viṣṇuprasāde guhyaṃ prasannāt pūrvavac ca labdhā* (read: *labdhvā*) *caiva saṃsāramokṣaṇāya karomi karma prasīda.*

The śūdra who is not allowed to study the Veda and not fit for Vedic sacrifices has in contradistinction to the twice-born classes only one birth (Manu 10, 4), that is to say, he is not allowed to be initiated. He may however acquire knowledge by listening to purāṇas read by a brahman. Śaṃkara quoting (on VedāntaS. 1, 3, 38) Mbh. 12, 314, 45 cr. ed. (*sarvas taratu durgāṇi sarvo bhadrāṇi paśyatu / śrāvayec caturo varṇān kṛtvā brāhmaṇaṃ agrataḥ*) says that the śūdra may attain spiritual development and even reach mokṣa without study of the Veda. "Gaining knowledge through Vedic study is forbidden but gaining knowledge through other means is encouraged".[492] In some digests a smṛti is quoted stating that śūdras are Vājasaneyins, which means that a brāhmaṇa should repeat the mantra for a śūdra who follows the procedure prescribed by the Vājasaneyins. These belong to the White Yayur Veda, but the above opinion may be based on Hariv., Bhp. 3, 13 "all will expound brahma, all will be Vājasaneyins".[493] From these quotations it becomes clear that there have on the one hand been gradual transitions from the exclusive Vedic traditions to the admission of the śūdra to the dīkṣā ceremonies described in the Varāhapurāṇa. There has indeed at least been one ancient teacher (Bādari)[494] who advocated that even a śūdra could perform Vedic rites. According to BhārŚS. 5, 2, 8 "some" authorities were of the opinion that he could consecrate the sacred fires.[495] Whereas he was entitled to perform the five daily sacrifices called mahāyajñas and perform the śrāddha, the rites performed for him should be without Vedic mantras (Manu 10, 127). While the members of the higher classes pronounced the formula

[491] See R. Sh. Sharma, *Śūdras in ancient India* (Delhi, 1958), p. 128.
[492] S. Radhakrishnan, *The Brahma Sūtra* (London, 1960), p. 308.
[493] See Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 156.
[494] See Jaiminī 1,3,27 and Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 156 f.
[495] For similar statements and differences of opinion see also Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 127.

agnaye svāhā he should only think of Agni and, if permission was given to him, he might use the ritual exclamation *namaḥ* "adoration" (cf. GautS. 10, 64 *anujñāto 'sya namaskāro mantraḥ*). He could however pronounce the mantra *namaḥ śivāya*, the so-called śivamantra of five akṣaras – while *dvijātis* were authorized to repeat the mantra of six akṣaras *oṃ namaḥ śivāya* –, notwithstanding the occurrence in the Veda (VS. 16, 41; TS. 4, 5, 8, 1 etc.) of the sequence *namaḥ śivāya ca śivatarāya ca*, where however *śiva-* is not to be taken as the proper name of the god. In a similar way all persons including the śūdras could repeat the Rāmamantra. "Vide Śūdrakamalākara, p. 30f., where passages of Varāha, Vāmana and Bhaviṣya Purāṇas are cited to show that śūdras are entitled to learn and repeat mantras of Viṣṇu from the Pāñcarātra texts and of Śiva, the Sun, Śakti and Vināyaka".[496] Here also a closer investigation of the relevant facts reveals the gradual transformation of Vedism into Hinduism, and the penetration into authoritative texts of cults, rites and beliefs which were not recognized as valid by all, or most, Vedic authorities.

It is on the other hand hardly probable that those components of the ancient Indian population which were collectively denoted by the term śūdra did not possess some sort of 'initiation' or 'consecration' rites of their own. This is not to subscribe to the view pronounced on the strength of preconceived theories rather than historical facts by my late lamented compatriot Held[497] and endorsed by the author of a recent book:[498] "There has been a time, when the śūdra could also be initiated. This must have been the time when initiation was still the sacrament to which every grown-up man was entitled and not a distinction of caste".[499] Or, "in the beginning the upanayana was the affair of the whole tribe; but as the tribe disintegrated into classes, it became a prerogative, a honorific distinction to be attained by means of wealth and high social position". This is not the place to elaborate on the origin of the fourth estate in ancient India and on its relations to the three Aryan classes.[500] So much is clear that the śūdras lived on the fringes of Aryan society and that they included subdued, non-Aryan as well as repudiated Aryan elements; further that there were "pure" or "correct" and "impure" or "excluded" śūdras, a distinction made on the basis of their customs and profession. In my opinion the most satisfactory view of the problem under discussion

[496] Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 158.
[497] G. J. Held, *The Mahābhārata, an ethnological study*, Thesis (Leiden, 1935), p. 241 f.
[498] R. Sh. Sharma, *o.c.*, p. 69 f.
[499] Replace "caste" by "class, rank, order".
[500] See e.g. E. Senart, *Les castes dans l'Inde* (Paris, 1896), passim; J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 57 ff.

and of the apparent contradictions in our texts[501] would for the time being be the following. The śūdras of non-Aryan descent had rites including 'initiations' or 'consecrations' of their own which in the course of time might[502] be 'sanskritized', legalized and subjected to a process of adaptation by the leading classes. Those of Aryan descent were, as the rigidity of brahmanic ceremonies and observances increased, refused participation in the 'orthodox' rites (cf. HŚS. 19, 1, 4; 26, 1, 6; 20); or they may have incurred the displeasure of the brahmans by clinging to practices which the latter did not consider respectable. It may be supposed that part of these 'non-orthodox' practices of either origin came to the surface in the above 'Hinduist', i.e. non- and post-Vedic rites.

It is nothing new to us that the description of the dīkṣā proper given by the author of the VarāhaPurāṇa should be followed by prescriptions regarding the duties of those initiated: 128, 37 etc.

Nor is it surprising that the parallelism and the close association between certain forms of dīkṣā and the 'sacramental rites' called saṃskāras – the number of which was not fixed[503] – is also explicitly stated in the texts. Thus AgniPur. a. 32, 1 *nirvāṇādiṣu dīkṣāsu catvāriṃśat tathāṣṭa ca / saṃskārān kārayed dhīmān / ...* 11f. ... *sauraśakteyaviṣṇvīśadīkṣās tv ete samāḥ smṛtāḥ / / saṃskāraiḥ saṃskṛtaiś caitair bhuktimuktim avāpnuyāt ...*

In a detailed description of an initiation, called *mantrasaṃgrahaṇa-*, the LiṅgaPurāṇa 85, 83ff. likewise teaches that religious exertion without the transmission of the mantra is senseless: 84 *ājñāhīnaṃ* (: *gurvājñārahitam*, comm.), *kriyāhīnaṃ* (: *ācāravarjitam*), *śraddhāhīnam* (: *bhaktirahitam*) *amānasam / ājñaptaṃ dakṣiṇāhīnaṃ sadā japtaṃ ca niṣphalam*. The initiated should, here also, approach a worthy guru and 87 *toṣayet tam prayatnena bhāvaśuddhisamanvitaḥ* ... (88) *ācāryaṃ pūjayec chiṣyaḥ* ..., whilst offering him many valuable gifts (90 *vṛttaśāṭhyaṃ na kurvīta yadīcchet siddhim ātmanaḥ*); lastly, he must offer himself together with his personal property. Moreover, the candidate must be obedient to the guru, be morally pure, fast and bathe in a river, at a beach, in a sanctuary, a clean house, etc. Thereupon the guru should in a lonely place communicate the *Śivajñānam* to him (95), and warrant him success. The initiate should henceforth mutter the mantra continually. If he, fasting and concentrated, does so he will attain to the highest goal.

[501] Cf. e.g. ŚB. 5, 5, 4, 9 where the śūdra is given a place in the Soma sacrifice and ibid. 3, 1, 1, 10 where he is not worthy of being addressed by a consecrated person; in a similar way, the initiated student (*upanita-*) should not talk to a śūdra (DrāhŚS. 7, 3, 14).
[502] Along the lines indicated in my book *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 11 etc.
[503] See e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 193 ff.

Among those particulars which in the opinion of the compiler of the Haribhaktivilāsa are characteristic of a *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* is also the determination of the good and bad effects of the mantras by the nature of the dreams dreamt by the aspirant. This feature also is no doubt of greater antiquity than the "paurāṇic age". In a passage dealing with the "mixed potion incantation" for the attainment of greatness the author of ChU. 5, 2, 8f. hands down a verse: "If during rites done for a wish one sees a woman in his dream, one may recognize success in this appearance". Śaṃkara observes that if the person concerned lies down behind the fire and if, in a dream, he sees a woman, this is a sign that his effort has succeeded. Describing the ritual called Bṛhallakṣahoma – the offering of 100000 oblations with the Sāvitrī – AVPar. 30 b, 2, 8 makes also mention of a prognostication from dreams. Another point mentioned concerns fasting and visiting a temple, after taking a bath. As is well known fasting, like sleeping on the ground etc., is in a considerable number of cases, *inter alia* in the dīkṣā an ancillary rite prescribed by the Vedic authorities to the intending sacrificer. During the study of the Veda both teacher and pupil should, for a different course of time, it is true, abstain from meat-eating (cf. ŚGS. 2, 12, 8). The visit to the temple is of course, like the performance of some typically 'Hinduist' rites, a non-Vedic feature. It may however be noticed that this *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* is not free from tantrist influences.

In Kṛṣṇaite circles founding their cults and their beliefs on such important and fundamental texts as the BhāgavataPurāṇa (± 900 A.D.) and the basic works of the Caitanya (1485-1533) movement initiation is a necessity. "L'initiation joue un rôle préliminaire et nécessaire dans le rituel. ... Avant l'initiation nul n'est autorisé à pénétrer dans le sentier de la dévotion à aucune divinité, ou à suivre l'accomplissement proprement dit des rites selon les différentes écritures sacrées".[504] According to the BhāgP. those who are desirous of mokṣa must put themselves under the care and guidance of a preceptor who knows the Vedas well and is a worshipper of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa who is the highest brahman (11, 3, 21: *tasmād guruṃ prapadyeta jijñāsuḥ śreya uttamam / śabde pare ca niṣṇātaṃ brahmaṇy upaśramāśrayam*). This guru must be a man in whom all passions have quieted down and who identifies himself with Śrī-Kṛṣṇa (11, 10, 5). The Kramadīpikā adds that such a guru must be revered by the ṛṣis themselves (4, 2). Moreover, "le vrai maître devra descendre d'une famille sans tache et pleine de vertus. Il devra être à même d'accomplir

[504] Joshi, *o.c.*, p. 8.

tous les rites sacres préscrits, familiarisé avec toutes les écritures y compris la tradition védique, rempli de foi religieuse, maître de maison, etc. etc.". The texts which are unanimous in emphasizing the many virtues required in the initiator forbid him to strive after earnings or profit. If in a certain milieu there is no brahman who could act as a guru, a competent kṣatriya may impart the initiation, but only to kṣatriyas, vaiśyas or śūdras. Even a vaiśya or a śūdra may under similar circumstances initiate their social equals or inferiors, although there is difference of opinion about the competence of a śūdra (and a woman). The disciple must likewise conform to special requirements. There are different opinions about the suitable moments for the initiations.

What interests us more is the existence of no less than four procedures. The first, called *kriyāvatī*, i.e. the dīkṣā characterized by the performance of pāñcarātra rites, requires the purification of the adept, and other preliminary rites, the elaborate construction of a kuṇḍa for the sacrificial fire into which the oblations are to be poured out, a maṇḍapa or temporary hall or pavilion and a vedi or sacrificial bed.[505] It is worth observing that purification is also an important element in the Vedic initiatory rites. The second procedure begins by imposing akṣaras ('mystic' syllables, *nyāsa-*) by the guru: in so doing the guru identifies all the 'elements' of the disciple with the consciousness of the highest brahman; the disciple is united with spiritual qualities and freed from sinful influences. Ritual acts for similar purposes are not foreign to the Veda: the so-called medhājanana,[506] inserted in some of the gṛhyasūtras in the description of the upanayana ceremony, is to produce glory and intelligence in the initiate. The third method, called *kalāvatī*, consists in purifying the disciple's body and in replacing his 'profane' knowledge by the pure and noble knowledge of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa. Compare, in the upanayana: "We clothe, O soma, this (boy) with brahman for the sake of great learning" (JGS. 1, 12). The fourth, and most difficult, initiation is the *vedhamayī* ("penetrating"), consisting in a revelation imparted by the guru to the disciple who is to learn how to penetrate into the six circles assumed by the Yoga doctrine to exist in the human body.

If a kuṇḍa is made a dīkṣāmaṇḍala is drawn on the vedi consisting of a lotus with eight petals, this motive being repeated in three concentric circles on which are inscribed the twelve tokens of the zodiac. After the daily rites of the preceptor the latter sits down, facing the east, before the vedi, to perform preliminary rites, and to invoke the great masters

[505] See Joshi, *o.c.*, p. 13 ff.
[506] See e.g. Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 301.

and sages. The sage Nārada is for instance requested to preside over the ceremony. Barley, rice etc. are thrown on the eight petals of the lotus, the elements of fire are invoked and worshipped and other rites are performed; the important Gopālamantra (addressed to Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd: *klīṃ kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopījanaballabhāya svāhā*) is recited, and so on. By means of 'mystic' syllables the digits of the moon and the soul are cited to manifest themselves in water which is poured out in the kalaśa or pitcher. After the recitation of four mantras: *haṃsaḥ śuciṣat* (ṚV. 4, 40, 5), *pra tad viṣṇuḥ* (ṚV. 1, 154, 2), *tryambakaṃ yajāmahe* (ṚV. 7, 59, 12) and *viṣṇur yoniḥ* (cf. ṚV. 10, 184, 1). The oft-quoted stanza ṚV. 4, 40, 5 is e.g. KaU. 5, 2 adduced as an argument in favour of the doctrine of the identity of the individual soul and the world soul; 1, 154, 2 praises Viṣṇu in whose steps all creatures are said to live; 7, 59, 12 expresses the wish to be freed from the bonds of death, not deprived of the prospect of 'immortality'; in 10, 184, 1 Viṣṇu is requested to prepare the womb. While being widely different from those prescribed in the Vedic dīkṣā these mantras express the sense of various aspects of initiation very well: (re-)birth, victory over death, safety in and through Viṣṇu, with whom the individual soul is one. Thereupon the Gopālamantra is again pronounced. In this kalaśa Śrī-Kṛṣṇa is adored; a series of other ritual acts are duly performed. Then the sacred fire is according to the Vedic prescriptions made by drilling or brought from the house of a brahman who maintains the sacred fire, placed before the guru, and adored. Oblations to the 'sacred' number of 108 are poured out into the fire.[507]

Immediately after the aspirant, who has observed a fast and silence, undergoes the first initiatory rites: "Il s'incline devant le maître, qui arrose sa tête et son corps de quelques gouttes d'eau en prononçant l'incantation *phaṭ* et lui donne à boire un peu de pañcagavya (the five products of the cow taken collectively). Après ... le maître ... prononce à son oreille les mātṛkā, des 'incantations' d'une seule lettre. Elles sont gardées très secrètes et il est presque impossible d'en comprendre la signification réelle sans posséder la clef traditionelle. Les 'incantations' sont transmises de génération en génération ...".[508] The preceptor must drink of the five products of the cow, meditate on the Lord Kṛṣṇa who is supposed to be present in the pitcher, and pronounce, silently and 1008 times, the Gopālamantra (*klīṃ kṛṣṇāya govindāya gopījanavallabhāya*

[507] The number 108 which is of special significance in Hindu rites ($108 = 6 \times 18$; see O. Stein, in *The Poona Orientalist*, 1, 3, Poona, 1936, p. 1 ff.) occurs, in another context, already ŚB. 10, 4, 2, 23 and 24.

[508] Joshi, p. 18.

svāhā). The aspirant must take his seat on a deer's skin (remember the Vedic usage !) and pronounce the Mātṛkāmantra[509] (which he has now learned) till he falls asleep. It may be observed that the term *pañcagavya-* does not seem to occur in texts older than the smṛtis, see Manu 11, 165 and Yājñ. 3, 263. These products themselves (milk, curds, ghee, urine, and cowdung: *kṣīraṃ dadhi tathā cājyaṃ mūtraṃ gomayam eva ca*) were however ritually used in a variety of Vedic rites; for urine see e.g. Kauś. 31, 11 ff.; for dung ibid. 26, 22; 27, 33; ŚB. 12, 4, 4, 1. However, in such late appendices to Vedic literature as AVPar. 38 the Karmakāṇḍapaddhati of the Kaṭhas[510] we find descriptions of purificatory ceremonies in which the main act consisted in the drinking of the mixture called pañcagavya – the term occurs also in other texts contained in the former collection –; the preparation of this mixture is circumstantially described and its successful effect is highly praised.

On the second day the aspirant is after some preparatory acts to undergo a ritual bathing. For that purpose he is to sit down facing the east. The guru while pronouncing mantras washes away his sins and places a shoot of grass, rice, flowers and gorocanā (orpiment) on his head. Thereupon muttering a prayer to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa he performs, utilizing the pitcher, the nīrājana (lustration) ceremony;[511] while pronouncing the Gopālamantra and the formulas belonging to this sacred 'bathing' he pours water on the initiand. This act is done three times. The formulas[512] belong to the Pāñcarātra traditions: Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva and a large number of minor powers are implored to perform the ablution, Vāsudeva, Janārdana etc. are requested to bless the initiate etc. A curious rite is to follow, if the mantra to be imparted to him is non-Kṛṣṇaite; in that case it must be consecrated. Next an examination is instituted as to its suitability for the initiand. After donning two new white articles of clothing (compare the Vedic use of new clothes) and having drunk some water the aspirant, facing the east, throws himself at his guru's feet and, facing the north, sits down to the south of the guru.[513] The latter presents offerings to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa, makes five nyāsas on the disciple's body on which the 'sect

[509] Consisting of one akṣara.

[510] I refer to M. A. Muusses, *Koecultus bij de Hindoes*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1920), p. 63 ff.

[511] For the (non-Vedic) nīrājana which often is a long and complicated rite see Meyer, *Trilogie*, III, p. 335 s.v.; *ibidem* II, p. 127: "Darauf soll eine mit glückerzeugenden Körpermerkmalen gesegnete Frau ... über dem Haupt des Menschengebieters die Holzschale (das schiene ein Licht mit Ölbehälter aus Holz zu sein) schwingen: "Erlöschen des Unheils (*śānti-*) sei (dir) und Gedeihen samt den Brahmanen und den eigenen Leuten"".

[512] See *Haribhaktivilāsa* 2, 82.

[513] The position of guru and brahmacārin as prescribed the gṛhyasūtras is otherwise.

marks' have already been applied. Placing his right hand on the disciple's head the guru recites one of the fundamental mantras of the community in his right ear. This act is also performed three times. It is clear that a bodily contact between teacher and pupil was at the moment of communicating a fundamental mantra not unknown in Vedic ceremonial: HGS. 1, 6, 10 *ādityāyāñjaliṃ kṛtvācāryāyopasaṃgṛhya dakṣiṇataḥ kumāra upaviśya: adhīhi bho ity uktvāthāha: sāvitrīṃ bho anubrūhi.* When the Vedic teacher intends to study the Veda together with his pupils, he should sacrifice to a number of deities while being touched by the pupils (ĀśvGS. 3, 5, 10). The Kṛṣṇaite initiand repeats the mantra whilst identifying, in his mind, guru, God and mantra. The possibility of this identification depends on the one hand on the ancient conviction that both the Vedic mantras and the brahmans who know and teach them are brahman (see e.g. ŚB. 8, 5, 3, 7; 5, 1, 1, 11), and on the other on God's being brahman. As soon as he knows the mantra by heart, the preceptor throws some water and rice in his right hand saying "This mantra must be the same for both of us". Then the 'mysterious knowledge' of the formula passes from his body to that of the initiate.

It may be noticed that the same texts give also instruction in abridged procedures of initiation. It is worth while to quote a description of such a ceremony because it will make us understand which elements of the longer ceremonies are believed to be the most essential and indispensable.[514] "Pour l'initiation abrégée, un vase est placé sur un diagramme connu sous le nom de sarvato bhadra.[515] L'orifice de l'urne est recouvert d'un linge et l'urne est remplie d'eau, de santal, de fleurs, de feuilles de cinq arbres différents, de cinq pierres précieuses et de terre prise en sept lieux différents, à savoir un endroit où vivent des cheveaux ou des éléphants, une fourmillière, une taupinière, un carrefour, la porte d'une palais, une étable (or, "grazing ground, standing-place for cows etc.") ou la rive d'un fleuve.[516] Le maître doit charmer 1008 fois l'urne avec

[514] See Joshi, *o.c.*, p. 27 f.

[515] This square 'mystical diagram' is mentioned Mbh. 12,40,13.

[516] For the religious function and signification of ant-hills and mole-hills see Meyer, Trilogie, III, p. 56; 77; 219 (chthonian and connected with the power presiding over fertility); p. 219 "Erdaufwürfe und Ameisenhaufen, in Altindien vom Veda herab und in Deutschland ja hochmagisch, haben ihre Kraft daher, dass sie aus dem Unterirdischen, von chthonischen Wesen oder doch aus deren Wohnung kommen". The horse, sacred to Varuṇa and connected with the sun wins vāja and is "Korn- und Seelentier" (Meyer, *o.c.*, III, p. 237); the elephant was considered to be a relative of the clouds and to be influential in the process of raining. For cross-roads in Vedic belief see Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, p. 269 f.; 494 f. etc. ("Sitz mannigfachsten Zaubers"); for a standing-place of cows, see e.g. AVPar. 15,1,2; 16,1,2. For the combination *catuṣpatheṣu goṣṭheṣu tīrtheṣu* see e.g. AVPar. 4,6,5.

l'incantation à révéler. Après avoir aspergé le disciple de quelques gouttes d'eau de l'urne il doit l'initier à l'incantation". Thus the baptism with the holy or consecrated water, the mantra – and under circumstances also the imposition of the hand – prove to be the most essential elements.

The Hari-bhakti-vilāsa[517] in which the entire body of the ritual and devotional practices of Caitanya's movement were codified and which may be quoted as another authority for Viṣṇuite religious life, deals in chapter I and II with the preceptor, disciple and mantra and with dīkṣā. A man without dīkṣā is not entitled to worship, for the act of initiation destroys all sins and bestows divine knowledge.[518] Just like Vedic initiation this Viṣṇuite dīkṣā has to take place at an auspicious moment. The text is mainly concerned with the so-called *kriyāvatī* form of *dīkṣā* which is tantric in nature and with the *paurāṇikī dīkṣā* which, though purāṇic, is not free from tantric influence. Although the elaborate ritual is widely different from the Vedic ceremonies in connection with the upanayana, there are some striking similarities. Before the Vedic initiation took place, a canopy was set up under which the saṃskāra would be performed (PārGS. 1, 4, 2). For the purpose of a Viṣṇuite dīkṣā a maṇḍapa having an 'altar' (*vedikā*) in it, is to be built.[519] The Tantric dīkṣā requires a maṇḍapa with eight flag-staffs with flags in eight directions, four doors, four portals (*toraṇa-*) consisting of milk-trees.[520] This maṇḍapa, beside which a kuṇḍa is dug, is sprinkled with the five products of the cow (*pañcagavya-*) and water. Interestingly enough the Veda student has during the samāvartana ceremonies to stand on eastward-pointed kuśa blades to the east of eight pitchers of water placed to the north of the fire in an enclosure (PGS. 2, 6, 9 ff.). The number eight indicated the eight quarters of the earth. Besprinkling himself with water drawn from these pitchers the student makes the quarters co-operate in his consecration.[521] In both rituals some preparatory acts are to be carried out on the body of the boy. The Vedic guru ties a girdle round his waist which is to impart strength (PārGS. 2, 2, 11) to him and symbolizing his being encircled by the three Vedas; he, moreover, touches the pupil's heart in order to establish a complete harmony and whole-hearted communion

[517] In the following comment attention has onesidedly been drawn to similarities while some repetition has been unavoidable.

[518] For a detailed description see De, *o.c.*, p. 455 ff.

[519] It may be observed that some 'purāṇic' rites, e.g. the propitiation of Gaṇeśa (prescribed in the above Viṣṇuite text) which are not found in the gṛhyasūtras, in later times, found their way also into the Vedic ceremony.

[520] Flags are apotropaeic, the flag-staff represents the axis mundi.

[21] Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 257.

between guru and initiate. In the Tantric ritual the preceptor, after executing a number of preparatory Viṣṇuite and Tantrist rites, and after worshipping God (the Bhagavat) in a pitcher filled with water should perform the mātṛkānyāsa[522] on his body, giving him instructions regarding the meaning of this; he should, moreover, sprinkle and consecrate the person of his disciple and purify him by various ceremonies. In deviation from the Vedic rites connected with sacred thread, deer-skin, staff etc. the Viṣṇuite preceptor places sectarian marks, garlands etc. on the pupil's body and dedicates him to Kṛṣṇa. Among the features worth noticing is the prescript that after performing the Mātṛkānyāsa on the pupil's body and after contemplating the Bhagavat in the pitcher the guru and the pupil perform 1008 japas (muttered formulas) and after eating something lie down to sleep side by side on a piece of deer-skin placed on kuśa-grass: another form of bodily contact. All these preliminaries are to be carried out on the day preceding the dīkṣā-day.

On the day of the dīkṣā the guru worships the pitcher, his own guru and various deities, performs a homa and a special mudrā and sprinkles and consecrates (*abhiṣeka-*) the aspirant, purifying him by various ceremonies, dedicates him to Kṛṣṇa, placing 'sect marks' on his body and whispering the mūlamantra thrice in his right ear. The guru offers him the food consecrated to God (*mahāprasāda-*) and blesses him. According to the Vedic ritual the teacher was supposed to have conceived the boy (cf. ŚB. 11, 5, 4, 12 "by laying his right hand on (the pupil) the teacher becomes pregnant (with him)"), who afterwards is born anew with the Sāvitrī. The Viṣṇuite authorities hold that by whispering the mūlamantra in the right ear of the initiate the guru infuses his own superhuman power into him. As to the consecrated food, in gṛhyasūtras it is laid down that the Veda student, after he has taken the final bath, is allowed to eat remains of food offered to the gods and to the Fathers: in this injunction we must doubtless see the idea of placing oneself in close touch with these powers.[523]

The disciple should repeat the mantra one hundred and eight times and receive from his guru instructions with regard to his conduct and the conventions to be followed. Similar commandments meant to be practical advice as well as a symbolical performance belonged to the Vedic upanayana ceremonies (see PārGS. 2, 3, 2).

Up to the present day, the so-called secret forms of Viṣṇuite worship

[522] *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 36.
[523] For other Vedic instances of communion see Keith, Religion and philosophy, p. 270 f.

which find their adherents chiefly among the neglected lower ranks of the population know a second initiation, imparted for instance by wandering ascetics. Those who become initiated receive a second mantra and an explication of its meaning as a higher form of Viṣṇuism. This second mantra is represented as necessary to make operative the latent power of the first or dīkṣā mantra. The relative ritual performances take place at night.[524]

H. DĪKṢĀ IN ŚIVAISM

Dīkṣā is a very important ceremony in all schools of Śivaism. When, in the course of transmigration, the soul has reached a considerable state of purity so as to strive after omniscience – which leads to emancipation – Lord Śiva, extending his grace, instructs the soul, manifesting himself as an internal light or as a guru. "Par Son regard, Son toucher ou Son enseignement, Il donne l'initiation purificatrice (*dīkṣā*). Si l'ignorance de l'âme était due à une simple absence de connaissance, elle pourrait être ôtée par la connaissance; mais l'impureté originelle (*mala-*[525]) est une entité; elle a une nature positive et ne peut être ôtée que par une autre entité positive. D'où la nécessité de cette initiation purificatrice (*dīkṣā*). Et la nécessité de l'intervention du maître ne cesse pas immédiatement après la dīkṣā. Le maître doit continuer à aider quelque temps encore .... Quand cela est terminé, ... l'âme reconnaît sa propre 'qualité de Shiva' (*śivatva-*) ... C'est l'étape finale de la libération".[526] It is therefore the faith of the 'non-Vedic' (*avaidika-*) Śivaites that he who has not received the *śaivī dīkṣā* does not attain mokṣa. It may also easily be understood that the *dīkṣita-* is in Śivaite circles considered a manifestation of the all-penetrating God: SauraP. 23, 8 *bhūmir āpo 'nalo vāyur vyoma sūryaś ca candramāḥ / aṣṭamī dīkṣitas tatra mūrtir īśasya śūlinaḥ.*

On the maturation of *mala-* – which in Śivaism corresponds to the *avidyā* of the other systems – and the approach of the termination of the influence of the Lord's obscuring power, there is the descent of His grace (*anugraha-śakti-*). God awakens through His supreme power (*śakti-*) and through the instrumentality of a guru the soul from its eternal sleep

[524] See M. T. Kennedy, *The Chaitanya movement* (Oxford, 1925), p. 211 f.
[525] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 202; 228 etc. For the purificatory function of the dīkṣā see also V. A. Devasenapati, *Śaiva Siddhānta* (Madras 1960), p. 233 etc.
[526] M.S.S. Suryanarayana Sastri, quoted by J. Herbert, *Spiritualité hindoue* (Paris, 1947), p. 36 f. Similarly, the same, in H. Bhattacharyya (editor), *The cultural heritage of India*, III (Calcutta², 1953), p. 395 f.

of delusion. Then the soul begins to abhor worldly life and to take interest in the attainment of emancipation. It finds a competent guru, who gives dīkṣā which ultimately disentangles it from the *pāśas*, destroying the corruptive power of mala. Dīkṣā is thus regarded as the most essential condition of emancipation. It removes the soul's *paśutva-* ("animality")[527] and restores it to its pristine *śivatva-* or divine nature.

There may be room for the comment that ancient and widespread ideas in connection with 'initiation', 'consecration' or 'transmutation' have here been embedded in the typically Śivaite pattern of Hinduism and are put into practice in the framework of Hindu ritual, requiring different kuṇḍas (receptacles for fire) and maṇḍalas ('mystic drawings').[528] Purification, i.e. the removal of hostile and counteracting influences, the attraction of favourable influences, the formation and development of the personality, the attainment of higher stages of existence, and aspiration to self-perfection were already in Vedic times the main purposes of the saṃskāras, the so-called sacraments, and then also the guru – the brahman who is bráhman – had an important part in their administration. The substitution of the impersonal brahman by the personal God, – and hence the belief that Śiva, God, personally presents Himself before the disciple in the form of the guru – the philosophical development of the traditional Weltanschauung and their attendant reinterpretation of ancient beliefs and customs as well as the general acceptance of the transmigration axiom and the mokṣa ideal modified, but did not fundamentally alter, the traditional views of, and institutions connected with, 'initiation' and 'consecration'.

The Śaiva-Siddhānta agrees with other religious schools that the one who has the authority to initiate others is the guru who has received *ācāryābhiṣeka-* (see further on). The ŚaivaSiddhāntins – though far from unanimous as to details – are of the opinion that Śiva does not manifest himself to all souls in the same way. This explains why there are different methods of initiation (*dīkṣā*).[529] It is necessary "to be initiated into the mysteries of the Śaiva religion" before one may efficaciously perform one of the manifestations of bhakti, that is follow the three paths of *caryā* (external service to God), *kriyā* (worship) and *yoga-* (mental worship of God in His subtler form), which are the means by which the soul may place itself in a position for the reception of the imprint of God's grace.

[527] *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 204.
[528] See also T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu iconography* (Madras, 1916), II, 1, p. 10 ff.
[529] H. W. Schomerus, *Der Çaiva-Siddhānta* (Leipzig, 1912), p. 315 ff.

Purification is of many kinds, according to some authorities in accordance with the caste of the person and the extend to which his *mala-* has ripened. Some souls need *nayana-dīkṣā*, "instruction by the eye": the guru while looking at the disciple destroys the last remnants of the *āṇavamala-* – the fundamental evil conditioning the soul's delusion that it is limited[530] – so as to enlighten him. Similar methods of the same value are dīkṣā by touching five parts of the pupil's body and transmitting in this way the right knowledge; the *vācaka-dīkṣā* (oral instruction); the *mānasa-dīkṣā* by means of 'hypnosis'; the *śāstra-dīkṣā* (instruction in philosophy), *yoga-dīkṣā* by means of asceticism and yoga; and *hotṛ-dīkṣā* (instruction through religious symbols). The last method is twofold, one course being intended for children, women, old people, the diseased and uneducated, who while excused from their religious duties, meet their daily obligations to the best of their abilities. From an elaborate description of this method it appears that the instruction by the guru is not a sudden enlightenment, but a "stufenweise sich fortentwickelnder Prozesz". There are four planes, that of hearing the instruction, of meditating on it, that of understanding it and, finally, *samādhi-* (perfection, "die Stufe der Anwendung"). A few lines are worth quoting (Śivajñānasiddhiār:[531] "Wie von dem Kristal ein Glanz ausgeht, wenn die Sonne auf ihn scheint, so wird, wenn der göttliche Guru kommt und gnadenvoll vor ihm erscheint, das erste Jñāna (Hören) entstehen. Wenn es entsteht, dann wird der Schüler in dem Guru Śiva erkennen, dann wird ihm das eigene Selbst offenbar, dann wird die ganze Welt in ihm selbst offenbar, dann wird das ganze Wesen Śivas ... direkt offenbar. Bei genügender Reife wächst das Jñāna, dann werden die Schüler durch die Gnade des Guru darüber nachsinnen und wünschen, Samādhi zu erlangen. Diese werden in der Welt wie Jīvanmukta sein ....., werden so mit Śiva in Advaita-Verbindung verbunden sein, dasz sie weder Gott verlassen noch Gott sie und werden auszer Śiva nichts anderes sehen".

While therefore the dīkṣā ceremony varies with the recipient, it is generally agreed that he who has renounced family life and is expectant of gaining mokṣa by constantly adoring his guru is the fittest person for dīkṣā. We are reminded of the ancient saṃnyāsa and veneration of the guru.

A further distinction is made[532] between the so-called *samaya-dīkṣā*,

[530] *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 235 f.
[531] See Schomerus, *o.c.*, p. 23; 317; Devasenapati, *o.c.*, p. 238 ff.
[532] See also J. H. Piet, *A logical presentation of the Śaiva Siddhānta philosophy* (Madras, 1952), p. 129.

the initiation by which a person is admitted into the fold of Śivaism; the *viśeṣa-dīkṣā* which introduces him into the rites and mysteries of this religion and grants him the special privilege of performing the acts of pūjā to Śiva in caryā and kriyā; the *nirvāṇa-dīkṣā* which enables the initiate to free himself from the bonds of material existence so as to attain final emancipation; it also authorizes him to officiate in temples; and finally, the *abhiṣeka-dīkṣā*, or institution into guruship. One of the formalities of this dīkṣā is the yoking on, by the guru, to the soul of the initiate the six qualities which distinguish Śiva, viz. omniscience etc. The institution in guruship requires an anointment.[533]

It may be contended that the above methods of initiation, though largely affected by yoga practices, are in a way specializations developed from ancient ritual acts, part of which had entered also into the composition of the upanayana ritual. There the teacher looks at the boy with a mantra and causes him to pronounce the formula: "I have come here for brahmacarya" (GGS. 2, 10, 20). He takes hold of the hands of the pupil, of the place of his heart etc.; he gives him oral instruction. That there were other possibilities of transference may appear from Mbh. 1, 3 (Pauṣya) where the guru imparts to a pupil the knowledge of the Veda by expressing his satisfaction with the pupil's behaviour. Interestingly enough we find here (i.e. in Śivaism) also the imposition of the hand: by the act of placing the hand "which is the embodiment of enlightenment"[534] first on the head, then over the whole body of the disciple the god, i.e. Śiva himself, dispels the darkness of ignorance (the *pāśas*) which enveloped him. Another ancient element is represented by the blindfolding, "that he might not see sinners":[535] no doubt, a re-interpretation.

It may further be assumed that in contradistinction to the two stages of 'initiation' which could supply the wants of Vedic man – the upanayana by which young men became prepared for full membership of the socio-religious community, and the dīkṣā by which the married sacrificer was transfigured – the religious life and ritual practice of later times required a more complicated system of 'initiations'. The evolution of guruship and the divergence between the daily performance of pūjā and the aspiration to final emancipation had led to a certain differentiation which in its turn required some special 'initiations'.

A counterpart of the Vedic vratas and the observances of the ancient

[533] Cf. the term *gurudīkṣā-* "initiation into the office of a spiritual preceptor" occurring in the SkandaP. (Monier-Williams).
[534] Rao, *o.c.*, II, 1, p. 11.
[535] Rao, *l.c.*

ascetics is not lacking. The *samayācāras* imposed upon the person who has undergone the *viśeṣa-dīkṣā* comprise abstinence from reviling Śiva, the Śivaitic śāstras and the guru, from crossing even the shadow of these; doing pūjā to Śiva and the guru, etc.

In Kashmir Śivaism[536] the most important method of attaining integral Śivahood is dīkṣā or initiation. As a result of *śaktipāta-* i.e. dispensation of divine grace a person is brought to a real guru. The dīkṣā imparted by this guru awakens the *kriyāśakti-* ("power of activity") in the limited soul which is devoid of *svātantrya-* ("independence" or "freedom of will"). The development of *kriyāśakti-* ultimately means the soul's ability to absorb and integrate the object, the "it", seemingly separate from itself, within its own self. "The consummation of this development is the soul's recognition and realization of itself as the integral 'I' ....., the dawning of the true knowledge about the real and ultimate nature of the Puruṣa...".[537] This may lead to the enjoyment, in this life, of the inherent reawakened Śivahood.

In Vīraśaivism, dīkṣā has been made compulsory for each member. "It is dīkṣā that opens the door of Vīraśaivism, being a ceremony used also to admit into the fold a non-Vīraśaiva. It is as essential as the dīkṣā or initiation of the yajamāna and his wife before the beginning of a sacrifice ....., though in Vīraśaivism it is neither so elaborate nor so intricate. It is a simple rite combined with ethical preachings and with the mysticism of the Yoga .....".[538] Because it is to be performed at the very beginning of one's career, the authoritative books enjoin that it should take place immediately after birth. But in practice dīkṣā is imparted to all at least twice, viz. at birth and again when one reaches one's eighth year, "probably in imitation of the upanayana of the brahmans". That is to say that dīkṣā answers to baptism as well as 'initiation' in other religions. Other dīkṣās may be performed also, for instance when one feels disgusted with worldly life. Needless to say that the generally felt need of 'consecratory' rites and the initiatory character of some well-known ancient rites might in certain milieus be adapted to their particular needs and purposes. The signification of these rites was very well understood by Dubois:[539] "Quoi-

[536] See e.g. *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 224 ff.; J. C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism* (Srinagar, 1914); Arabinda Basu, in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, ²1956), p. 79.
[537] A. Basu, *o.c.*, p. 93 f.
[538] S. C. Nandimath, *A Handbook of Vīraśaivism* (Dharwar, 1942), p. 67; Shree Kumaraswamiji, in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, ²1956), p. 100 ff.
[539] Dubois, *o.c.*, I, p. 184 f.

que les enfants embrassent ordinairement le culte de leurs pères, cependant, par leur naissance seule, ils n'ont pas droit de devenir vichnouvistes ou linganistes. Ils ne sont admis dans la secte de leurs parents qu'à un certain âge, et ils y sont alors initiés par le gourou. La cérémonie qui a lieu pour cela s'appelle dikcha; elle consiste à prononcer sur le néophyte plusieurs mantrams ou prières adaptées à la circonstance ....". In a note, the author adds that the Indian Christians often call baptism jñāna-dīkṣā "c'est-à-dire, 'initiation spirituelle'".

There are more points from which it appears that this śivaitic dīkṣā has not developed without any contact with the Vedic brahmanistic tradition. Whereas in this tradition fire plays an essential part, its place is, in the ceremonies of the Vīraśaivas, taken by the liṅga, which is identified with Agni. Omitting other details I draw attention to one moment: the guru-initiator has to look very intently into the eyes of the child which is to be received into the community, a process which, it may be remembered, is not foreign to the ancient ritual, and by which the Vīraśaiva guru is believed to extract the spiritual principle from the child's body and to place it in the liṅga which has already been consecrated by the initiator. The initiate is then supplied with the eight emblems of Vīraśaivism, among which is the liṅga. Henceforward he is supposed to lead a virtuous life according to his promise[540] and the principles of Vīraśaivism and expected not to suffer a rebirth. This important rite is indeed "considered to be a means of spiritual birth".[541] In the Vedic ritual also special importance was attached to the observance of socio-religious duties and the assumption of a dignified demeanour after the samāvartana.

A curious instance of the adaptation of an ancient ritual to the particular beliefs and practices of a religious system is furnished by the followers of Gorakhnāth[542] who distinguish two stages of initiation, a probationary period, which in many respects recalls the upanayana and is followed by preliminary discipleship and the ceremony of splitting the ears, which leads to full membership of the community. During the former the candidate takes the vows of ahiṃsā, chastity etc. and receives the mantra and the ochre-coloured monastic clothes as well as the sacred thread of the order; his hair is shaven; he begins to serve his guru, who gives him a new name, attends his teaching and performs certain other

[540] If a newly born child is received into the community the solemn promise is obtained from its parents.
[541] Nandimath, *o.c.*, p. 73.
[542] G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhnāth and the Kānphaṭa Yogīs* (Calcutta-Oxford, 1938), esp. p. 27 ff.; M. Singh, *Gorakhnāth and mediaeval mysticism* (Lahore, 1937).

duties. Any reference to the many points of agreement with the Vedic upanayana would be a superfluity. Although some novices wait for twelve years they may, generally speaking, proceed with the final stage of initiation when the guru is satisfied and considers them prepared. By the splitting of the ears the novice becomes a yogī. The duties of a yogī are various; he continues serving his teacher whose adopted son he is considered to be. Not all yogīs are vowed to celibacy. By various methods of purification, rejuvenation, perfection and transsubstantiation, which are based on a mystic-philosophical substructure their aim is to invest the life-process so that the Śakti aspect (activity and transmution) is absorbed into the Śiva aspect of perfect divine tranquillity.

J. TANTRIST DĪKṢĀ

It is in harmony with Vedic usance in connection with pupilship that the authors of Tantric texts also enjoin the aspirant to live for some time in the house of his guru.[543] During this period the guru tests the reality of his devotion to himself and to the godhead by giving him hard commands. From the Kulārṇava[544] and other tantras it appears that in respect to 'moral behaviour' these tests are, in letter or in spirit, and sometimes also in minor details, in agreement with the Vedic prescriptions. It is for instance said to be useless to impart initiation to one who is the pupil of another, or is a cunning and fraudulent man, or does not live in marital harmony – in rites the help of the wife is required – or who has any physical defect or has passed the proper time for initiation.

As it is no part of our task to describe the history of upanayana a few words may suffice to show that also the ritual acts of the upavītakriyā (MahānT. 9, 185) are in many respects reminiscent – and no doubt a continuation – of the Vedic practices. According to the Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra[545] it is this "sacred thread ceremony" which qualifies the twice-born for performing rites. It should take place between the eighth and sixteenth year (a Vedic regulation). Before leading his son to a guru a father has to perform a number of rites (not prescribed in the Veda). The boy should be given a little to eat (cf. e.g. MGS. 1, 22, 3), he is shaved,

[543] For a brahman this period is a year, for a kṣatriya two years etc.
[544] See further on.
[545] In the following paragraph Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara's ed. (Calcutta, 1884) has been followed. There would be no use in furnishing the reader with a complete account, because the text has been translated and explained by A. Avalon (= Sir John Woodroffe), *The great liberation* (Madras, [3]1953), p. 288 ff.

bathed and adorned etc. (Vedic: GGS. 2, 10, 7 etc.). The boy should then be taken to a clean space with an awning over it near the fire under the name of samudbhava (not Vedic), and there made to sit to the left of the guru (as observed elsewhere, this position is subject to variation). The first formulas run as follows: *brahmacaryaṃ kuru vatsa* and *brahmacaryaṃ karomi*. Thereupon the preceptor gives two pieces of kaṣāya cloth (i.e. the cotton cloth of brick-red colour as worn by saṃnyāsins) "for a long life and spiritual eminence (*varcase*)". (This is, in principle, Vedic, see ĀśvGS. 1, 19, 9 "if they put on garments, they should put on dyed ones, reddish-yellow (*kaṣāya-*) for a brahmāṇa etc.").[546] Next, the guru gives the boy the girdle (Vedic), and the latter pronounces the formula *subhagā mekhalā syāt śubhapradā* (the first two words form part of the Vedic formula spoken by the guru: HGS. 1, 4, 4; PGS. 2, 2, 8). The words are however preceded by the Tantric bījamantra *hrīṃ*. This is in accordance with MahānT. 9, 10: in the former ages of the world the mantras were preceded by the powerful syllable Oṃ, in the present Kali age, the same mantras are used, but preceded by *hrīṃ*. The sacrificial thread is then given with the mantra *yajñopavītaṃ paramaṃ pavitram* etc. which is also handed down in PGS. 2, 2, 10.[547] Though obviously a younger insertion, this occurrence shows how 'Vedic' ritual was in the course of time amalgamated with other elements. The next formula ṚV. 10, 9, 1 *āpo hi ṣṭhā* etc. is in contradistinction to Vedic usage prescribed to accompany the filling of the boy's hands with water. These words are however preceded and followed by *hrīṃ*. After the youth has offered water to Sūrya, the teacher should show him the sun and recite the formula *hrīṃ, tac cakṣur devahitam* etc. which is ṚV. 7, 66, 16 (in b however *purastāc chukram uccaret* instead of *śukram uccarat*). This act and the mantra are mentioned in MGS. 1, 22, 11 (see KGS. 41, 14; VGS. 5, 15). After the youth has regarded the sun, the guru addresses him as follows: "Place they heart on my 'vow', I bestow my disposition upon you etc. (*mama vrate mano dhehi* etc.), which corresponds to MGS. 1, 22, 10, where it is used in connection with the girdle, whereas PGS. 2, 2, 16 and KGS. 41, 9 prescribed it to accompany the touching of the region of the heart.[548] ĀśvGS. 1, 21, 7 has this mantra used after the communication of the Sāvitrī. Instead of the second line *mama vācam ekavrato juṣasva bṛhaspatiṣ ṭvā niyunaktu mahyam* the MahānT. reads *juṣasvaikamanā vatsa mama vāco 'stu te śivam*. The next stanzas describe the conversation between guru and pupil ("what

[546] See also A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 51 f.
[547] See J. S. Speyer, *Jātakarma*, Thesis (Leiden, 1872), p. 22.
[548] For particulars see M. J. Dresden, *Mānavagṛhyasūtra*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1941), p. 98.

is your name? etc."). The words "you are the brahmacārin of Indra and Fire is your ācārya"[549] recur also here. After this interview is over the guru consigns the boy to the protection of the devas (Prajāpati, Savitar, Varuṇa etc.). This passage replaces the mantras and acts prescribed in the gṛhyasūtras (from which, however, the name of Prajāpati is not absent).[550]

According to the Tantric rites the youth should thereafter make a pradakṣiṇa round the sacrificial fire and the guru. The latter should offer five oblations (to Prajāpati, Śakra, Viṣṇu, Brahmā and Śiva) into the fire. Hereafter oblations should be offered to Durgā and other goddesses, to Indra and the other dikpālas (regents of the quarters), to the sun and the planets. The guru then covers the pupil with cloth; and now the latter should ask for instruction. The rules given by the Vedic sūtrakāras – who are not in complete agreement – though in a way parallel in tenor, are different in particulars.[551] The guru communicates and explains the Gāyatrī (Sāvitrī). The remark that Sadāśiva is the ṛṣi who 'saw' this formula and some other details (MahānT. 9, 212) are Tantric; post-Vedic are also the addition that the mantra *Oṃ* is called Tāra and means the supreme Lord (Pareśa) who is beyond prakṛti or "nature" and some digressions on the meaning of the mantra. Some particulars mentioned in part of the gṛhyasūtras (e.g. ŚGS. 2, 5, 4ff.: the mantra should be recited in the gāyatrī metre to a brahman etc.) do not on the other hand return here. Whereas the gṛhyasūtras now turn to the description of the various obligations of the pupil (*i. a.* the begging of alms), of the Veda study etc., the MahānT. proceeds to describe the instructions in the duties of a householder, because the pupil's body is sanctified by the instruction which he has received in 'Divine Wisdom' (st. 221 *brahmavidyopadeśena*). The custom is however that immediately after the investiture with the sacred thread friends and relatives should give the pupil money or other 'alms'. The latter, taking off his kaṣāya cloth, girdle etc., gives them, together with his begging-bowl etc., to the guru, who finally adresses him: "Conquer the senses, speak the truth etc." (cf. TU. 1, 11). The ceremony is brought to a close by some oblations, offered by the disciple, into the the Samudbhava-fire, and by the (Vedic) sviṣṭikṛt-homa[552] etc. to be performed by the guru.

[549] See e.g. R. Gopal, *India of the Vedic kalpasūtras* (New Delhi, 1959), p. 297.
[550] I refer to Hillebrandt, *o.c.*, p. 53; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 282.
[551] See e.g. Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 298 f.
[552] This oblation takes place after another (principal) oblation in order to make that operative. See e.g. ĀpŚS. 7,25,14.

It is characteristic of the difference between the Vedic and the Tantric dīkṣā that in the former the co-operation of one of the sixteen officiants, the adhvaryu, the performer of the ritual acts, in the latter that of the guru, is a necessity. Their rôles are, moreover, not the same. The adhvaryu invites his client, the yajamāna, to accompany him and proceeds to arrange the ritual dress, leaving the shaving proper etc. to the barber.[553] While performing a number of ritual acts the adhvaryu pronounces formulas, some of which state what he is doing or are to avert accidents, some express blessings. Other formulas are however pronounced by the yajamāna who has also to perform part of the acts himself.

Another point worth mentioning is the 'secret character' ascribed to initiation. In the former ages of the world, MahānT. 10, 110 says, this rite was a great secret, but in the present Kali age the Kaula rites[554] should be practised without concealment and the initiation be carried out openly (10, 111; cf. 4, 78).

A guru who is not foolish must not give instruction to one who is not purified and has not received the saṃskāras. He must not proceed to impart the initiation before he has given the aspirant instruction in the mantra. That these prescriptions have a magical aspect is obvious: if the guru contravenes these rules the potency of his mantras is lost. Besides, the load of the sins of a pupil will destroy the guru's siddhi. The texts moreover warn against the opinion that a person may be initiated at any time. The proper time for initiation is at the age of sixteen. According to many gṛhyasūtras the time for the performance of the upanayana does not expire till the sixteenth year (in the case of a brāhmaṇa). One who has not received initiation at the proper time derives no fruit from the saṃskāra ("sacrament") of taking Hari's name. It is impossible completely to perform sādhana after the expiry of the time for sādhana and a mantra which has not been matured by sādhana does not bear fruit.[555] If death comes, the chances are gone, because only this Bhāratavarṣa, the Indian country, is – in agreement with the general Hindu conviction – regarded as the field of liberation.

However, Tantrism[556] developed a number of practices which, though in part not unknown from elsewhere, are in their consistent development

553 See Caland-Henry, *o.c.*, p. 11 ff.
554 See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 37.
555 Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, (London, 1914; Madras, ²1952), p. 864.
556 *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 26 ff. (with a bibliography); J. Woodroffe, *Shakti and Shākta* (London, 1929), p. 407 ff.; Ch. Chakravarti, *Tantras, Studies on their religion and literature* (Calcutta, 1963); P. G. Bagchi, in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India* (Calcutta, ²1956), p. 213.

and systematic form peculiar to it. Although it is true that Tantrism is also concerned with the attainment of ascendancy over the forces of nature by exoteric ritual as well as by the esoteric ritual involving the yogic practice, it not only simplifies traditional rituals of the Vedic type, but also introduces new symbols and a greater complexity in the esoteric portion. Essential to Tantrism is the marked difference between the initiated and the uninitiated, and, corresponding to it, a sharp division between an esoteric and an exoteric doctrine. Compare KulārṇT. 14, 89 ff. *dīkṣāviddhas ... śivatvaṃ labhate ... // dīkṣāgnidagdhakarmāsau māyāvicchinnabandhanaḥ / gataḥ parāṃ jñānakāṣṭhāṃ ... // gataṃ śūdrasya śūdratvaṃ ... / dīkṣāsaṃskārasampanne jātibhedo na vidyate*, and st. 96 *adīkṣitā ye kurvanti japapūjādikāḥ kriyāḥ / na phalanti ... teṣāṃ śilāyām uptabījavat.*

In maintaining that the really efficacious methods of salvation can be learned only by personal contact with a spiritual instructor the Tantrists do not in principle teach something new. The true Vedic lore could also be transferred only by a guru to whom the pupil had to submit in complete obedience, and small circles of aspirants to esoteric lore gathered already in early times around the upaniṣadic teachers. In Tantrism the guru stands in the place of the Lord Himself, i.e. of God or Buddha. Without initiation one cannot ever begin a spiritual training. Whereas Conze[557] is no doubt right in pointing out the ancient and 'primitive' roots of these initiatory practices, his view that they derive from "the ancient Indian ritual of the inauguration of a Crown Prince" is questionable. In my eyes, the main results ensuing from a collection of the facts and parallels presented in this chapter are the generality, the almost universal existence, the commonness and necessity of 'consecratory' or 'initiatory' rites in ancient and medieval India, and the mutual similarity of a considerable part of their components. What is less clear is the exact channels through which the different rites have exerted influence on each other and how, and when, they came to be composed of various elements. I for one am, it is true, strongly convinced that the Vedic dīkṣā as well as the upanayana have influenced and modified later initiatory and consecratory rites, but I would hesitate to consider one particular Vedic rite the only source of Tantric initiation ceremonies.

Among the methods applied in the Tantrist schools three are especially conspicuous, viz. the recitation of mantras; the performance of ritual gestures; the meditative identification with deities. After the many

557 E. Conze, *Buddhism, its essence and development* (Oxford, ²1953), p. 180 f.

remarks made by my predecessors and myself[558] on the use of mantras[559] and after all that has been said on this topic in the preceding part of this chapter, it would be needless to emphasize their importance in any Indian consecratory rite. It may however be noticed that the Buddhists whose tantras abound with mantras, though creating new formulas of their own, borrowed traditional mantras of Brahmanism.[560] Thus we find beside mantras expressing cardinal truths representing Mahāyānic faith and philosophy and considered to have been revealed by the Lord Buddha himself such ancient 'mystic syllables' as *oṃ*, *huṃ*.[561]

The great importance attached by the Tantrist authorities to mantras, their presumed infallibility and their rôle as the chief vehicle of salvation is well known, but we should not overlook[562] that they already in pre-Buddhist times were indispensable and always had the function to consecrate the ritual acts and to make them perfect and valid. "That in the ritual performance is perfect which is perfect in form, that rite which as it is performed is described by the mantra" (cf. AiB. 2, 2, 33). All so-called Vedic 'sacraments' (*saṃskāras*) from the conception to the cremation are for instance to be performed with Vedic mantras; the formulas required are, in each school, fixed and traditionally handed down. The mantras which are explicitly identified with brahman (ŚB. 7, 1, 1, 5) are extremely powerful (AiB. 5, 4, 8). They have always been "a means of getting into touch with the unseen forces around us", and also in Vedic times "benevolent higher beings"[563] enabled the inspired seers to receive them.[564] When the Buddhist Mahāvairocanasūtra, ch. IV states that a miraculous force resides in the mantras so that by pronouncing them "one acquires merit without limits", this idea is already pre-Buddhistic and also non-Buddhistic. Compare e.g. ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1 ff.; ChU. 2, 23, 1; TU. 1, 11, 1; Manu 2, 107; 3, 66; 11, 246f. etc..

The opinions and theories enunciated in the Tantrist schools of religious thought with regard to the theory and the practice of the mantra have been extremely consistent; the character of these rituals permitted them to

[558] See *Oriens*, 16, p. 244 ff.
[559] See also A. Avalon, *Principles of tantra*², p. 727 ff.
[560] For parallel cases etc. see e.g. S. B. Dasgupta, *An introduction to Tantric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1950), passim.
[561] These are also interpreted *oṃkāraḥ saṃṛjet sattvān buddharūpāgrakalpitān / huṃkāraḥ saṃharet sattvān*... (Pañcakrama), see Dasgupta, *o.c.*, p. 185.
[562] Cf. Conze, *o.c.*, p. 182.
[563] Cf. Conze, *o.c.*, p. 183.
[564] See especially the present author's book *The vision of the Vedic poets*, 's-Gravenhage 1963, ch. II. For Buddhism see also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et Matériaux* (London, 1898), p. 210 ff.

lay special emphasis on their importance; their philosophers did not hesitate to devote a good deal of their attention to them. They moreover developed various operations in the process of the recitation (*japa-*), viz. methods of contemplative recitation, including the regulation of the breath; recitation accompanied by offerings (such as flowers, perfume etc.); the recitation of realisation, when one attains "success" (*siddhi-*) through the power inherent in the mantras. However, these various functions of the mantras and various methods of employing them were already known before the tantrist trends of thought came to the fore.[565] Mantras were not only absolutely essential in the Vedic ritual, it was also part of the daily observances of ascetics and other people to mutter, on a variety of occasions, mantras; muttering of the Gāyatrī is for instance prescribed as the principal part of the morning and evening adoration (Yājñ. 1, 99); MaiU. 6, 26 already teaches "a sacrifice of suppressed breath, in which the light of the world-source becomes visible" and this "sacrifice" required the mantra *Oṃ* (cf. also 6, 9); the sexual act is raised to the rank of a rite when it is accompanied by the proper mantra (BĀU. 6, 4, 21); mantras are said to give success when they are employed in the right way (Ṛgvidhāna 2, 1); *japa-* gives the highest perfection (ViDh. 55, 21). The different Hindu and Buddhist schools amalgamated the general doctrines and practices in connection with mantras with their particular basic views and philosophical tenets. Thus, the doctrine that the mantras owe their power to the original force of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas is typically Buddhist. It is on the other hand only a variation on an ancient theme: a mantra is expressly identified as identical with the brahman itself and hence also called brahman.[566]

In Tantric ritual "initiation" (*dīkṣā*) consists in the giving of the mantra by the guru. One is reminded of the opinion of ancient sūtrakāras such as Kauśika (17, 31 ff.) according to whom Vedic initiation is not possible without the teaching of the Sāvitrī;[567] it seems to have been the general practice to impart that important mantra on the very day of upanayana. It was this teaching that signalized the second birth of the pupil (Manu 2, 170: "the Sāvitrī is his mother, the teacher his father"). At the time of the initiation the Tantric guru must first establish "the life of the guru"[568] – i.e. the vital force of the Supreme Guru – in his own body, because the divinity is supposed to inhere in it. The Vedic guru has before teaching to

[565] See *Vision*, p. 66 (with a bibliography).
[566] See my *Notes on brahman* (Utrecht, 1950) passim.
[567] See e.g. also Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 283; 300 ff.
[568] See also J. Woodroffe, *Introduction to Tantra Shastra* (Madras, ²1952), p. 68 f.

abstain from sexual intercourse etc. in order to be "in the best condition". Before receiving the mantra the Tantric disciple must fast and observe continence. The day prior to the ceremony proper the guru should seat the initiand on a mat of kuśa grass. It is needless again to recall the ancient initiation rites. The Vedic disciple had to spend the whole night in absolute silence. Whereas the latter had a silver ring tucked into his top-knot – still a local custom in many provinces[569] – the guru of the former ties his crown lock.

The Tantric disciple has to repeat the mantra after it has been communicated to him thrice and to prostrate himself at the feet of the guru. The Vedic students should touch their guru while he offers the introductory oblations.[570] According to the Tantric view initiation destroys sins and gives spiritual knowledge. Thus A. B. Ghosh[571] says that dīkṣā means "that which gives a knowledge of things divine and destroys all that leads to a fall". The teacher, for example, explains how the three akṣaras *a*, *u*, and *m*, constituting the praṇava (*Oṃ*) represent the three constituents of all material existence; how these are embodied in Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, and how these three great gods can function only with the co-operation of their respective śaktis. The aspirant has also to learn the other esoteric meanings of *Oṃ* in order to reach a state which is "beyond quiescence". The Vedic 'initiation', Manu (2, 26) says, purifies this life as well as the other; and another authority, Aṅgiras, is of the opinion that it produces brahmanhood.[572] An analysis of the praṇava and an explication of its elements occur already PrU. 5, 5, MaiU. 6, 5; in ChU. 1, 1 etc. it is already an object of speculation. The 'orthodox' authorities hold that the removal of hostile influences, the annihilation of impurity, the gain of prosperity and intelligence, the attainment of heaven or of the status of a ṛsi and "the vicinity of brahman" was among the aims and effects of all saṃskāras. Without the dīkṣā, Tantrist authorities hold, japa of the mantra, pūjā and other ritual acts are useless. Without the upanayana no study of the Veda and ritual use of Vedic texts is allowed.[573] These views also are in principle nothing new. Without upanayana no normal Aryan life was possible; those who failed to submit themselves to this rite were, as already observed,[574] neither religiously nor socially up to the mark, – to say the least of it. Even marriage was not possible for them.

[569] Pandey, *Hindu saṃskāras*, p. 218.
[570] For other ceremonies see Gopal, *o.c.*, p. 302 ff.
[571] A. B. Ghosh, in *The cultural heritage of India*², IV, p. 245.
[572] See Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 198.
[573] See also Pandey, *o.c.*, p. 197.
[574] See p. 317.

The Tantrists are of the opinion that the mode of initiation varies according to the disposition and the competency of the disciple. The ordinary dīkṣā may, like the upanayana, be an elaborate procedure consisting of many ritual acts. Those who are initiated according to this method arrive at the realization of the oneness with Śiva only by slow degrees, each according to his abilities. Men of higher competency are however initiated by other methods. The quickest and most effective of these is the *vedhadīkṣā*[575]. A person initiated according to this method realizes at once the oneness of his own self with that of the teacher, the mantra and the deity. He becomes "the very self of Śiva (God)".[576] The Vedic texts prescribe different details in accordance with the social class to which the candidate belongs. Sometimes also a special procedure is laid down for the deaf and the dumb and for idiots.[577]

Besides, there are some special forms of initiation, called *abhiṣeka-* "sprinkling". "Au moyen des aspersions rituelles le maître achève l'initiation du novice". In Tantrism abhiṣeka[578] is of eight kinds, the later forms marking higher degrees of initiation. The first (*śāktābhiṣeka-*) is given on entrance into the path of sādhana,[579] which is to unfold the higher knowledge and power and to realize bliss. It cleanses the pupil of all evil proclivities, making him acquire a new śakti, because then the guru reveals to him the preliminary mysteries of śakti-tattva. After the second abhiṣeka the real exertions of sādhana begin, postures, yamas etc. helping the adept to persevere. The third, called *krama-dīkṣābhiṣeka-*, introduces a very difficult stage in his career. After having undergone various ordeals he receives the *sāmrājyābhiṣekās* and *yoga-dīkṣābhiṣeka-*. On the attainment of the *pūrṇa-dīkṣābhiṣekās* he is to perform his own funeral rite (*śrāddha-*); after this he is a *jīvanmukta-*. It is clear that this preparation to the *summum bonum* really is a yoga course, the main stages of which are marked and introduced by 'consecrations'.

[575] See above, p. 423.
[576] The Jayadratha-yāmala even goes so far as to distinguish twenty-five kinds of *dīkṣā*, e.g. *tattva-dīkṣā*, *bhuvana-dīkṣā*, *pāda-dīkṣā*, *varṇa-dīkṣā*, *mantra-dīkṣā*, *śakti-dīkṣā*, *sparśa-dīkṣā*, *vedha-dīkṣā*, *vastra-dīkṣā*, etc. etc. These 'initiations' clearly imply various modes of sādhana (methods of attaining the religious aim or final beatitude). This catalogue is due to tendencies to schematize, to specialize and to classify all variants.
[577] I refer to Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 297 ff.
[578] De la Vallée Poussin, *o.c.*, p. 208, adding: "Le maître qui donne l'*upadeśa-* et l'*abhiṣeka-* est le substitut des Tathāgata ou de Vajrasattva. Par la grâce des Bouddhas, le fidèle reçoit le baptême et pratique la méditation". See the short chapter in Woodroffe, *Introduction*, p. 70 f.
[579] For sādhana see *Die Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 39 etc.; S. Prabhavananda, *The spiritual heritage of India* (London, 1962), p. 147.

According to the doctrines laid down in the Tantras all muttering of prayers (*japa-*) and religious austerity (*tapasyā-*) is based on initiation. "It is under the shelter of initiation that one should live in the three stages of life".[580] "Without previous initiation japa, pūjā and so on are like the sowing of seeds on a rock. They would never lead to a better state of life or perfection (*siddhi-*). Mantras taken from a book without previous initiation are of no use whatever. Besides, a person who dies uninitiated goes to the terrible Raurava Hell. On the other hand, initiation – which of course is always to be received from a guru[581] – consumes innumerable sins. One should therefore seek the supreme truth so long as this body exists, because in the next world there is no medicine.[582]

In illustration of the above some quotations may be inserted here from chapter XIV of the Kulārṇava-Tantra which gives us much information about the ideas fostered in the Tantrist circles with regard to dīkṣā. Without "initiation" there is no liberation (*mokṣa-*; st. 3; 84) and there is no dīkṣā without a guru or ācārya. This ācārya must be one of an uninterrupted succession of teachers. Without a preceptor the mantras are fruitless. He must be thoroughly versed and completely experienced in the *Heilswahrheiten* and *Heilstatsachen*. The pupil will, when duly qualified, obtain definitive liberation after death. By teaching or receiving the mantra in an improper way one draws a curse on oneself, by teaching or learning what is not in the sacred books one will undergo the torments of hell. When guru and pupil do not subject each other to an examination of their qualities they will be reduced to the state of a piśāca. For the pupil a probationary period of a year, or of another long period is obligatory; a competent guru is recognizable because of his emotional reactions to happenings of religious import (23f. *śrīguroḥ smaraṇe cāpi kīrtane darśane 'pi ca / vandane paricaryāyām āhvāne preṣaṇe priye / ānandakamparomāñcasvaranetrādivikriyāḥ / yeṣām syus te 'tra yogyāś ca dīkṣāsaṃskārakarmaṇi*). The teaching of mantras to an unworthy pupil or for money is sinful; besides they do not sink into him. In accordance with the well-known Indian tradition to distinguish between the highest, mediocre and lowest specimina of a definite class of things, there are three categories of pupils, according to their qualification on account of their bhakti, knowledge etc. Introduction is threefold: *karmopadeśa-* (which

580 A. Avalon (editor), *Principles of Tantra*, p. 850.
581 Although, in Tantric initiation, "the work will be done" by the transcendent power inherent in the mantra (*mantraśakti-*) it is the guru "in whom there is divine power, sādhana and siddhi" who has to awaken that power. See Avalon, *Principles*, p. 851.
582 Avalon, *o.c.*, p. 855.

takes much time), *dharmasya upadeśa-*, and *jñānopadeśa-* (which takes least time).

Dīkṣā is also threefold (34 *sparśākhyā... dṛksaṃjñā / mānasākhyā*). This is explained as follows: dīkṣā by touching is comparable to a bird's rearing and cherishing her young under her wings (35); the dīkṣā by looking at the aspirant to the behaviour of a fish which brings her young ones up by looking at them; the guru who imparts mental initiation may be compared to a tortoise who rears her children by thought or meditation (*dhyānamātreṇa*). The result desired is only attained when śaktipāta takes place, i.e. the spiritual procedure by which the preceptor puts his spiritual power in his pupil. Besides, there are other forms of dīkṣā. One of them is performed by the guru by means of ritual utensils (*kriyādīkṣā*) and aims at the purification of the body. The dīkṣā by means of the letters of the alphabet (*varṇadīkṣā*) consists in placing (*nyasya*) these (after they have been fixed on the highest soul which is spirit) on the body of the aspirant so that the latter experiences a state of divinity. The initiation after the method called *kalādīkṣā*[583] rests on the identification of the lowest part of the body with ceasing from worldly acts, the part between knees and navel with a state of tranquillity and stability, and the upper parts with knowledge and peace. But dīkṣā by touching, addressing or looking at the pupil is considered to relate to Śiva (*śāmbhavī dīkṣā*); *guror ālokamātreṇa bhāṣaṇāt sparśanād api / sadyaḥ saṃjñāyate jñānam*. A curious dīkṣā (*manodīkṣā*) is described in st. 57ff.: *adhvānaṃ ṣaḍvidhaṃ jñātvā śiṣyadehe smaran... // kalpayed bhuvanaṃ tattvaṃ kalāṃ varṇaṃ padaṃ manum / ājānunābhihṛtkaṇṭhatālumūrdhāntam... // gurūpadiṣṭamārgeṇa vedhaṃ kuryāt vicakṣaṇaḥ / pāśayuktaḥ kṣaṇāc chiṣyaś chinnapāśas tadā bhavet*, etc. etc.

The author of the Gautamīya-Tantra[584] expresses the opinion that the aspirant should have been born in a noble family, be of pure spirit, be learned in the Vedas, and in the dharma, be wise and devoted to the service of parents and guru, even desirous of doing good to the incarnated souls, a doer of acts which bear good fruit in the next world etc. He should, moreover, be free from delusion and perform acts of enduring results. Omitting the reproduction of the long lists of failings and other negative qualities it may be said, first that this 'initiation' is of secondary character, presupposing the upanayana, and in second place that the ancient re-

583 Cf. also the lexicon Vācaspatyam, III, 1792 s.v. *kalāvatī* (*dīkṣābhede*): .... *caturdhā sā saṃdiṣṭā kriyāvatyādibhedataḥ / kriyāvatī varṇamayī kalātmā vedhavaty api / tāḥ krameṇaiva kathānte tantre 'smin sampadāvahāḥ*...
584 Quoted by Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. 867.

quirement of Aryan birth has been combined with the addition of severe moral, ritual and intellectual conditions. Regulations with regard to failings and transgressions were also given by the ancient sūtrakāras.[585]

The description of the "Full initiation" (*pūrṇābhiṣeka-*) in MahānT. 10, 110 ff.[586] begins by enjoining the guru to worship, on the previous day, Gaṇeśa, the non-Vedic[587] god of the obstacles, teaching the bījamantras etc., the meditation and the mental offerings required to make this act valid. Thereupon he should worship the protecting powers of the seat (*pīṭhaśakti-*), likewise a non-Vedic rite; the eight Śaktis (Brāhmī etc.: non-Vedic), the protectors of the regions (Indra, Agni etc.: they do not appear in literature before the upaniṣads[588])[589], and, once again Gaṇeśa. The procedure of the initiation proper, on the next day, though widely different from the classical Vedic 'consecration', requires a bath, various acts of worship etc. The initiand implores his guru to "grant him, by his grace, the success of his undertaking", the latter replying: "be thou, by the permission of Śiva-Śakti (i.e. Śiva and his dynamic creative power, represented as his spouse) initiated with the 'full initiation'". Thereupon he proceeds to execute the (tantric-Hindu) rites required for the occasion,[590] asking permission to those fully initiated members of the community (*kaulās*) who are present.

The manuals and compilations dating from a later period may contain descriptions of a dīkṣā according to Tantric rites as well as a dīkṣā after the Vedic method (*vedoktena vidhānena*), which is free from tantric influences.[591] The conclusion is obvious: these rites were, in a way, considered equivalent or complementary, and the Vedic form of consecration had at least in theory survived. There are many more indications of combination and amalgamation. Thus, in the NiśvāsatattvaSaṃhitā Devī says that she knows the doctrines of the Vedānta and the 25 Sāṃkhyas and now desires to learn the Śivatattva. The first chapter deals with the initiation (*dīkṣā*) and the initiated (*dīkṣitaḥ*), the second with sacrifice (*agnikāryam*) and the mode of worshipping Śiva (*śivārcanavidhiḥ*), the third chapter with *muktimaṇḍalam*, the fourth with *muktadīkṣā* and the

585 See e.g. Kane, *o.c.*, II, p. 373 f.
586 For a complete translation see Avalon, *The great liberation*, p. 324 ff.
587 See A. Getty, *Gaṇeśa* (Oxford, 1936); J. Gonda, *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 261 f.
588 But see *Die Religionen Indiens*, I, p. 167.
589 See MahānirT. 6, 103.
590 For which see Avalon, *The great liberation*, p. 328 f.
591 See e.g., in connection with the PadmaPurāṇa, R. C. Hazra, *Studies in the purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs* (Dacca, 1940), p. 123.

fifth with the nature of the mantras.[592] Those circles who considered initiation impossible without the help of a guru warned against the wrong and in their eyes dangerous idea that study of Veda and Vedānta without a true guru leads to the same results as initiation. "They may read śāstras day and night, but will remain ignorant of the supreme truth".[593] True knowledge which leads to liberation cannot be derived from a study of the Vedas nor from reading the Śāstras.

K. MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM

It cannot here be attempted to sketch the history of 'initiation' and 'consecration' in Mahāyāna Buddhism, but a few remarks may be made to show that in this mighty current of thought and religious practice the same fundamental ideas reappear. Here also there is a probationary period, which, as a rule, lasts for a year, and here also proper precautions on both sides must be taken before a working harmony is established between 'master' and 'pupil'. Only those who have gone the same hard way as the aspirants are competent to guide them. In Buddhism also the advice and spiritual direction of masters of mysticism – called *dam ngag* or *men ngag* in Tibet, the Sanskrit *upadeśa-* – is fervently sought for and not rarely acquired at the cost of incredible trials. Although the disciple himself is often considered largely responsible for the success or failure of his spiritual training, the instruction of an expert in spiritual matters who transmits, by word of mouth, the traditional mystical training is regarded as extremely valuable. Before being entrusted with any *dam ngag* whatsoever, the novice must receive what is, in Tibet, called *lung*, "advice", which must be followed by an 'initiation'. Without this *lung* no study, not even that of the alphabet is begun, and higher knowledge is not imparted without serious preliminaries. When this ceremony is omitted no good result or religious merit may be expected. "L'initiation que le maître confère est le 'pouvoir' (*dbang* "empowerment")[594] de lire tel texte et de pratiquer telle méditations, pouvoir qui s'ajoute aux instructions précises (*lung*). Ce pouvoir, le maître le tient de sa lignée de transmission directe, qui remonte invariablement à une divinité supreme".[595]

592 See also P. Ch. Bagchi, *Studies in the Tantras*, I (Calcutta, 1939), p. 93 f.
593 Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, p. 858.
594 See e.g. also H. V. Guenther, *the life and teaching of Nāropa* (Oxford, 1963), p. 267; 269.
595 R. A. Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine* (Paris, 1962), p. 148.

In the Tibetan version of the HevajraTantra[596] the word *dbaṅ* "ceremony, consecration" is used to translate *dīkṣā* as well as *seka-* "sprinkling, consecration": 1, 6, 23 *śikṣādīkṣāvinirmukto lajjakāryaṃ tathaiva ca / sarvabhāvasvabhāvena (vi)cared yogī mahākṛpaḥ*; cf. 1, 10, 27; 2, 3, 10; 12.

Whereas the above Buddhist customs remind us of the dīkṣā of the type mentioned in the MānavaGS. other Tibetan 'initiations' are perfect pendants of the Hindu vratas. Hunters who by a special initiation have become the protégés, servants and devotees of certain genii are for instance said to be under an obligation to hunt on certain fixed days.

However, those who "take refuge with the Buddha" have also to undergo a kind of initiation.[597] After the disciple has formally requested the teacher to set up images of the Three Jewels and has worshipped them, imploring the grace of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and teacher, on behalf of him who follows the 'special method' a maṇḍala is prepared with flowers and a spiritual friend is requested to initiate. The actual ceremony takes place on the second night before the Three Jewels which are again worshipped and a formula is recited in which the intention of the novice to take refuge is clearly expressed. Those who are received into the monastic order[598] are subject to a series of rites part of which are identical with those of the upanayana or with the reception into a Hindu religious community. Some of these may be recalled here. The youth has to come of his own free will and to apply for admission; he has to be free from deformities etc.[599] and from transgressions of the Buddhist commandments. His head is shaven, he is clad in the mendicant's robes; he receives a religious name, is exhorted to keep the precepts and rules, to look upon the Grand Lāma as a living Buddha; vows are administered to him, and formulas recited and repeated. At the next 'service' the boy is brought into the great assembly hall, carrying a bundle of incense sticks. This ceremony is regarded as a marriage with the church. It may be remembered that definite acts performed during the Vedic upanayana were also intended to establish a close relation between guru and pupil: "Your heart shall dwell in my heart, your mind shall follow my mind ..." "Wie bei der Hochzeit der Bräutigam die Hand der Braut ergreift, faszt

[596] D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra* (London, 1959).
[597] See e.g. Sgam.po.pa, *Jewel Ornament of Liberation*, translated by H. V. Guenther (London, 1959), p. 103 f.; B. Bromage, *Tibetan Yoga* (London, 1959), p. 86 ff.
[598] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (Cambridge, ²1958), p. 177 ff.
[599] For details see A. Macdonald, *Le maṇḍala du Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (Paris, 1962), p. 62 ff.; 127 ff. ("l'ācārya doit d'abord s'assurer que les disciples remplissent les conditions physiques, morales et sociales voulues").

hier der Lehrer die Hand des Schülers".[600] Afterwards the Buddhist youth undergoes a severe course of instruction, during which corporal punishment may be freely inflicted. His spiritual adviser who then initiates the novice into the mysterious rites is held by the latter in especial reverence all through life.

'Initiation' is, in Tibet, primarily a means of "inducing the novice to discover *for himself* certain facts that are not directly revealed to him but which, by the aid of symbolical rites, he will eventually perceive himself. Tibetan initiation is not intended to enlighten the novice but rather to lead him to become conscious of what has hitherto been hidden from him because his mental eye has not been capable of perceiving it".[601] Initiation in any mystery can only be achieved when mind and heart are ready for it. The Tibetan term *angkur* does therefore not correspond to the usual meaning of the English word initiation. The *angkur* is not primarily a revelation of a secret doctrine, "but the transmission of a power, a force, by a kind of psychic process. The object in view is to communicate to the initiate the capacity to perform some particular act or to practise certain exercises which tend to develop various physical or intellectual faculties".[602] This aim is not widely different from that pursued by the Hindu saṃskāras. Communication with any Buddhist 'godhead' must therefore be viewed as getting in touch with some particular aspect of Power.

The so-called mystical 'initiations' are in reality psychic in character: the theory is that the disciple is capable of drawing off the energy which emanates from the master or from other sources, and which is transmitted to him. Although the initiating lama supplies the energy which is to be assimilated by the disciple, the latter is not passive; he has: "to endow himself with power". It is the main task of the master to develop in the novice faculties enabling him to come into direct contact with the higher reality and to see through the outer appearances of things. "Blessed son, now that thou art empowered, thou understandeth the nature of existence".[603] It follows, that in certain milieus much emphasis is laid on those aspects of ceremonial initiation which are associated with the accumulation of physical energy.[604] The rites in which the 'initiation'

[600] H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Stuttgart, ³1923), p. 465.
[601] A. David-Neel, *Initiations and Initiates in Tibet* (London, (1931) 1958), p. 12; 39 f.; 146.
[602] Although the direct ancestor of the Lamaist *angkur* is the Hindu *abhiṣeka-* "sprinkling, (consecration by) unction", the Tibetan translators have emphasized the idea of "giving power" (David-Neel, *o.c.*, p. 40).
[603] David-Neel, *o.c.*, p. 60.
[604] Bromage, *o.c.*, p. 91.

is embedded are considered a concession to the intellectual inadequacy of the disciples; actually, their only effect is a sort of physical therapeutics. There are disciples who do not need them. It is the liturgical words uttered during the mystic initiations which "tend to exhibit to the novice the power and intelligence existing in him in a latent state, to induce him to develop them and rely upon them alone".[605] Spiritual enlightenment is the fruit, not of a rite, but of a mystic experience which cannot be transmitted.

This character of 'initiation' explains the techniques resorted to in imparting it to the aspirant. Among the so-called esoteric initiations are the transmission of psychic power by telepathy, by gesture, by facing each other in silence, the method of training by meditation on the cakra or mystic 'wheel' and the rite called "the devotion to the altar".[606] The last method of inducing the esoteric forces of the over-worlds to manifest themselves in the world of men involves the construction of a maṇḍala,[607] a procedure which we know already from comparable Hindu rites; offerings are set out; a liturgical dialogue between the celebrant and the candidate is held; a ring of coloured threads is tied to the left arm of the latter; a water-pot, a symbol of purity, is placed in turn on the four vital centres of his body; the roll of muffled drums is heard which are to put the candidate into a semi-hypnotic impressionable condition and to make him realise the presence of that most elemental Force which manifests itself as sound (*śabda-*): the ancient idea that brahman reveals itself as sound. Then the candidate, being blindfolded – this feature[608] has already been commented upon à propos of a Viṣṇuite initiatory rite – must cast a flower on the maṇḍala and much – i.e. the new name to be assumed by him;[609] the promise to complete liberation etc. – will depend on the direction of the throw. When the bandage is removed the blinkers of ignorance have fallen off, the powers of obstruction are conquered, and the soul can proceed on the way to liberation. The initiation bound up with the well-known mantra *auṃ mani padme hūm* is performed in silence by master and novice, repeating after each other the sacred words of power, each syllable of which has its special meaning. The syllable *auṃ* for instance awakens thoughts of the creative sounds which first

605 David-Neel, *o.c.*, p. 53; cf. p. 64.
606 Bromage, *o.c.*, p. 93.
607 See G. Tucci, *The theory and practice of the maṇḍala* (London, 1961); Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 133 ff.; R. Tajima, *Les deux grands maṇḍalas et la doctrine de l'ésoterisme Shingon* (Tōkyō-Paris, 1959).
608 Which returns in other initiatory rites; see e.g. L. Finot, "Manuscrits sanskrits de sādhana's", in *J.A.* 1934 II, p. 36.
609 See however also Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 136, n. 3.

brought the worlds into existence. By repeating and meditating on these syllables a psychic cleansing is brought about so that the phantasmagoria of the creative visualisation proves to be illusory and "the One abideth".

The more 'orthodox' initiatory systems are not widely different from the esoteric initiations. Here also much value is attached to preparation and meditation, and definite modes of approach to High Power are likewise meticulously observed. These practices are however embedded in a more acknowledged ritual.

Hence also the belief that even bodhisattvas are 'initiated'. After such an exalted being "has for nine levels analysed and discerned knowables with a discriminating mind" he reaches the tenth level, i.e. that of attaining the all-inclusive knowledge of all causal characteristics, "because here a Bodhisattva is initiated by the light rays of the Buddhas in the ten regions of the world".[610] Accordingly, a name of this tenth stage, 'Level of Initiation'.[611] The Chief Lamas are likewise considered to be supreme initiates.[612]

That this 'initiation' was experienced as the descent of divine power achieving an intimate fusion of the divinity meditated upon and the initiate appears from many stories. For instance, an aspirant requests his master to impart to him the initiation of Tārā, and after the required rites the goddess manifests herself.[613] That on the other hand here also, the Indian conviction that these 'initiations', though carried out for higher purposes, may entail worldly effects is explicitly stated, for instance in chapter II of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa: "Si l'on désire augmenter la prospérité du royaume, si l'on veut vivre longtemps, (être) en bonne santé, et en particulier si l'on recherche une augmentation des satisfactions matérielles, ... (la réalisation de ce qu'on désire) est assurée certainement".[614] Just as the study of the Veda not only makes a brahman a true brahman, but also furthers his health, and is a source of fame and delight to him (ŚB. 11, 5, 7, 1), just as the saṃskāras are not only to sanctify the individual and to enable him to enter successfully upon the next stage of life, but also to attract favourable influences and to further his material interests,[615] these Buddhist ceremonies are considered a great help for those desirous of renown, happiness and worldly power.

Another point worth emphasizing is the parallelism, expressed in the

610 Sgam.po.pa, *o.c.*, p. 250.
611 See e.g. *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, ed. by J. Rahder, Thesis (Utrecht, 1926), p. 95 f.
612 For the 'occult connotations' of their elections see also Bromage, *o.c.*, p. 103 ff.
613 Cf. also R. A. Stein, in *Sino-Indian studies*, 5 (1927), p. 29 ff.
614 Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 129.
615 See e.g. Raj Bali Pandey, *Hindu Saṃskāras* (Banaras, 1949), p. 46.

Mahāyānist texts themselves, between the consecration of an aspirant to Buddhahood and the royal consecration. See e.g., in Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, ch. II:[616] "... alors, comme pour la consécration royale (*rājyābhiṣekam iva*), on conférera l'abhiṣeka à (un disciple) dont la foi en le Buddha, la Loi et la Communauté est totale ..."; "ensuite, lorsqu'il a fait préparer les accessoires comme pour la consécration royale, le maître officiant se réjouit". "Ensuite, lorsqu'il a fait préparer tous les accessoires comme pour la consécration royale". "Il est bien certain qu'en pénétrant dans le maṇḍala, le novice, devenu une sorte de Śākyamuni le temps de son initiation, est considéré, à l'image de celui-ci, comme un Bodhisattva et un roi Cakravartin; des traits de ces deux destinées ... sont présents tout au long du rite".[617] We have indeed every reason to recall the ancient motif of the initiate's 'deification'.

So deep-rooted are many elements and features of these Indian rites that a considerable number of ritual acts and technical terms which occur already in the Vedic consecratory rites have survived in Mahāyāna Buddhism, whereas other details are in a less surprising way common to the latter and many Hindu denominations. Miss Macdonald[618] is no doubt perfectly right in drawing attention to the "rapports étroits qui existent entre la dīkṣā brahmanique et l'abhiṣeka bouddhique". Thus in the description of the rite contained in Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Ch. II we find not only such terms and concepts as the Hindu *pūjana-* "worship"; *nivedya-* 'offering of food (for the image of a god)"; *śālitaṇḍula-* (Mbh. 2, 54, 25 cr. ed.) "threshed, husked and winnowed rice"; *siddhi-* and *sādhana-*; the *pūrṇakalaśa-* "a full pitcher", but also *bali-* 'offering of food" (which is thrown on the ground) to deities and other beings (to the deities to whom the Vedic bali is presented belong also the rākṣasas; in the MMK. it is given to the demons);[619] *pradakṣiṇa-* "sun-wise circumambulation"; the verb *saṃbharati* "to prepare what is necessary"; *acārya-*; *kuśa-* "the sacred grass"; *homa-* "oblation thrown into the fire"; *arghya-* "what is offered at a respectful reception of a guest"; the verb *anu-jñā-* "to authorize". Not a few elements of the Vedic ceremonies discussed in the above pages return in the Buddhist ceremony, e.g. the propitiation of minor deities (demons), a homa, ritual bathing; a change in the coiffure of the initiate; an *abhiṣeka-* "unction or sprinkling of water";[620] the communication of a mantra. Whereas the teaching of the Sāvitrī signizaled the second birth of the Vedic boy, the "personal mantra" (*svamantra-*) of the young Buddhist makes him attain to the highest goal, i.e. illumination. Then there is the importance of the eastern and northeastern directions; the erection of a canopy (see e.g. PārGS. 1, 4, 2); the hommage paid to the initiator and the solemn invitation to receive the aspirant.[621] The Buddhist candidate sits, while facing the east, on a tuft of kuśa grass (a 'darbha') just like the student of the Veda who should sit to the west of the fire on the eastward-pointed darbha (ĀśvGS. 3, 5, 11). The sprinkling on the head (*abhiṣeka-*) of the initiate has also its counterpart in the gṛhyasūtras. As already mentioned, it belonged according to GGS. (3, 4, 11 ff.) to the actual rites of the samāvartana (the completion of Vedic studies and departure of the student) that the teacher besprinkled his pupil with lukewarm water mixed with perfumes etc.[622] "Au moyen des aspersions rituelles, le maître achève l'initiation du novice (*sasekair anugrahaṃ kuryāt*)... L'abhiṣeka n'est pas seulement une cérémonie purificatrice et d'ordination ...; il fait acquérir la science et ses fruits." (Hence also *saṃskāra-* in the sense of "the education of such a 'candidate'"). Whereas the Vedic student then rises to worship the sun with certain mantras, the Buddhist aspirant is also invited to recite formulas. Whereas the former may now, as a married man, teach the Veda, the latter "reçoit le pouvoir de (pratiquer) les voeux, les maṇḍala, les mantra, les mudrā et les sādhana terrestres et supra-terrestres".[623] He now is accepted and authorized (*anujñāta-*) by all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas to practice and teach the mantras, maṇḍalas etc. etc. Also in the Vedic ceremony *anujñā-* "authorization" was regarded as necessary, because it certified the

[616] Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 137 f.
[617] Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 134, n.
[618] Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 135, n.
[619] See e.g. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II (Poona, 1941), p. 745 ff.
[620] For a royal unction ceremony without śrauta complications see J. C. Heesterman, *The ancient Indian royal consecration*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1957), p. 4, n. 1.

[621] As to some seeming similarities between the age of those undergoing the abhiṣeka and that of the Vedic and Hindu children undergoing the upanayana the reader may be referred to a recent publication: Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 135, n. 1.
[622] The sense of *abhiṣeka-* which is usually translated by "consecration (by an unction or sprinkling water)" is made more clear by a Tibetan authority quoted by Guenther (Nāropa, p. 269): "*abhisiñc-* means to 'wash off', that is 'to wash away the dirt of body, speech, mind and awareness which makes man unsuitable for realization'; *abhiṣeka-* means ... 'the power to refine impure body, speech, mind, and awareness so that man is made suitable". "The purpose", Guenther adds, "is to ennoble man, to release him from the feeling of being merely a thing, and to make him realize his inherent divine quality. In the language of existentialist philosophy, man is changed from a status of unauthentic being-in-the-world to that of an authentic being-in-the-world. Here man sees himself as a god (*deva-*), not as a miserable creature at the mercy of dark powers, and the world around him as a divine mansion (*vimāna-*) rather than as a valley of tears. Seeing oneself and others as gods does not mean deification, it points to a feeling of transfiguration". Cf. also L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et matériaux* (London, 1898), p. 208; 210.
[623] Macdonald, *o.c.*, p. 141.

student that he was fit in learning, habit and character for adult life. There is also a counterpart of the address delivered by the teacher to his departing students (e.g. TU. 1, 11) in which they are exhorted to speak the truth, to study the Veda, to worship the gods, to revere the gurus etc. The Buddhist initiate is enjoined not to violate his promise to the great Bodhisattva, not to hold the mantras in contempt, to make his guru happy etc.; "if you do not hold to your promise, the mantras will have no success and much mishap will ensue!" The number 108 (recitations, oblations) which we know from Viṣṇuite and other Hindu rites recurs in these Buddhist ceremonies.

To conclude the ceremony the Buddhist master of the maṇḍala must again offer a homa consisting of a mixture of cooked rice and curdled milk, honey and butter, while pronouncing the hṛdaya-mantra of eight syllables. Next he must, in his mind, evoke the gods and offer them an arghya with flowers. According to Vedic authorities (GGS. 3, 4, 30; cf. JaimGS. 1, 19) the teacher honours the outgoing student with an argha ceremony.[624] The food consists of a madhuparka, i.e. a mixture of honey, curds, and ghee. Finally the master of the maṇḍala must throw the nivedya, the bali etc. into the river or give them to living beings in need. The first part of this instruction again reminds us of a Vedic usage: the outgoing student throws his girdle, staff and antelope-skin into water.

According to Padmavajra (± 690) who in these points finds himself in agreement with the teachings of the Guhyasamāja, *siddhi-* ("perfection") is difficult of attainment in one life. Those who desire to attain it should take up the secret rite, which destroys all thoughts of duality. If one is initiated in the "Tantra of Śrīsamāja, which is the cause of all happiness, one may attain divine perfection by coming into contact with the Mahāmudrā ("the great woman").[625] But in order to do so it is necessary to take an abhiṣeka ("initiation") from a guru. Without the Mahāmudrā no emancipation or success in any rite is possible. But if the adept is initiated into her cult, success is assured even if he should do things which are against all laws. Initiation may for instance also protect the adept from attempts on his life and a premature death. In view of an ancient aim of 'consecration', viz. the attainment to 'immortality' this aim of the rite is quite intelligible.

The Tantrist ideas fused with the aspiration to Bodhisattvaship. In the third chapter of the Vajrayāna work Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi[626]

[624] For details see also Ram Gopal, *India of Vedic Kalpasūtras* (Delhi, 1959), p. 311 ff.
[625] See further on.
[626] Published in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*, no. 44, Baroda: Two Vajrayāna works.

the ācārya Anaṅgavajra (about 680 A.D.) deals with the initiation (*abhiṣeka-*) of a disciple into *prajñopāya-*, i.e. the creative principle of the universe from which everything emerges and develops. The preceptor is to be approached by the aspirant in the company of the Mahāmudrā, the Great Woman without whom no success is possible. If on the other hand a worshipper is, with the assistance of a guru, initiated into the Mahāmudrā cult, success is always assured.[627] In the initiation rite the Mahāmudrā appears charming in outward appearance and profusely decked with ornaments. After having praised the guru with a long panegyric the aspirant entreats him to grant him initiation – the ancient and traditional introduction –, so that he may henceforth be regarded as belonging to the family of the Buddhas. The preceptor then favours him with the initiation after associating him in the presence of the assembly with the Mahāmudrā. Further on, the preceptor gives him the five samayas (observances)[628] and imparts instructions on the restraint imposed on the aspirants to Buddhahood. The initiate thereupon thanks the guru for his favour which means freedom from suffering, and takes a solemn vow to place beings in the three worlds in the sphere of Buddha-hood after obtaining it himself.

A very instructive example of an initiation in the Tantric Buddhist sense of the term is found in the biography of the famous saint and scholar, the apostle of deliverance, Padmasambhava, who in the VIIIth century A.D. introduced Buddhism into Tibet.[629] According to the legend, one of his teachers was a ḍākinī[630] who dwelt in a sandalwood garden, in the midst of a cemetery, in a palace of skulls. The esoteric meaning of this is:[631] the garden is the saṃsāra, apparently lovely, but surrounded by decay; the palace of skulls, the human body, is the materialization of all past karman. When Padmasambhava arrived at the door of the palace he found it closed. That is to say, he had not yet discovered the key to the nature and essence of corporeal existence. Then there appeared a servant woman carrying water into the palace. Water means vital power. Padmasambhava sat in concentration so that her water-carrying was halted by the power of his yoga. That means, he succeeds in controlling the normal

[627] B. Bhattacharyya, *An introduction to Buddhist esoterism* (Oxford, 1932), p. 70f.
[628] See S. B. Dasgupta, *An introduction to Tāntric Buddhism* (Calcutta, 1950), p. 92.
[629] See W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan book of the Great Liberation* (Oxford, 1954), p. 131 ff.
[630] A ḍākinī is in the esoteric lore of the tantras a female goblin-like figure characterized by supra-normal knowledge and power and acting as an admonisher.
[631] For a detailed explication see: Lama Anagarika Govinda, *Grundlagen tibetischer Mystik* (Zürich-Stuttgart, 1957), p. 217 ff.

stream of vital power through the power of his concentration. Thereupon the maid, producing a knife of crystal cut open her breast and exhibited in it the hundred deities of the tantric maṇḍala,[632] the peaceful and terrible, wrathful forms of the Dhyāni-Buddhas. Padmasambhava now awakes to the insight that the body, notwithstanding its transitoriness, is the temple of the highest powers and achievements. After he has bowed down before her the maid invites him to enter. This passage also has a deeper sense. Humility and unprejudiced willingness to view things as they are open the door which so far had been closed: the secret of his own corporeal existence and the powers operating in it are about to be unveiled.

Upon entering the palace, Padmasambhava sees the chief ḍākinī seated on a sun and moon throne. Sun and moon represent the psycho-cosmic powers which manifest themselves in piṅgalā and iḍā, two 'mystic' canals in the 'subtle' human body, which together with the third 'artery' suṣumnā start from the life-breath centre and being "subtle rivers" help the yogī who can "bathe in their confluence" to attain liberation.[633] The ḍākinī holds in her hand a ritual hour-glass-like double-drum, the 'symbol' of the eternal rhythm of the universe and of the all-pervading transcendent sound of the highest reality, i.e. of Dharma (Buddha's "drum of immortality"). In her left hand she holds a skullcup, filled with blood; it symbolizes the higher knowledge which is attainable only by renouncing earthly life. Making obeisance to her, Padmasambhava begs her to teach him both esoterically and exoterically. The one hundred peaceful and wrathful deities then appear overhead. "Behold", says the ḍākinī, "the deities. Now take initiation". And he answers: "Inasmuch as all the Buddhas throughout the aeons have had gurus, accept me as thy disciple" (notice the ancient formula!). At the moment of initiation she absorbs all these deities into her body, so that she now proves to be the embodiment of the wisdom of all buddhas. Thereupon the ḍākinī transforms Padmasambhava into the syllable *hūṃ*. That is to say, he is identified with the object of his devotion. "In anderen Worten, der Sādhaka, der sich vollkommen mit dem Mantra, als der Pfeilspitze seiner Meditation, identifiziert, wird eins mit der inspirationellen Kraft, dem Erleuchtungsdrange aller Buddhas und verleiht auf diese Weise allen Bewusstseinszentren seines Körpers den Segen der Buddhaschaft, in dem er sie in Gefässe der Erleuchtung verwandelt".[634] These centres of consciousness are: 1) the

632 See Evans-Wentz, *The Tibetan book of the Dead* (Oxford, 1949), p. 217.
633 See e.g. A. Daniélou, *Yoga* (London, 1949), p. 123 ff.
634 Anagarika Govinda, *o.c.*, p. 218 f.

throat centre in which Amitābha is realized (when *hūṃ* rests on the lips); 2) the navel centre in which Avalokiteśvara is realized (when the syllable *hūṃ* is swallowed); 3) the root centre in which the creative powers of the body are transmuted into spiritual potencies so as to achieve the regeneration of body and spirit. Or in the words of the narrative, while the *hūṃ* rests on her lips, the ḍākinī conferred upon it the Buddha-Amitābha blessing. Then she swallows the *hūṃ* and inside her stomach Padmasambhava receives the secret Avalokiteśvara initiation. As soon as the *hūṃ* reaches the region of the Kuṇḍalinī – the serpent power representing God's śakti or creative faculty – she confers upon him the initiation of body, speech and mind, and he is cleansed of all defilements and obscurations. In secret, the ḍākinī also grants to Padmasambhava the so-called Hayagrīva initiation, which consists of the transference of such occult power as will enable the initiate to employ with mastery the cosmic forces personified by the Tantric deity Hayagrīva,[635] the Horseheaded One, and manifested through evil spirits and otherwise as forces of destruction or disharmony.[636] This initiation was believed to give him power to dominate all evil spiritual beings.

It is clear that in this legend a mystic or visionary experience, a mental meeting with higher beings, means to the man who is able to understand the deeper sense of these quasi-visual impressions, a revelation of the highest truth and access to ultraphenomenal mysteries, which at the same time are an initiation into a higher state of existence. The legend holds moreover a prospect of success only to those who are able and willing to subject themselves to the same experiences as the exemplary hero. Mystical experience and a full realization of the deeper sense of its 'symbolism'[637] are the only way to the ultimate goal.

The threefold power transferred by the above threefold initiation and the true nature of the chief ḍākinī which embraces all Buddha-wisdom is also expressed in the mantra of the Vajra-Yoginī which is handed down in the Buddhist tantric Sādhanamālā.[638] This mantra runs as follows: *Oṃ Oṃ Oṃ, Sarva-buddha-ḍākinīye vajra-varṇanīye vajra-vairocanīye, hūṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā.* "Als Sarva-buddha-ḍākinī, d.h. als 'genius' aller Buddhas, verkörpert sie den inspirationellen Impuls, der

635 See R. H. van Gulik, *Hayagrīva*, Thesis (Utrecht, 1935).
636 See Evans-Wentz, *Great Liberation*, p. 133, n. 1.
637 For ḍākinīs see e.g. David-Neel, *Initiations*, p. 48. See also R. A. Stein, *Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet* (Paris, 1959), p. 334.
638 Sādhanamālā, p. 453 (*Gaekwad Or. Ser. vol.* 46). See also Bhattacharyya, *o.c.*, p. 160.

die Buddhas zur Verwirklichung der Buddhaschaft, zur volkommenen Erleuchtung treibt und der allen Aspekten der Weisheit zugrunde liegt".[639]

In a short paper[640] Professor De La Vallée Poussin at the time drew attention to a Tantric practice which may not be left unmentioned here. The rite he described and which – without being a thing by itself – is characteristic of the mysticism of the Vajrācāryas – "mysticisme issu ... de la spéculation mādhyamika, influencé par les idées védantiques et les cérémonies 'śāktas' ...", is, in the opinion of the author, "l'exacte contre-partie des initiations ou dīkṣās décrites dans les brāhmaṇas". The main doctrine of the Guhyasamāja,[641] which is the most important school of this Vajrācāryas, concerns the identity of the individual body, voice and thought with those of all the Tathāgatas. This identity is realized by those who are conscious of it, but there are various ceremonies which while perfecting body, voice and thought may help to attain this goal. The rite as described in the CaṇḍamahāroṣaṇaTantra[642] is the following: "l'ascète meurt à l'existence humaine en accomplissant la double tâche: la pūjā ou adoration et le *viśiṣṭaṃ karma*, l'acquisition de la science est la mort parfaite: *maraṇaṃ viśiṣṭam*. L'ascète obtient l'*antarābhavadeha-*, c. à. d. un corps de dharma, un corps transparent: *mṛtyur evocyate dharmaḥ*. Dans le belvédère construit à cet effet et qui est la demeure des Bouddhas, l'ascète se représente le Bouddha uni d'amour avec la déesse[643] ... Témoin du maithuna des divinités, l'ascète s'incarne dans le sein de la Tārā dont il est épris ...". Thereupon he is born again as a Buddha.

The consecration of oracle priests likewise involved a sort of initiation: "A man who accepts the call of the protective deity and who decides to become an oracle priest will have to undergo first a period of training. Those mediums who are supposed to be visited by higher-ranking dharmapālas will have to spend several years in a monastery to receive some special instruction ... During this time they receive yogī training and have to meditate frequently. The mediums of the highest *'jig rten pa'i srung ma* have to pass a special test in order to receive official recognition". This test obviously is a sort of initiation.[644]

[639] For a detailed explication see Anagarika Govinda, *o.c.*, p. 219 ff.

[640] L. de la Vallée Poussin, "Une pratique des Tantras", in *Actes du XIe congrès international des Orientalistes* (Paris, 1897), I (Paris, 1899), p. 241.

[641] See e.g. B. Bhattacharyya in H. Bhattacharyya, *The cultural heritage of India*, IV (Calcutta, ²1956).

[642] Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra, ch. 15, Viśuddhipaṭala. See also De la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme, Études et matériaux*, p. 153 f.

[643] As is well known, the śākta theory according to which God is united with his Śakti has also been adopted by the Buddhist schools. Hence the formula *bhagavān bhagavatībhageṣu vijahāra* and the belief that one can become a buddha by practising maithuna: *buddhatvaṃ yoṣidyonisamāśritam.*

L. MODERN HINDUISM

Modern Hindus, even those who have emigrated, have retained some form or other of the old dīkṣā of the man who wishes to sacrifice and to adore the gods (the *yajamāna-*). It is this man, not the priest who, before the sacrifice, undergoes a sanctification, consisting in fasting, abstinence from meat, salt and other victuals, sexual continence, shaving of beard and hair, etc.[645] It should be noticed, first, that as a rule the time-honoured homa and the Hindu pūjā are performed in combination, the latter being followed by a homa, and in the second place that whereas the rites introduced by the above dīkṣā are in principle gṛhya rites the householder usually calls in the aid of a priest, as soon as the ceremony is of any importance.

Moreover, 'initiation' often marks until modern times "the admission of the child to caste privileges and obligations, and children, dying before this rite, are usually buried, not cremated".[646] High caste children in Bengal are, for instance, permitted before initiation to eat with other children of any pure caste. That is to say that the ancient idea that it is upanayana which actually makes a brahman still prevails,[647] although this rite and samāvartana are often made to succeed each other immediately.[648] "Indeed, strictly speaking, gotra (the internal exogamous division of the

[644] See R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and demons of Tibet* ('s-Gravenhage, 1956), p. 419. – For a Japanese Buddhist initiation ceremony ("ein Beispiel der Tendai-Eṣoterik") see H. von Glasenapp, *Der Buddhismus* (Berlin, 1936), p. 279 f.; the blindfolding is here explained as "die symbolische Ausschaltung des körperlich-getrübten Auges, damit das geistige Auge sehen kann".

[645] See e.g. C. J. M. de Klerk, *Cultus en ritueel van het orthodoxe Hindoeisme in Suriname* (Amsterdam, 1951), p. 31.

[646] W. Crooke, *Religion and folklore of Northern India* (Oxford, 1926), p. 186; S. C. Dube, *Indian village* (London, 1955), p. 35.

[647] Compare A. Rogerius, *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydendom*, ed. W. Caland ('s-Gravenhage, 1915), p. 27: "Al-hoewel dat de kinderen der Bramines, ten aensien van hare afkomste, Bramines sijn, nochtans en wordense voor geen Bramines gehouden, voor dat sy het koordeken ... aen den hals dragen".

[648] The KālikāPurāṇa laid down the rule that a boy who had undergone the saṃskāras including upanayana in his father's house cannot be taken in adoption. See K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Rājadharma* (Adyar, 1941), p. 31.

endogamous caste) is not inherited but is acquired by the 'twice-born' castes only at the initiation ceremony (upanayana) at which the sacred thread is assumed".[649] On an appointed day a Hindu boy of about eight years of age – or also not until he is twelve – must fast, bathe and appear in a spotless garment. He is then left alone with the guru, who selects for him some special deity, and teaches him a mantra.[650] Although in post-medieval Hinduism the general plan of the ceremony had undergone considerable changes, some of the most essential and most characteristic features were retained: the obligatory upanayana before the transmission of the mantra or the study of religious texts however superficial, purificatory rites, a new garment, sacrificial rites (homa), shaving, trimming the nails, the 'sacred cord', the secret communication of the mantra, the pouring out of water, etc.[651] In remote regions the ceremony is on the other hand sometimes of relatively recent origin and adopted along with Sanskritic marriage forms.[652]

It does not lie within our province to discuss all the aspects of Indian 'initiation'. However, mention may be made of the so-called *gurmukh* (Hindī *gur(u)-mukh honā* "to receive the initiatory mantra from a guru; to become a disciple"). This ceremony, which is closely related to the upanayana and the vedārambha, is either a complement to, or a substitute of upanayana. In certain milieus, e.g. among the adherents of Kabīr, it marks the reception of a new member, called *dīkṣita-*, into the community. It is worth mentioning that those Hindus who have received the *gur(u)-mukh(a-)*, i.e. who have learned the *guru-mantra-* from the own mouth of the preceptor-initiator often are reluctant to embrace another religion which requires entrance ceremonies (e.g. baptism) of their aspirant members. Hence the identification, in Hindu milieus, of *gurmukh* and the Christian baptism. The ceremonies include fasting, bodily contact between preceptor and disciple, an address on dharma etc. delivered by the former, a dakṣiṇā, etc.[653]

[649] J. H. Hutton, *Caste in India* (Cambridge, 1946), p. 51.
[650] For some details see e.g. W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism* (London, 1887), p. 28 f.
[651] For descriptions see Rogerius, *o.c.*, p. 27 ff. and especially, J. A. Dubois, *Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, nouv. éd. (Pondichéry, 1921), I, p. 239 ff.; M. Monier Williams, *Hinduism* (London, 1890), p. 59 ff.
[652] E. T. Atkinson, "Notes on the history of religion in the Himalayas of the N. W. Provinces", *J.A.S.B.* 53 (1884), p. 92 ff.; G. D. Berreman, *Hindus of the Himalayas* (Berkeley, 1963), p. 130.
[653] For the *gurmukh* among Hindu emigrants see de Klerk, *o.c.*, p. 116 ff.

Discussing "caste observances" Rev. James Cartman[654] informs us, in connection with the twice-born Hindus of Ceylon – brahmans and a very small number of very high cast Vallālas –, that they undergo a religious ceremony called *dīkṣā*. Brahmans take this initiation ceremony when they are five or six; the high caste Vallālas at the age of fourteen or fifteen. For a month before and a month after the ceremony, the candidate for initiation is strictly vegetarian in his diet, and during the preparatory month he is taught Sanskrit prayers. On the chosen day he is ceremoniously bathed and taken to the temple where the priest repeats several mantrams and whispers something into his ear, something which must be kept secret. This secret formula is *auṃ śivayāham*. During the ceremony sacred ash is smeared with three finger tips, forming three distinct bars or lines upon sixteen different parts of the body. Only those who have taken dīkṣā are entitled to wear the three distinct bars of the Śivaites. Another privilege of the twice-born is the sacred thread. The twice-born Hindu who has been duly initiated is expected henceforth to maintain higher standards than other Hindus in the observance of ceremonial religion, to be more strictly vegetarian and to attain a higher standard of moral behaviour.

In elucidation of the use of the term *dīkṣā* Diehl's[655] definition of the South-Indian *Śiva-tīkṣai* (< Skt. *dīkṣā*) may be quoted: "it is the ceremony whereby a man or a woman is made fit to worship Śiva in accordance with the rules of the Śaiva Āgamas". There are four types of dīkṣā, dividing the Śivaites into four groups: those who have received occasional *tīkṣai*; those who have received special *tīkṣai*, those who have received the "emancipation" (*nirvāṇa*) *tīkṣai* and the *ācāriyar* (gurus) who in addition to these three mentioned has received anointment. In South India the term *tīkṣai* is also used for the time during which one is "bound" to perform certain rites or ceremonies. Compare the Vedic usage. It is effected through the tying of a string tied to the wrist in token of a vow, and can be removed accordingly.[656]

Dīkṣā is not an institution of the past according to Ramana Maharshi,[657] for instance, *mauna-* ("silence") is the best and the most potent dīkṣā, the other methods (look, touch etc.) being of a lower order and derived from silence. The guru's silence is the loudest *upadeśa-* "teaching" and grace in its higher form. "If the guru is silent the seeker's mind

[654] J. Cartman, *Hinduism in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1957), p. 140.
[655] C. G. Diehl, *Instrument and purpose* (Lund, 1956), p. 51, n. 5.
[656] Diehl, *o.c.*, p. 52, n.
[657] See *Die Religionen Indiens*, II (Stuttgart, 1963), p. 335 ff.

becomes purified by itself". *Mauna-dīkṣā* will purify the individual in every way and establish him in the One Reality.[658]

It may be of some interest to add that in the case of a non-Hindu who wishes to join the Ārya Samāj a simple purificatory ceremony is obligatory, which is usually carried out by a brahman. "After fasting, bathing, shaving and changing his clothes, and after the Hom ceremony has been performed, he accepts the Gāyatrī".[659]

[658] *Talks with Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Tiruvannamalai 1955), p. 541; 663 f.

[659] J. C. Oman, *Cults, customs and superstitions of India* (London, 1908), p. 176.

INDEX OF NAMES

(by Kiyoshi Yoroi)

INDEX OF OTHER TERMS

INDEX OF SANSKRIT (AND OTHER) WORDS

INDEX OF THE MAIN TEXT-PLACES DISCUSSED

DISPUTATIONES RHENO-TRAJECTINAE

edidit J. Gonda

I. J. GONDA: Some Observations on the Relations between "Gods" and "Powers" in the Veda, a propos of the phrase *sūnuḥ sahasaḥ*. 1957. 111 pp. Gld. 9.—

II. J. C. HEESTERMAN: The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration. The Rājasūya described according to the Yajus Texts and annoted. 1957. 243 pp. Gld. 20.—

III. J. GONDA: Four Studies in the Language of the Veda. 1959. 194 pp. Gld. 20.—

IV. J. GONDA: Epithets in the Ṛgveda. 1959. 270 pp. Gld. 28.—

VI. J. A. B. VAN BUITENEN: The Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad. A Critical Essay, with Text, Translation and Commentary. 1962. 157 pp. Gld. 16.—

VII. J. GONDA: The Aspectual Function of the Ṛgvedic Present and Aorist. 1962. 278 pp. Gld. 32.—

VIII. J. GONDA: The Vision of the Vedic Poets. 1963. 372 pp. Gld. 40.—

MOUTON & CO. · PUBLISHERS · THE HAGUE